THE GENERALL HISTORIE OF Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles: with the names of the Adventurers, Planters, and Governours from their first beginning An: 1584. to this present 1624.

With the Proceedings of those Severall Colonies and the Accidents that befell them in all their Journyes and Discoveries.

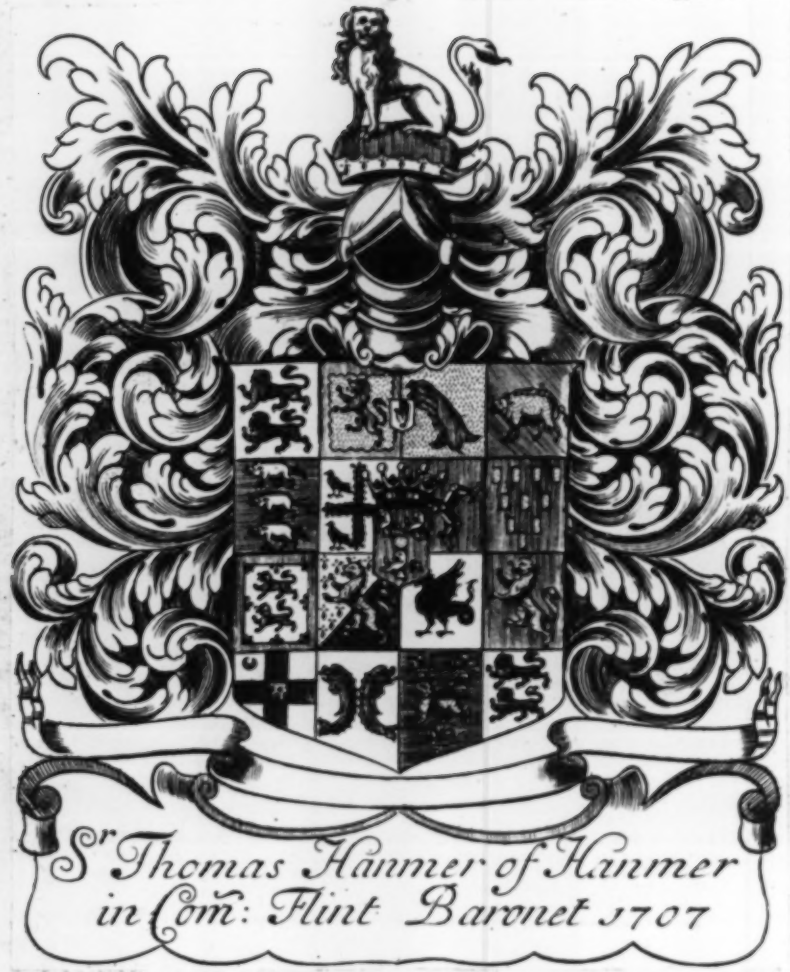
Also the Maps and Descriptions of all those Countryes, their Commodities, people, Government, Customes, and Religion yet knowne.

DIVIDED INTO SIXE BOOKES.

By Captaine IOHN SMITH sometymes Governour in those Countryes & Admirall of New England.

LONDON.
Printed by I.D. and I.H. for *Michael Sparkes*.
1624.

graven by Iohn Barra



Sr Thomas Hanmer of Hanmer
in Com: Flint Baronet 1707

THE GENERALL HISTORY

OF

VIRGINIA, NEVV-ENGLAND, and the SVMMER ILES: with the names of the Adventurers, Planters, and Governours, from their first beginning, Anº 1584. to this present 1625.

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LONDON,
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1625.

The portraiture of the illustreous Princeße Frances Duchess of Richmond and Lenox daughter of Thomas Lᵈ Howard of Bindon sonne of Thomas Duke of Norfo: whose mother was Elisabeth daughter of Edward Duke of Buckingham.

Anno 1625 insculptum a Guilh: Paßeo Londinum.

TO THE ILLVSTRIOVS AND MOST NOBLE PRINCESSE, the Lady FRANCIS, Dutcheſſe of RICHMOND and LENOX.

May it pleaſe your Grace,

This Hiſtory, as for the rarities and varietie of the ſubiect, ſo much more for the iudicious eyes it is like to vndergoe, and moſt of all for that great *Name*, whereof it dareth implore Protection, might and ought to haue beene clad in better robes then my rude military hand can cut out in Paper Ornaments. But becauſe, of the moſt things therein, I am no Compiler by heare ſay, but haue beene a reall Actor; I take my ſelfe to haue a propertie in them: and therefore haue beene bold to challenge them to come vnder the reach of my owne rough Pen. That, which hath beene indured and paſſed through with hardſhip and danger, is thereby ſweetned to the *Actor*, when he becometh the *Relator*. I haue deeply hazarded my ſelfe in doing and ſuffering, and why ſhould I ſticke to hazard my reputation in Recording? He that acteth two parts is the more borne withall if he come ſhort, or fayle in one of them. Where ſhall we looke to finde a *Iulius Cæſar*, whoſe atchieuements ſhine as cleare in his owne Commentaries, as they did in the field? I confeſſe, my hand, though able to weild a weapon among the Barbarous, yet well may trem-

ble in handling a Pen among ſo many *Indicious* : eſpecially when I am ſo bold as to call ſo piercing, and ſo glorious an *Eye*, as your *Grace*, to view theſe poore ragged lines.

Yet my comfort is, that heretofore honorable and vertuous *Ladies*, and comparable but amongſt themſelues, haue offred me reſcue and protection in my greateſt dangers: even in forraine parts, I haue felt reliefe from that ſex. The beauteous Lady *Tragabigzanda*, when I was a ſlaue to the *Turkes*, did all ſhe could to ſecure me. When I overcame the *Baſhaw* of *Nalbrits* in *Tartaria*, the charitable Lady *Callamata* ſupplyed my neceſſities. In the vtmoſt of many extremities, that bleſſed *Pokahontas*, the great Kings daughter of *Virginia*, oft ſaved my life. When I eſcaped the crueltie of Pirats and moſt furious ſtormes, a long time alone in a ſmall Boat at Sea, and driven aſhore in *France*, the good Lady *Madam Chanoyes*, bountifully aſſiſted me.

And ſo verily theſe my adventures haue taſted the ſame *influence* from your *Gratious hand*, which hath given birth to the publication of this *Narration*. If therefore your *Grace* ſhall daigne to caſt your eye on this poore Booke, view I pray you rather your owne *Bountie* (without which it had dyed in the wombe) then my *imperfections*, which haue no helpe but the ſhrine of your *glorious Name* to be ſheltered from cenſorious condemnation. Vouchſafe ſome glimpſe of your honorable *aſpect*, to accept theſe my labours; to protect them vnder the ſhadow of your excellent *Name*: which will inable them to be preſented to the *Kings royall Maieſtie*, the moſt admired Prince *Charles*, and the *Queene* of *Bohemia*: your ſweet Recommendations will make it the worthier of their good countenances. And as all my endevours are their due tribute: ſo this Page ſhall record to poſteritie, that my ſervice ſhall be to pray to *God*, that you may ſtill continue the renowned of your ſexe, the moſt honored of men, and the highly bleſſed of *God*.

Your Graces *faithfull*
and devoted ſervant,

IOHN SMITH.

¶ A Preface of foure Poynts.

I. THis plaine Hiſtory humbly ſheweth the truth; that our moſt royall King Iames hath place and opportunitie to inlarge his ancient Dominions without wronging any; (which is a condition moſt agreeable to his moſt iuſt & pious reſolutions,) and the Prince his Highneſs may ſee where to plant new Colonies. The gaining Prouinces addeth to the Kings Crown: but the reducing Heathen people to ciuilitie and true Religion, bringeth honour to the King of Heauen. If his Princely wiſedome and powerfull hand, renowned through the world for admirable gouernment, pleaſe but to ſet theſe new Eſtates into order; their compoſure will be ſingular: the counſell of diuers is confuſed; the generall Stocke is conſumed; nothing but the touch of the Kings ſacred hand can erect a Monarchy.

II. Moſt noble Lords and worthy Gentlemen, it is your Honors that haue imployed great paines and large expence in laying the foundation of this State, wherein much hath beene buried vnder ground, yet ſome thing hath ſprung vp, and giuen you a taſte of your aduentures. Let no difficulties alter your noble intentions. The action is an honour to your Country: and the iſſue may well reimburſe you your ſummes expended. Our practices haue hitherto beene but aſſayes, and are ſtill to be amended. Let your bountie ſupply the neceſſities of weake beginnings, and your excellent iudgements rectifie the proceedings; the returne cannot chooſe in the end but bring you good Commodities, and good contentments, by your aduancing ſhipping and fiſhing ſo vſefull vnto our Nation.

III. Yee valiant and generous ſpirits, perſonall poſſeſſors of theſe new-found Territories, baniſh from among you Cowardiſe, couetouſnes, iealouſies, and idlenes, enemies to the raiſing your honours and fortunes; vertue, induſtry, and amitie, will make you good and great, and your merits liue to enſuing Ages. You that in contempt of neceſſities, hazard your liues and eſtates, imploying your ſtudies & labours in theſe faire endeuours, liue and proſper as I deſire my ſoule ſhould proſper.

IIII. For my ſelfe let emulation and enuie ceaſe, I ever intended my actions ſhould be vpright: now my care hath beene that my Relations ſhould giue every man they concerne, their due. But had I not diſcouered and liued in the moſt of thoſe parts, I could not poſſibly haue collected the ſubſtantiall truth from ſuch a number of variable Relations, that would haue made a Volume at leaſt of a thouſand ſheets. Though the beginning may ſeeme harſh in regard of the Antiquities, breuitie, and names; a pleaſanter Diſcourſe enſues. The ſtile of a Souldier is not eloquent, but honeſt and iuſtifiable; ſo I deſire all my friends and well-wiſhers to excuſe and accept it, and if any be ſo noble as to reſpect it, he that brought New England to light, though long ſince brought in obſcuritie, he is againe to be found a true ſeruant to all good deſignes.

So I ever reſt yours to command,

IOHN SMITH

A Gentleman desirous to be vnknowne, yet a great Benefactor to *Virginia*, his loue to the Author, the Company, and History.

STay, reade, behold, skill, courage, knowledge, Arts ;
Wonder of Nature : Mirror *of our Clime.*
Mars, Vulcan, Neptune *striue to haue their parts,*
Rare Ornaments, rich honours of our time.

From far fetcht Indies, *and* Virginia's *soyle,*
Here Smith *is come to shew his Art and skill :*
He was the Smith *that hammered famins soyle,*
And on Powhatan's *Emperour had his will.*

Though first Colũbus, Indies *true* Christofer;
Cabots, *brane* Florida, *much admirer ;*
Meta Incognita, *rare* Martin Frobisher ; (rer;
Gilberts *brane* Humphery, Neptunes *deuon-*

Captaine Amadis, Raleighs *discouerer ;*
Sir Richard Grenvill, Zealands *brane coaster:*
Drake, *doomes, drowne, death,* Spaines *scorner;*
Gosnolds *Relater,* Pring *prime obserner.*

Though these be gone, and left behinde a name,
Yet Smith *is here to Anvile out a peece*
To after Ages, and eternall Fame,
That we may haue the golden Iasons *fleece.*

He Vulcan *like did forge a true Plantation,*
And chain'd their Kings, to his immortall glory ;
Restoring peace and plentie to the Nation,
Regaining honour to this worthy Story.

By him the Infidels *had due correction,*
He blew the bellowes still of peace and plentie :
He made the Indians *bow vnto subiection,*
And Planters ne're return'd to Albion *empty.*

The Colonies pin'd, starv'd, staring, bones so feeble,
By his braue proiects, proued strong againe :
The Soulders' lowance he did seeke to treble,
And made the Salvage *in vncouth place remaine.*

He left the Countrey in prosperous happie state,
And plenty flood with peace at each mans doore :
Regarding not the Salvage *loue nor hate :*
Themselues grew well, the Indias *wondrous poore.*

This there he did and now is home return'd,
To shew vs all that never thither goe :
That in his heart, he deepely oft hath mourn'd,
Because the Action goeth on so slow.

Wise, Rich, prize
graue,
Brane, Benefactors,
Replant, want, continue still good Actors.

and finde, bring
kinde,
Be eyes
By Gods great might, giue Indians *sight.* to blind ;

Blond, to
money,
Spend doe that good,
That may giue Indians *heau'nly food.*

no lesse,
God you
And still
Both you and yours the Lands possesse.

S. M.

See here beheld as in a Glasse,
All that is, or is and was.

T. T. 1624.

Samuel Purchas of his friend Captaine *Iohn Smith*, and his *Virginia*.

LOe here SMITHS *Forge, where Forgery's Roague-branded,*
True Pegasus *is shoo'd, fetters are forged*
For Silke-ſotts, Milk-ſops, baſe Sloth, farre hence landed,
*(Soile-chang'd, *Sonle-ſoil'd ſtill)* Englands *dregs diſcharged,*
To plant (ſupplant!) Virginia, *home-diſgorged:*
where vertues praiſe frames good men Stories armour
'Gainſt Time, Achilles-*like, with beſt Arts charged;*
Pallas, *all-arm'd, all-learn'd, can teach Sword-Grammer,*
Can Pens of Pikes; Armes t' Arts; to Scholar, Souldier, hammer:

Can Pilgrim *make a* Maker; *all ſo well*
Hath taught Smith *ſcoure my ruſtie out-worne* Muſe,
And ſo coniur'd her in Virginian *Cell,*
That things vn'learned long by want of vſe,
Shee freſh areeds me read, without abuſe
By fabling. Arthurs *great Acts little made*
By greater lies ſhe ſaith; ſeales Faith excuſe
T' Iſland, Groonland, Eſtotiland *to wade*
After lie-legends; Malgo, Brandon, *are Wares braide.*

The Fryer of Linne [b] *frights her with his black Art;*
Nor Britiſh Bards *can tell where* Madoc [c] *planted.*
Cabots, Thorns, Elyots *truth haue wonne her heart,*
Eldeſt diſcov'rers of New Worlds Cont'nent (granted
So had iuſt Fates.) Colon *and* Veſpuce *panted;*
This got the name [d], *laſt, leaſt of Three; the Other*
New Worlds Iſles found firſt: Cabot *is moſt chanted*
In Three-Mens-ſong; did more New World diſcover
Then both, then any; an hundred degrees coaſted ouer.

Haile Sir Sebaſtian, Englands *Northern Pole,*
Virginia's *finder; Virgin* Eliza *nam'd it,*
Gaue't Raleigh. (Rut, Prat, Hore, *I not enrole)*
Amadas *vites to* Engliſh *right firſt fram'd it.*
Lane *planted, return'd, nor had* Engliſh *tam'd it:*
Greenviles *and* Whites *men all ſtaine; New Plantation*
IAMES *founds, Sloth confounds, feare, pride, faction ſham'd it:*
Smiths *Forge mends all, makes chaines for* Savage *Nation,*
Frees, feeds the reſt; the reſt reade in his Bookes Relation.

* Eclum tum dixinum mutabit

[a] Theſe are ſaid a thouſad yeares agoe to haue beene in the North parts of *America.*

[b] He is ſaid to diſcover the Pole 1360.

[c] *Madoc ap Owen* Planted ſome remote Weſtern parts. 1176.

[d] *Americus* named of *Americus Veſpucius*, which diſcovered ies then *Colon* or Sir *Sebaſtian Cabot*, and the Continent later. *Colō* firſt found the Iſles 1492. the Continent 1498. About a yeare after *Cabot* had don it, He was ſet forth by *Henry 7.* and after by *Hen. 8.* Knighted, and made grand Pilot of *England* by *Ed. 6* Vnder whō he procured the ſending of Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, & diſcovery of *Gretland* and *Ruſſia*: having by himſelf diſcovered on *America* frō 67 North lat. to neere 40 South.

Thomas Macarneſſe to his worthy friend and Countryman, Captaine *Iohn Smith.*

VVHo loues to liue at home, yet looke abroad,
And know both paſſen and vnpaſſen road,
The prime Plantation of an vnknowne ſhore,
The men, the manners, fruitfulneſſe, and ſtore:
Read but this little Booke, and then confeſſe,
The leſſe thou lik'it and lou'it, thou liu'it the leſſe.

He writ it with great labour, for thy good,
Twice ouer, new in paper, ſore in blood;
It coſt him deare, both paines, without an ayme
Of private profit, for thy publicke gaine.
That thou might'ſt read and know and ſafely ſee,
What he by practice, thou by Theoree.

Commend him for his loyall loving heart,
Or elſe come mend him, and take thou his part.

To his friend Captaine *Iohn Smith*, and his Worke.

I Know not how Deſert more great can riſe,
Then out of Danger t'aue for good mens Good;
Nor who doth better winne th'Olympian prize,
Than he whoſe Countryes Honor ſtirres his bloud;
Priuate reſpects haue priuate expectation,
Publicke deſignes, ſhould publiſh reputation.

This Gentleman whoſe Volumne heere is ſtoard
With ſtrange diſcoverie of GODS ſtrangeſt Creatures,
Giues vs full view, how he hath Sayl'd, and Oar'd,
And March't, full many myles, whoſe rough deſeatures,
Hath beene as bold, as puiſſant, vp to binde
Their barbarous ſtrengths, to follow him dog-linde.

But wit, nor valour, now adayes payes ſcores
For eſtimation; all goes now by wealth,
Or friends; tuſh! thruſt the begger out of doores
That is not Purſe-fyn'd; thoſe which liue by ſtealth
Shall haue their haunts; no matter what's the gueſt
In many places; nomes well come beſt.

But thoſe who well diſcerne, eſteeme not ſo:
Nor I of thee braue Smith, that haſt beat out
Thy Iron thoughts, though I but little know
To what t'haſt come; yet I in this am ſtout:
My thoughts, maps to my minde ſome accidents,
That makes mee ſee thy greater preſidents.

Io: Done.

To my worthy friend Captaine *Iohn Smith.*

HOw great a part of knowledge had wee loſt,
Both of Virginia *and the* Summer Iſles,
Had not thy carefull diligence and coſt
Inform'd vs thus, with thy induſtrious ſtile!
Like Cæſar *now thou writ'ſt what thou haſt done,*
Theſe acts, this Booke will liue while ther's a Sunne.

Edw: Worſeley.

To his much reſpected Friend Captaine *Iohn Smith.*

ENvie *avant. For* Smith, *whoſe* Anvill *was* Experience,
Could take his heat, *knew how and when to* Strike,
Wrought well this Peece; *till* After-negligence
Miſtaking temper, *Cold, or* Scorch'd; *or like*
Vnskilfull workmen, that can never Fyle
Nor Polliſh *it, that takes in* Forge *ſuch toyle:*
Heere *Noble* Smith, *thou ſhewe'ſt the* Temper *true,*
*Which other Tampring-*Tempres *never knew.*

Ro: Norton.

To his loving friend Captaine *Iohn Smith.*

VV*Here actions ſpeake the praiſes of a man,*
There, Pennes that vſe to flatter ſilent be,
Or if they ſpeake, it is to ſcorne or ſcanne;
For ſuch with vertue ſeldome doe agree.

When I looke backe on all thy labours paſt,
Thy travels, perils, loſſes oft ſuſtaind
By Sea and Land; and (which is worſt and laſt)
Neglect *or* ſmall reward, *ſo dearely gaind.*

I doe admire thy ſtill vndanted ſpirit;
vnwearied yet to worke thy Countries good.
This be thy praiſe then, due vnto thy merit;
For it th'haſt venter'd life; and loſt thy blood.

1. 2. 3. 1. 2. 3.
Truth, travayle, and Neglect, pure, painefull, moſt vnkinde,

1. 2. 3. 1. 2. 3.
Doth proue, conſume, diſmay, the ſoule, the corps, the minde.

Edw: Ingham.

To my deare friend by true Vertue ennobled Captaine *Iohn Smith.*

M*Ore then enough I cannot thee commend:*
Whoſe both abilities and Loue doe tend
So to advance the good of that Eſtate,
By Engliſh *charge, and Planters propagate*
Through heapes of painfull hazards; in the firſt
Of which, that Colony *thy Care hath nurſt.*
And often that effected but with ten
That after thee, and now, three hundred men

Haue faild in, 'mong the Salvages; *who ſhake*
At bruit of Thee, as Spaine *at Name of* Drake.
Which well appeares; conſidering the while
Thou gouernedſt, nor force of theirs, ne guile
Leſſend a man of thine; but ſince (I rue)
In Brittiſh *blood they deeply did imbrue*
Their Heathen hands. And (truth to ſay) weſee,
Our ſelues wee loſt, vntimely leaving Thee.
Nor yet perceiue I any got betweene
Thee and thy merit; which hath better beene
In prayſe; or profit much; if counted iuſt;
Free from the Weales abuſe, or wronged truſt.
Some few particulars *perhaps haue ſped;*
But wherein hath the publicke *proſpered?*
Or is there more of thoſe Vaſt Countries knowne,
Then by thy Labours and Relations ſhowne
Firſt, beſt? And ſhall wee loue Thee now the leſſe?
Farre be it! fit condignely to expreſſe
Thankes, by new Charge, or recompence; by whom,
Such paſt good hath, ſuch future good may come.

David Wiffin.

Noble Captaine *Smith*, my worthy Friend

NOt like the Age wherein thou liu'ſt, to lie
Buried in baſeneſſe, ſloth, or Ribaldrie
(For moſt doe thus) haſt thou thy ſelfe applide;
But, in faire Actions, Merits height deſcride:
Which (like foure Theaters to ſet thee forth)
The worlds foure Quarters teſtifie thy worth.
*The laſt whereof (*America*) beſt ſhowes*
Thy paines, and prayſe; and what to thee ſhee owes,
(Although thy Sommer ſhone on th' Elder Three,
In as great Deeds as great varietie)
*For opening to Her Selfe Her Selfe, in Two**
Of Her large Members; Now Ours, *to our view.*
Thereby endearing vs to thy deſart,
That doubly doſt them to our hands impart;
There *by thy* Worke, Heere *by thy* Workes; *By each*
Maiſt thou Fames laſting Wreath (for guerdon) reach.
And ſo become, in after Times t' enſue,
A Preſident for others, So *to doe.*

William Grent.

**Virginia* now inhabited, and *New-England.*

To his worthily affected Friend, Captaine *Iohn Smith.*

AMongſt ſo many that by learned skill,
Haue given iuſt prayſe to thee, and to thy Booke,
Deare friend receiue this pledge of my good will,
Whereon, if thou with acceptation looke,
And thinke it worthie, ranke amongſt the reſt:
Vſe thy diſcretion, I haue done my beſt.

Ανώνυμος.

The

The Contents of the generall Hiſtory, divided into ſix Books.

The firſt Booke.

1170 THE *firſt voyage to the new World, by* Madock *Prince of Wales. The next by* Hanno *Prince of Carthage, and how it was offred K.* Hen. *7. by*
1488 Chr. Cullumbus, *that undertooke it for*
1492 *the* Spanyards. 1492.

How Iohn Cabot *was imployed by King*
1497 Hen. *the 7. and found the Continent before*
1576 Cullumbus. *Alſo Sir* Martin Frobiſher,
1583 *and Sir* Humphrey Gilbert *ranged to-*
1584 *wards the North. And how Captaine* Amidas *was ſent to diſcover the coaſt of* Florida *by Sir* Water Raleigh *and his aſſociates. And the Country* Wingandacoa *was called* Virginia *by Queene* Elizabeth. *Page* 1—4.

1585 *Sir* Richard Greenvill *ſent thither with 108. he left for a plantation. The diſcovery of the Rivers* Chawonok *and* Moratoc. *The trechery of their King, who with eight more were ſlaine, and they all returned to* England *againe the ſame yeare with Sir* Francis Drake. *pag.* 5—9.

The Obſervations of Maſter Heriot. *Of their commodities, victuall, fruits, beaſts, fiſhes, and foules. Their Religion, and beliefe of God, of the Creation of the world, and man; the immortalitie of the ſoule; the ſubtiltie of their Prieſts; the peoples ſimplicitie, and deſire of ſalvation; and other Accidents. pag.* 9—12.

1586 *Sir* Rich: Greenvill *ſent to ſupply them. Not finding them, left fiftie. Their ſucceſſe. page* 13.

1587 *Maſter* White *ſent to relieve them, found they were all ſlaine, yet left* 115. *more, and departed.*

1589 *Returning the ſecond time, he could not heare of them; his Obſervations and Accidents. pag.* 14—16.

1602 *A diſcovery by Captaine* Goſnoll *of* Elizabeths *Iſles; his Obſervations, Relations, and returne. pag.* 17. 18.

1603 *The voyage of Captaine* Pring *to the ſame Coaſt.*

1605 *The diſcovery of Captaine* Waymouth; *his Obſervations, Relations, and returne. pag.* 18—20.

A Map of the old Virginia, *with the figures of the* Salvages.

The ſecond Booke.

Of *Virginia* now planted, diſcovered by Captaine SMITH.

THE *Latitude, Temperature, and Capes;* 1606
a deſcription of Chiſapeack *Bay, and ſeaven navigable Rivers that fall into it, with their ſeverall Inhabitants, and diverſitie of Language. pag.* 21—25.

Of things growing Naturally, as woods, fruits, gummes, berries, herbs, roots; alſo of beaſts, birds, and fiſhes; how they divide the yeare, prepare their ground, plant their corne, and uſe it, and other victuall. pag. 25—29.

What commodities may be had by induſtry. The deſcription of the people, their numbers, conſtitutions, diſpoſitions, attyre, buildings, lodgings and gardens, their uſage of children, ſtriking of fire, making their Bowes and Arrowes, knives, ſwords, targets, and boats: how they ſpinne, make fiſh-hooks, and ginnes, and their order of hunting. Conſultations and order in Warres. pag. 29—33.

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love. 40 sayle fished there this yeare; the religion of the Salvages; the government; an answer to obiections; considerations; the charges; the order of the Westerne men. p. 140—142.
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1624 mouth, and order of government.

Its not his part that is the best Translator,
To render word for word to every Author.

HOW ANCIENT AVTHORS REPORT, THE NEVV-VVORLD,

Now called *America*, was diſcovered: and part thereof firſt Planted by the ENGLISH, called VIRGINIA, *with the Accidents and Proceedings of the ſame.*

The firſt Booke.

FOR the Stories of *Arthur*, *Malgo*, and *Brandon*, that ſay a thouſand yeares agoe they were in the North of *America*; or the Fryer of *Linn* that by his blacke Art went to the North pole in the yeare 1360. in that I know them not. Let this ſuffice.

The Chronicles of *Wales* report, that *Madock*, ſonne to *Owen Guineth*, Prince of *Wales* ſeeing his two brethren at debate who ſhould inherit, prepared certaine Ships, with men and munition, and left his Country to ſeeke aduentures by Sea: leauing *Ireland* North he ſayled weſt till he came to a Land vnknowne. Returning home and relating what pleaſant and fruitfull Countries he had ſeene without Inhabitants, and for what barren ground his brethren and kindred did murther one another, he provided a number of Ships, and got with him ſuch men and women as were deſirous to liue in quietneſſe, that arriued with him in this new Land in the yeare 1170: Left many of his people there and returned for more. But where this place was no Hiſtory can ſhow. 1170.

The *Spanyards* ſay *Hanno* a Prince of *Carthage* was the firſt: and the next *Chriſtopher Cullumbus*, a Genoeſian, whom they ſent to diſcover thoſe vnknowne parts. 1492. 1492.

But we finde by Records, *Cullumbus* offered his ſeruice in the yeare 1488. to King *Henry* the ſeauenth; and by accident vndertooke it for the *Spanyards*. In the Interim King *Henry* gaue a Commiſſion to *Iohn Cabot*, and his three ſonnes, *Sebaſtian*, *Lewis*, and *Santius*. *Iohn* and *Sebaſtian* well provided, ſetting ſayle, ranged a great part of this vnknowne world, in the yeare 1497. For though *Cullumbus* had found certaine Iles, it was 1498. ere he ſaw the Continent, which was a yeare after *Cabot*. Now *Americus* came a long time after, though the whole Continent to this day is called *America* after his name, yet *Sebaſtian Cabot* diſcovered much more then them all, for he ſayled to about forty degrees Southward of the lyne, and to ſixty-ſeauen towards the North: for which King *Henry* the eight Knighted him and made him grand Pilate of *England*. Being very aged King *Edward* the ſixt gaue him a Pention of 166l. 13s. 4d. yearely. By his directions Sir *Hugh Willoughby* was ſent to finde out the Country of *Ruſſia*, but the next yeare he was found frozen to death in his Ship, and all his Company. 1497.

Mr *Martin Frobiſher* was ſent in the yeare 1576. by our moſt gracious Queene *Elizabeth*, to ſearch for the Northweſt paſſage, and *Meta incognita*; for which he was Knighted, honored, and well rewarded. 1576.

Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* a worthy Knight attempted a Plantation in ſome of thoſe parts: and obtained Letters Pattents to his deſire: but with this *Proviſo*, He ſhould 1583.

maintaine poſſeſſion in ſome of thoſe vaſt Countries within the tearme of ſixe yeares. Yet when he was provided with a Navy able to incounter a Kings power, even here at home they fell in diuiſions, and ſo into confuſion, that they gaue over the Deſigne ere it was begun, notwithſtanding all this loſſe, his vndanted ſpirit began againe, but his Fleet fell with *New-found land*, and he periſhed in his returne, as at large you may read in the third Volume of the Engliſh Voyages, written by Mr *Hackluit*.

Vpon all thoſe Relations and inducements, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, a noble Gentleman, and then in great eſteeme, vndertooke to ſend to diſcover to the Southward. And though his occaſions and other imployments were ſuch he could not goe himſelfe, yet he procured her Maieſties Letters Patents, and perſwaded many worthy Knights and Gentlemen to adventure with him to finde a place fit for a Plantation. Their Proceedings followeth.

1584. The moſt famous, renowned, and euer worthy of all memory, for her courage, learning, iudgement, and vertue, Queene *Elizabeth*, granted her Letters Patents to Sir *Walter Raleigh* for the diſcovering and planting new Lands & Countries, not actually poſſeſſed by any Chriſtians. This Patenty got to be his aſſiſtants Sir *Richard Grenvell* the valiant, Mr *William Sanderſon* a great friend to all ſuch noble and worthy actions, and divers other Gentlemen and Marchants, who with all ſpeede prouided two ſmall Barkes well furniſhed with all neceſſaries, vnder the command of Captaine *Philip Amidas* and Captaine *Barlow*. The 27. of Aprill they ſet ſayle from the Thames, the tenth of May paſſed the *Canaries*, and the tenth of Iune the Weſt Indies: which vnneedfull Southerly courſe, (but then no better was knowne) occaſioned them in that ſeaſon much ſickneſſe.

Their arrivall. The ſecond of Iuly they fell with the coaſt of *Florida* in ſhoule water, where they felt a moſt dilicate ſweete ſmell, though they ſaw no land, which ere long they eſpied, thinking it the Continent: an hundred and twenty myles they ſayled not finding any harbor. The firſt that appeared, with much difficulty they entred, and anchored, and after thankes to God they went to view the next Land adioyning to take poſſeſſion of it for the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie: which done, they found their firſt landing place very ſandy and low, but ſo full of grapes that the very ſurge of the Sea ſometimes over-flowed them: of which they found ſuch plenty in all places, both on the ſand, the greene ſoyle and hils, as in the plaines as well on euery little ſhrub, as alſo climbing towardes the tops of high Cedars, that they did thinke in the world were not the like abundance.

Abundance of Grapes.

The Ile of *Wokokon*. We paſſed by the Sea-ſide towards the tops of the next hills being not high: from whence we might ſee the Sea on both ſides, and found it an Ile of twentie myles in length, and ſix in breadth, the vallyes repleniſhed with goodly tall Cedars. Diſcharging our Muskets, ſuch a flocke of Cranes, the moſt white, aroſe by vs, with ſuch a cry as if an Army of men had ſhouted altogether. This Ile hath many goodly Woods, and Deere, Conies, and Foule in incredible abundance, and vſing the Authors owne phraſe, the Woods are not ſuch as you finde in *Bohemia*, *Moſcovia*, or *Hercinia*, barren and fruitleſſe, but the higheſt and reddeſt Cedars of the world, bettering them of the Aſſores, Indies, or *Libanus*: Pynes, Cypres, Saxefras, the Lentiſk that beareth Maſtick, and many other of excellent ſmell and qualitie. Till the third day we ſaw not any of the people, then in a little Boat three of them appeared, one of them went on ſhore, to whom wee rowed, and he attended vs without any ſigne of feare; after he had ſpoke much though we vnderſtood not a word, of his owne accord he came boldly aboord vs, we gaue him a ſhirt, a hat, wine and meate, which he liked well, and after he had well viewed the barkes and vs, he went away in his owne Boat, and within a quarter of a myle of vs in halfe an houre, had loaden his Boat with fiſh, with which he came againe to the poynt of land, and there devided it in two parts, poynting one part to the Ship, the other to the Pinnace, and ſo departed.

In *Lybanus* are not many.

Conference with a Salvage.

The

The next day came diuers Boats, and in one of them the Kings Brother, with forty or fifty men, proper people, and in their behauiour very ciuill; his name was *Granganameo*, the King is called *Wingina*, the Country *Wingandacoa*. Leauing his Boats a little from our Ships, he came with his trayne to the poynt: where ſpreading a Matte he ſat downe. Though we came to him well armed, he made ſignes to vs to ſit downe without any ſhew of feare, ſtroking his head and breſt, and alſo ours, to expreſſe his loue. After he had made a long ſpeech vnto vs, we preſented him with diuers toyes, which he kindly accepted. He was greatly regarded by his people, for none of them did ſit, nor ſpeake a word, but toure, on whom we beſtowed preſents alſo, but he tooke all from them, making ſignes all things did belong to him. The Arriuall of the Kings brother.

The King himſelfe in a conflict with a King his next neighbour and mortall enemy, was ſhot in two places through the body, and the thigh, yet recouered: whereby he lay at his chiefe towne ſix dayes iourney from thence.

A day or two after ſhewing them what we had, *Granganameo* taking moſt liking to a Pewter diſh, made a hole in it, hung it about his necke for a breſt-plate: for which he gaue vs twenty Deere skins, worth twenty Crownes; and for a Copper Kettell, fiftie skins, worth fiftie Crownes. Much other trucke we had, and after two dayes he came aboord, and did eate and drinke with vs very merrily. Not long after he brought his wife and children, they were but of meane ſtature, but well fauoured and very baſhfull; ſhe had a long coat of Leather, and about her priuities a peece of the ſame, about her forehead a band of white Corrall, and ſo had her husband, in her eares were bracelets of pearle, hanging downe to her middle, of the bignetſe of great Peaſe; the reſt of the women had Pendants of Copper, and the Noblemen fiue or ſixe in an eare; his apparrell as his wiues, onely the women weare their haire long on both ſides, and the men but on one; they are of colour yellow, but their hayre is blacke, yet we ſaw children that had very fayre Cheſnut coloured hayre. Trade with the Salvages.

After that theſe women had beene here with vs, there came downe from all parts great ſtore of people, with Leather, Corrall, and diuers kinde of dyes, but when *Granganameo* was preſent, none durſt trade but himſelfe, and them that wore red Copper on their heads, as he did. When euer he came, he would ſignifie by ſo many fires he came with ſo many boats, that we might know his ſtrength. Their Boats are but one great tree, which is but burnt in the forme of a trough with gins and fire, till it be as they would haue it. For an armour he would haue ingaged vs a bagge of pearle, but we refuſed, as not regarding it, that wee might the better learn where it grew. He was very iuſt of his promiſe, for ofe we truſted him, and he would come within his day to keepe his word. He ſent vs commonly euery day a brace of Bucks, Conies, Hares, and fiſh, ſometimes Mellons, Walnuts, Cucumbers, Peaſe, and diuers rootes. This Author ſayth, their corne groweth three times in fiue moneths; in May they ſow, in Iuly reape; in Iune they ſow, in Auguſt reape; in Iuly ſow, in Auguſt reape. We put ſome of our Peaſe in the ground, which in ten dayes were 14. ynches high. *Note.*

The ſoyle is moſt plentifull, ſweete, wholeſome, and fruitfull of all other, there are about 14. ſeuerall ſorts of ſweete ſwelling tymber trees: the moſt parts of the vnderwood, Bayes and ſuch like: ſuch Okes as we, but far greater and better. After this acquaintance, my ſelfe with ſeauen more went twenty myle into the Riuer *Occam*, that runneth toward the Cittie *Skicoack*, and the euening following we came to an Ile called *Roanoak*, from the harbour where we entred 7. leagues; at the North end was 9. houſes, builded with Cedar, fortified round with ſharpe trees, and the entrance like a Turnpik. When we came towards it, the wife of *Granganameo* came running out to meete vs, (her husband was abſent) commanding her people to draw our Boat aſhore for beating on the billowes, other ſhe appoynted to carry vs on their backes aland, others to bring our Ores into the houſe for The Ile *Roanoak*. The great courteſie of a Woman.

ſtealing. When we came into the other roome, (for there was fiue in the houſe) ſhe cauſed vs to ſit downe by a great fire; after tooke off our clothes and waſhed them, of ſome our ſtockings, and ſome our feete in warme water, and ſhe her ſelfe tooke much paines to ſee all things well ordered, and to prouide vs victuall.

A banquet. After we had thus dryed our ſelues, ſhe brought vs into an Inner roome, where ſhe ſet on the bord ſtanding a long the houſe ſomewhat like frumentie, ſodden veniſon, and roſted fiſh; in like manner mellons raw, boyled rootes and fruites of diuers kindes. There drinke is commonly water boyled with Ginger, ſometimes with Saxefras, and wholſome herbes, but whileſt the Grape laſteth they drinke wine. More loue ſhe could not expreſſe to entertaine vs; they care but onely to defend themſelues from the ſhort winter, and feede on what they finde naturall in ſommer. In this feaſting houſe was their Idoll of whom they tould vs vncredible things. When we were at meate two or three of her men came amongſt vs with their Bowes and Arrowes, which cauſed vs to take our armes in hand. She perceiuing our diſtruſt, cauſed their Bowes and Arrowes to be broken, and they beaten out of the gate: but the euening approaching we returned to our boate, where at ſhe much grieuing brought our ſupper halfe boyled, pots and all, but when ſhe ſaw vs, but put our boat a little off from the ſhoar and lye at Anchor, perceiuing our Ieloulie, ſhe ſent diuers men & 30. women to ſit al night on the ſhoare ſide againſt vs, and ſent vs fiue Mats to couer vs from the raine, doing all ſhe could to perſwade vs to her houſe. Though there was no cauſe of doubt, we would not aduenture: for on our ſafety depended the voyage: but a more kinde louing people cannot be. Beyond this Ile is the maine land and the great riuer *Occam*, on which ſtandeth a Towne called *Pomiock*, and ſix dayes higher, their City *Skicoak*: thoſe people neuer ſaw it, but ſay there fathers affirme it to be aboue two houres iourney about. Into this riuer falleth an other called *Cipo*, where is found many Muſtells wherein are Pearles: likewiſe another Riuer called *Nomapona*, on the one ſide whereof ſtandeth a great towne called *Chawanock*, the Lord of the Country is not ſubiect to *Wingandacoa*. Beyond him an other king they cal *Menatonon*. Theſe 3. are in league each with other. Towards the ſouth 4. dayes iourney is *Sequotan*, the ſouthermoſt part of *Wingandacoa*.

Skicoat a great towne.

Adioyning to *Secotan* beginneth the country *Pomouik*, belonging to the King called *Piemacum*, in the Country *Nuſiok* vpon the great riuer *Neus*. Theſe haue mortall warres with *Wingina*, King of *Wingandacoa*. Betwixt *Piemacum* and the Lord of *Secotan*, a peace was concluded: notwithſtanding there is a mortall malice in the *Secotans*, becauſe this *Piemacum* invited diuers men, and 30. women to a feaſt, and when they were altogether merry before their Idoll, which is but a meere illuſion of the Deuill, they ſudainly ſlew all the men of *Secotan*, and kept the women for their vſe. Beyond *Roanoak* are many Iſles full of fruits and other Naturall increaſes, with many Townes a long the ſide of the Continent. Thoſe Iles lye 200. myles in length, and betweene them and the mayne, a great long ſea, in ſome places. 20. 40. or 50. myles broad, in other more, ſomewhere leſſe. And in this ſea are 100. Iles of diuers bigneſſes, but to get into it, you haue but 3. paſſages and they very dangerous. Though this you ſee for moſt part be but the relations of Saluages, becauſe it is the firſt, I thought it not a miſſe to remember them as they are written by them that returned & ariued in *England* about the middeſt of *September* the ſame yeare. This diſcouery was ſo welcome into *England* that it pleaſed her Maieſtie to call this Country of *Wingandacoa*, *Virginia*, by which name now you are to vnderſtand how it was planted, diſolued, reuned, and enlarged,

Pomeyik.

How the Country was called *Virginia*.

The Performers of this voyage were theſe following.

Philip Amadas. *Arthur Barlow.* } Captaines

William Grenuill. *Iohn Wood.* *Iames Brownewich.* *Henry Greene.* *Beniamen Wood.* *Simon Ferdinando.* *Nicholas Peryman.* *Iohn Hewet.* } Of the Companie.

Sir

Sir Richard Grenuills voyage to Virginia, for Sir Walter Raleigh. 1585.

THe 9 of *Aprill* he departed from *Plimouth* with 7. ſayle: the chiefe men with him in command, were Maſter *Ralph Layne*, Maſter *Thomas Candiſh*, Maſter *Iohn Arundel*, Maſter *Stukley*, Maſter *Bremige*, Maſter *Vincent*, Maſter *Heryot* and Maſter *Iohn Clarke*. The 14. day we fell with the *Canaries*, and the 7. of *May* with *Dominico* in the Weſt *Indies*: we landed at *Portorico*, after with much a doe at *Izabella* on the north *of Hiſpaniola*, paſſing by many Iles. Vpon the 20. we fell with the mayne of *Florida*, and were put in great danger vpon Cape *Fear*. The 26. we Anchored at *Wocokon*, where the admiral had like to beene caſt away, preſently we ſent to *Wingina* to *Roanoak*, and Maſter *Arundell* went to the mayne, with *Manteo* a ſaluage, and that day to *Croton*. The 11. The Generall victualed for 8. dayes, with a ſelected company went to the maine, and diſcouered the Townes of *Pomeiok*, *Aquaſcogoc*, *Secotan*, and the great Lake called *Paquipe*. At *Aquaſcogoc* the Indians ſtole a ſiluer Cup, wherefore we burnt the Towne and ſpoyled their corne, ſo returned to our fleete at *Tocokon*. Whence we wayed for *Hatorask*, where we reſted, and *Granganimeo*, King *Wingina's* brother with *Manteo* came abord our Admirall, the Admirall went for *Weapomeiok*, & Maſter *Iohn Arundell* for *England*. Our Generall in his way home tooke a rich loaden ſhip of 300. tunns, with which he arriued at *Plimouth* the 18. of *September*. 1585.

Sir Richard Grenvils voyage. 1585.

Theſe were left vnder the command of Maſter *Ralph Layne* to inhabite the Country, but they returned within a yeare.

Philip Amidas Admirall.	*Maſter Kendall.*	*Maſter Antony Ruſſe.*
Maſter Thomas Heryot.	*Maſter Gardiner.*	*Maſter Allen.*
Maſter Acton.	*Maſter Predeox.*	*Maſter Michaell Polliſon.*
Maſter Stafford.	*Maſter Rogers.*	*Maſter Thomas Bockner.*
Maſter Thomas Luddington.	*Maſter Harvy.*	*Maſter Iames maſon.*
Maſter Maruyn.	*Maſter Snelling.*	*Maſter David Salter.*
Cap. Vaghan.		*Maſter Iames Skinner.*

With diuers others to the number of 108.

Touching the moſt remarkeable things of the Country and our proceeding from the 17 of *Auguſt* 1585. till the 18. of *Iune* 1586. we made *Roanoack* our habitation. The vtmoſt of our diſcouery Southward was *Secotan* as we eſteemed 80. leagues from *Roanoake*. The paſſage from thence was thought a broad ſound within the maine, being without kenning of land, yet full of flats and ſhoulds that our Pinnaſſe could not paſſe, & we had but one boat with 4. ores, that would carry but 15. men with their prouiſions for 7. dayes: ſo that becauſe the winter approached we left thoſe diſcoueries till a ſtronger ſupply. To the Northward our fartheſt was to a Towne of the *Cheſapeacks*, from *Roanoack* 130. myles. The paſſage is very ſhallow and dangerous by reaſon of the breadth of the ſound and the little ſuccour for a ſtorme, but this teritory being 15. myles from the ſhoare, for pleaſantneſt of ſeate, for temporature of climate, fertility of ſoyle and comoditie of the Sea, beſides beares, good woods, *Saxefras*, *Walnuts &c.* is not to be excelled by any other whatſoeuer. Their firſt Plantation.

There be ſundry other Kings they call *Weroances* as the *Mangoacks*, *Tryppanks* and *oppoſians*, which came to viſit vs.

To the northweſt our fartheſt was *Chawonock* from *Roanoack* 130. myles our paſſage *Chawonock.*

paſſage lyeth through a broad ſound, but all freſh water, and the channell Nauigable for a Ship, but out of it full of ſhoules.

The townes by the way by the water, are *Paſſaquenock* the womens towne, *Chepanoc*, *Weapomeiok*; from *Muſcamunge* wee enter the riuer and iuriſdiction of *Chawonock*, there it beginneth to ſtraiten, and at *Chawonock* it is as *Thames* at *Lambeth*: betwixt them as we paſſed is goodly high land on the left hand, and there is a towne called *Ohanock*, where is a great corne field, it is ſubiect to *Chawonock*, which is the greateſt Prouince vpon the riuer, and the Towne it ſelfe can put ſeuen hundred men into the field, beſides the forces of the reſt. The King is lame, but hath more vnderſtanding then all the reſt.

Chawonock 700. men.

The riuer of *Moratoc* is more famous then all the reſt, and openeth into the ſound of *Weapomeiok*, and where there is but a very ſmall currant in *Chawonock*, it hath ſo ſtrong a currant from the Southweſt, as we doubted how to row againſt it. Strange things they report of the head of this riuer, and of *Moratoc* it ſelfe, a principall towne on it, & is thirtie or fortie dayes Iourney to the head. This lame King is called *Menatonon*. When I had him priſoner two dayes, he told mee that 3. dayes Iourney in a Canow vp the riuer *Chawonock*, then landing & going foure dayes Iourney Northeaſt, there is a King whoſe Country lyeth on the Sea, but his beſt place of ſtrength is an Iland in a Bay inuironed with deepe water, where he taketh that abundance of Pearle, that not onely his skins, and his nobles, but alſo his beds and houſes are garniſhed therewith. This kir g was at *Chawonock* two yeares agoe to trade with blacke pearle, his worſt ſort whereof I had a rope, but they were naught; but that King he ſayth hath ſtore of white, and had trafficke with white men, for whom he reſerued them; he promiſed me guides to him, but aduiſed me to goe ſtrong, for he was vnwilling ſtrangers ſhould come in his Country, for his Country is populous and valiant men. If a ſupply had come in Aprill, I reſolued to haue ſent a ſmall Barke to the Northward to haue found it, whileſt I with ſmall Boates and 200. men would haue gone to the head of the riuer *Chawonock*, with ſufficient guides by land, inskonſing my ſelfe euery two dayes, where I would leaue Garriſons for my retreat till I came to this Bay.

Menatonon his Relations of the Ile of Pearle, and a rich Mine, & the Sea by it.

Very neare vnto it is the riuer of *Moratoc*, directly from the Weſt, the head of it ſpringeth out of a mayne Rocke, which ſtandeth ſo neare the Sea, that in ſtormes the Sea beats ouer it into this freſh ſpring, that of it ſelfe at the ſurſe is a violent ſtreame. I intended with two Wherries and fortie perſons to haue *Menatonons* ſonne for guide, to try this preſently, till I could meete with ſome of the *Moratocks*, or *Mangoaks*, but hoping of getting more victuall from the Saluages, we as narrowly eſcaped ſtaruing in that Diſcouery as euer men did.

For *Pemiſſapan* who had changed his name of *Wingina* vpon the death of his brother *Granganameo*, had giuen both the *Chawoneſis*, and *Mangoaks* word of my purpoſe: alſo he told me the *Chawonocks* had aſſembled two or three thouſand to aſſault me at *Roanok*, vrging me daily to goe againſt them, and them againſt vs; a great aſſembly I found at my comming thether, which ſuddaine approach did ſo diſmay them, that we had the better of them: & this confederacy againſt vs was procured by *Pemiſſapan* himſelfe our chiefe friend we truſted; he ſent word alſo to the *Moratoks* and the *Mangoaks*, I came to inuade them, that they all fled vp into the high Country, ſo that where I aſſured my ſelfe both of ſuccour and prouiſion, I found all abandoned. But being thus farre on my iourney 160. myles from home, and but victuals for two dayes, beſides the caſualties of croſſe winds, ſtormes, and the Saluages trechery, though we intended no hurt to any, yet I gaue my Company to vnderſtand we were onely drawne forth vpon theſe vaine hopes by the Saluages to bring vs to confuſion: a Councell we held, to goe forward or returne; but they all were abſolutely reſolued but three, that whilſt there was but one pynt of Corne for a man, they would not leaue the ſearch of that riuer; for they had two Maſtiue Dogs, which boyled with Saxefras leaues (if the worſt fell out)

Pemiſſapan his trechery.

The diſcouery of the riuer *Moratoc*.

A noble reſolution.

out) vpon them and the pottage they would liue two dayes, which would bring them to the ſound, where they ſhould finde fiſh for two dayes more to paſſe it to *Roanock*, which two dayes they had rather faſt then goe backe a foote, till they had ſeene the *Mangoaks* either as friends or foes.

Though I did forſee the danger and miſery, yet the deſire I had to ſee the *Mangoaks* was, for that there is a prouince called *Chaunis Temoatan*, frequented by them and well knowne to all thoſe Countries, where is a mine of Copper they call *Waſſador*; they ſay they take it out of a riuer that falleth ſwiftly from high rocks in ſhallow water, in great Bowles, couered with leather, leauing a part open to receiue the mettall, which by the change of the colour of the water where the ſpout falleth, they ſuddainly chop downe, and haue the Bowle full, which they caſt into the fire, it preſently melteth, and doth yeeld in fiue parts at the firſt melting two parts mettall for three of Ore. The *Mangoaks* haue ſuch plenty of it, they beautifie their houſes with great plates thereof: this the Salvages report; and young *Skiko* the King of *Chawonocks* ſonne my priſoner, that had beene priſoner among the *Mangoaks*, but neuer at *Chaunis Temoatan*, for he ſayd that was twentie dayes iourney overland from the *Mangoaks*. The ſtrange Mine of *Chaunis Temoatan*.

Menatonon alſo confirmed all this, and promiſed me guids to this mettall Country; by Land to the *Mangoaks* is but one dayes iourney, but ſeauen by water, which made me ſo willing to haue met them for ſome aſſay of this mettall: but when we came there we found no creature, onely we might ſee where had beene their fires. After our two dayes iourney, and our victuals ſpent, in the euening we heard ſome call as we thought *Manteo*, who was with me in the boat; this made vs glad, he made them a friendly anſwer, which they anſwered with a ſong we thought for welcome, but he told vs they came to fight. Preſently they did let flie their Arrowes about the boat, but did no hurt, the other boat ſcouring the ſhore we landed: but they all were fled, and how to finde them wee knew not. So the next morning we returned to the mouth of the riuer, that coſt vs foure dayes rowing vp, and here our dogs pottage ſtood vs in good ſtead, for we had nothing els: the next day we faſted being windbound, and could not paſſe the ſound, but the day following we came to *Chippanum*, where the people were fled, but their wires afforded vs fiſh: thus being neare ſpent, the next day God brought vs to *Roanocke*. I conclude a good Mine, or the South ſea will make this Country quickly inhabited, and ſo for pleaſure and profit comparable with any in the world: otherwiſe there will be nothing worth the fetching. Provided there be found a better harbour then yet there is, which muſt be Northward if there be any. Maſter *Vaughan*, no leſſe hoped of the goodneſſe of the Mine, then Maſter *Heriot* that the riuer *Moratocks* head, either riſeth by the Bay of *Mexico*, or very neare the South Sea, or ſome part that openeth neare the ſame, which cannot with that facilitie be done as from the Bay of Pearles, by inſconſing foure dayes iourney to the *Chawonoks*, *Mangoaks*, and *Moratocks*, &c. The great currant of the riuer *Moratoc*.

The conſpiracy of Pemiſſapan; *the Diſcouery of it; and our returne for* England *with Sir* Francis Drake.

Enſenore a Saluage, father to *Pemiſſapan*, the beſt friend we had after the death of *Granganimeo*, when I was in thoſe Diſcoueries, could not prevaile any thing with the King from deſtroying vs, that all this time God had preſerued, by his good counſell to the King to be friendly vnto vs. *Pemiſſapan* thinking as the brute was in this laſt iourney we were ſlaine and ſtarued, began to blaſpheme our God that would ſuffer it, and not defend vs, ſo that old *Enſenore* had no more credit for vs: for he began by all the deuiſes he could to inuade vs. But in the beginning of this brute, when they ſaw vs all returne, the report falſe, The Conſpiracy of *Pemiſſapan*.

and had *Manteo*, and three Saluages more with vs, how little we eſteemed all the people we met, and feared neither hunger, killing, or any thing, and had brought their greateſt Kings ſonne priſoner with vs to *Roanock*: it a little aſſwaged all his deuiſes, and brought *Enſenore* in reſpect againe, that our God was good, and wee their friends, and our foes ſhould periſh, for we could doe them more hurt being dead, then liuing, and that being an hundred myles from them, ſhot, and ſtrucke them ſicke to death, and that when we die it is but for a time, then we returne againe. But that which wrought the moſt feare among them was the handy-worke of Almightie God. For certaine dayes after my returne, *Menatonon* ſent meſſengers to me with Pearle, and *Okiſco* King of *Weopomeoke*, to yeeld himſelfe ſeruant to the Queene of *England*. *Okiſco* with twenty-foure of his principall men came to *Pemiſſapan* to acknowledge this dutie and ſubiection, and would performe it. All which ſo changed the heart of *Pemiſſapan*, that vpon the aduiſe of *Enſenore*, when we were ready to famiſh they came and made vs wires, and planted their fields they intended to abandon (we not hauing one corne till the next harueſt to ſuſtaine vs). This being done our old friend *Enſenore* dyed the twenty of Aprill, then all our enemies wrought with *Pemiſſapan* to put in practiſe his deuiſes, which he eaſily imbraced, though they had planted corne by vs, and at *Daſamonpeack* two leagues from vs. Yet they got *Okiſco* our tributary to get ſeuen or eight hundred (and the *Mandoages* with the *Chiſapeans* ſhould doe the like) to meete (as their cuſtome is) to ſolemnize the Funerall of *Enſenore*. Halfe of whom ſhould lye hid, to cut off the ſtraglers, ſeeking crabs and prouiſion: the reſt come out of the mayne vpon the Signall by fire. Twenty of the principall of *Pemiſſapans* men had charge in the night to beſet my houſe, put fire in the Reeds that couered it, which might cauſe me run out ſo naked and amazed, they might without danger knocke out my braines. The ſame order for Mr *Heriots*, and the reſt: for all ſhould haue beene fired at an inſtant. In the meane time they ſhould ſell vs nothing, and in the night ſpoyle our wires, to make neceſſitie diſperſe vs. For if we were but ten together, a hundred of them would not meddle with vs. So our famine increaſed, I was forced to ſend Captaine *Stafford* to *Croatan*, with twentie to feed himſelfe, and ſee if he could eſpie any ſayle paſſe the coaſt; Mr *Predeox* with ten to *Hatarask* vpon the ſame occaſion: and other ſmall parties to the Mayne to liue vpon roots and Oyſters.

The death of a moſt rare Salvage.

Pemiſſapan ſequeſtring himſelfe, I ſhould not importune him for victuall, and to draw his troupes, found not the *Chawoneſts* ſo forward as he expected, being a people more faithfull and powerfull, and deſired our friendſhips, and was offended with him for raiſing ſuch tales, and all his proiects were revealed to me by *Skico* my priſoner; who finding himſelfe as well vſed by me, as *Pemiſſapan* could me all. Theſe troubles cauſed me ſend to *Pemiſſapan*, to put ſuſpition in his head, I was to goe preſently to *Croatan* to meete a Fleete came to me, though I knew no ſuch matter: and that he would lend me men to fiſh and hunt. He ſent me word he would come himſelfe to *Roanock*; but delaying time eight dayes that all his men were there to be aſſembled, not liking ſo much company, I reſolued the next day to goe viſit him, but firſt to giue them in the Ile a Canviſado, and at an inſtant to ſeaze on all their Canows about the Ile. But the towne tooke the Alarum before I ment it. For when I ſent to take the Canows, he met one going from the ſhore, ouerthrew her and cut off two Salvages heads; whereupon the cry aroſe, being by their ſpyes perceiued: for they kept as good watch over vs, as we of them. Vpon this they to their Bowes, and we to our Armes: three or foure of them at the firſt were ſlaine, the reſt fled into the woods. The next morning I went to *Daſſamonpeack*, and ſent *Pemiſſapan* word I was going to *Croatan*, and tooke him in my way to complaine *Oſocon* would haue ſtole my priſoner *Skico*. Herevpon he did abide my comming, & being among eight of the principalleſt, I gaue the watchword to my men, and immediately they had that they purpoſed

A ſlaughter of two Salvages.

for

for vs. Himſelfe being ſhot through with a Piſtoll fell downe as dead, but preſently ſtart vp and ran away from them all, till an Iriſh Boy ſhot him over the buttocks, where they tooke him and cut off his head. *Pemiſſapan ſlaine and 8. others.*

Seauen dayes after Captaine *Stafforton* ſent to me he deſcryed twentie-three Sayle. The next day came to me himſelfe (of whom I muſt ſay this, from the firſt to the laſt, he neither ſpared labour, or perill by land or ſea, fayre weather, or foule, to performe any ſerious ſeruice committed to him.) He brought me a letter from Sir *Francis Drake*, whoſe generous mind offered to ſupply all my defects, of ſhipping, boats, munition, victuall, clothes, and men to further this action: and vpon good conſultation and deliberation, he appointed me a ſhip of 70. tuns, with an hundred men, and foure moneths victuals, two Pinnaces, foure ſmall Boats, with two ſufficient Maſters, with ſufficient Gangs. All this being made ready for me, ſuddenly aroſe ſuch a ſtorme for foure dayes, that had like to haue driuen the whole Fleete on ſhore: many of them were forced to the Sea, whereof my ſhip ſo lately giuen me was one, with all my prouiſion and Company appoynted. *A moſt generous courteſie of Sir Francis Drake.*

Notwithſtanding, the ſtorme ceaſing, the Generall appointed me a ſhip of 170. tuns, with all prouiſions as before, to carry me into *England* the next Auguſt, or when I had performed ſuch Diſcoueries as I thought fit. Yet they durſt not vndertake to bring her into the harbour, but ſhe muſt ride in the road, leauing the care of the reſt to my ſelfe, adviſing me to conſider with my Company what was fitteſt, and with my beſt ſpeed returne him anſwer.

Hereupon calling my Company together, who were all as priuy of the Generals offer as my ſelfe; their whole requeſt was, (in regard of all thoſe former miſeries, and no hope of the returne of Sir *Richard Grenvill*,) and with a generall conſent, they deſired me to vrge him, we might all goe with him for *England* in his Fleete; for whoſe reliefe in that ſtorme he had ſuſtained more perill of wrack, then in all his honorable actions againſt his enemies. So with prayſes to God we ſet ſayle in Iune 1586. and arriued in *Portſmouth* the 27. of Iuly the ſame yeare: Leaving this remembrance to poſteritie. *Virginia* abandoned.

To reaſon lend me thine attentiue eares, Exempt thy ſelfe from mind-diſtracting cares: Leaſt that's here thus proiected for thy good; By thee reiected be, ere vnderſtood.

Written by Mr *Ralph Layne*, Governour.

The Obſervations of Mr. Thomas Heriot *in this Voyage.*

For Marchandize and Victuall's.

WHat before is writ, is alſo confirmed by that learned *Mathematician* Mr *Thomas Heriot*, with them in the Country, whoſe particular Relation of all the Beaſts, Birds, Fiſhes, Foules, Fruites, and Rootes, and how they may be vſefull; becauſe I haue writ it before for the moſt part in the Diſcourſe of Captaine *Amidas*, and Captaine *Layne*, except Silk graſſe, Wormeſilke, Flax like Hempe, Allum, Wapeith, or *Terra ſigillata*, Tar, Roſen, & Turpentine, Civet-cats, Iron ore, Copper that held Silver, Coproſe and Pearle: Let thoſe brieſes ſuffice, becauſe I would not trouble you with one thing twice. Cõmodities.

Dyes.

For Dyes, *Showmack*, the herbe *Waſebur*, little rootes called *Chapacor*, and the barke of a tree called by the Inhabitants *Tangomockqnominge*, which are for divers ſorts of Reds. Dyes.

What more then is related is an herbe in Dutch called *Melden*, deſcribed like an Orange, growing foure foote high; the ſeede will make good broth, and the ſtalke A ſtrange Salt.

ſtalke burnt to aſhes makes a kinde of Salt: other Salt they know not, and we vſed of it for Pot-herbs. Of their *Tobacco* we found plenty, which they eſteeme their chiefe Phyſicke.

Roots. Ground nuts, *Tiſwaw* we call *China* roots; they grow in cluſters, and bring forth a bryer ſtalke, but the leafe is far vnlike, which will climbe vp to the top of the higheſt tree: the vſe knowne is to cut it in ſmall peeces, then ſtampe & ſtraine it with water, and boyled makes a gelly good to eate. *Caſſavia* growes in Mariſhes, which the *Indians* oft vſe for bread and broth. *Habaſcon* is like a Parſnip, naught of it ſelfe, except compounded: and their Leekes like thoſe in *England*.

Fruits thats ſtrange. *Sequenummener*, a kinde of Berry like Capers, and three kinde of Berries like Acornes, called *Sagatamener*, *Oſamener*, and *Pummuckoner*.

Beaſts extraordinary. *Saquenucket* and *Maquowoc*, two kinde of beaſts, greater then Conies, and very good meate; in ſome places ſuch plenty of gray Conies, like hayres, that all the people make them mantels of their skins. I haue the names of 28. ſeverall ſorts that are diſperſed in the Country: of which 12. kindes we haue diſcouered and good to eate; but the Salvages ſometimes kill a Lyon and eate him.

Fiſh. There is plentie of Sturgeon in February, March, Aprill, and May; all Herings in abundance; ſome ſuch as ours, but the moſt part of 18. 20. or 24. ynches long, and more. Trouts, Porpiſſes, Rayes, Mullets, Old-wiues, Plaice, Tortoiſes both by Sea and Land: Crabs, Oyſters, Muſſels, Scalops, Periwinckles, Creviſes, Secanank: we haue the Pictures of 12. ſorts more, but their names we know not.

Foules. Turkyes, Stockdoues, Partridges, Cranes, Hernes, Swans, Geeſe, Parrots, Faulcons, Merlins. I haue the names in their language of 86. ſeverall ſorts. Their woods are ſuch as ours in *England* for the moſt part, except *Rakeock*, a great ſweet tree, whereof they make their Canowes: and *Aſcopo*, a kinde of tree like Lowrell, and Saxefras.

Their Natures and Manners.

Their Clothing, Townes, Houſes, Warres, Arts, Tooles, handy crafts, and educations, are much like them in that part of *Virginia* we now inhabite: which at large you may reade in the Deſcription thereof. But the relation of their Religion is ſtrange, as this Author reporteth.

Their Religion. Some Religion they haue, which although it be farre from the truth, yet being as it is there is hope it may be the eaſier reformed. They beleeue there are many gods which they call *Mantoac*, but of different ſorts and degrees. Alſo that there is one chiefe God that hath beene from all eternitie, who as they ſay when

How the world was made. he purpoſed firſt to make the world, made firſt other gods of a principall order, to be as inſtruments to be vſed in the Creation and government to follow: And after the Sunne, Moone, and Starres, as petie gods; and the inſtruments of the other order more principall. Firſt (they ſay) were made waters, out of which by the gods were made all diverſitie of creatures that are viſible or inviſible.

How man was made. For mankinde they ſay a Woman was made firſt, which by the working of one of the gods conceiued and brought forth children; and ſo they had their beginning, but how many yeares or ages ſince they know not; having no Records but onely Tradition from Father to ſonne.

How they vſe their gods. They thinke that all the gods are of humane ſhape, and therefore repreſent them by Images in the formes of men; which they call *Kewaſowok*: one alone is called *Kewaſa*; them they place in their Temples, where they worſhip, pray, ſing, and make many offerings. The common ſort thinke them alſo gods.

Whether they goe after death. They beleeue the immortalitie of the Soule, when life departing from the body, according to the good or bad workes it hath done, it is carried vp to the Tabernacles of the gods, to perpetuall happpineſſe, or to *Popogueſſo*, a great pit which they thinke to be at the furtheſt parts of the world, where the Sunne ſets, and there burne continually.

To confirme this they told me of two men that had beene lately dead, and revived

vived againe; the one hapned but few yeares before our comming into the country; of a bad man, which being dead and buried, the next day the earth over him being ſeene to moue, was taken vp, who told them his ſoule was very neare entering into *Popogusso*, had not one of the gods ſaued him and gaue him leaue to returne againe, to teach his friends what they ſhould doe to avoyd ſuch torment. The other hapned the ſame yeare we were there, but ſixtie myles from vs, which they told me for news, that one being dead, buried, & taken vp as the firſt, ſhewed, that although his body had layne dead in the graue, yet his ſoule liued, and had travailed far in a long broad way, on both ſides whereof grew more ſweet, fayre, and delicate trees and fruits, then ever he had ſeene before; at length he came to moſt braue and fayre houſes, neare which he met his Father, that was dead long agoe, who gaue him charge to goe backe, to ſhew his friends what good there was to doe, to inioy the pleaſures of that place; which when hee had done hee ſhould come againe.

Two men riſen from death.

What ſubtiltie ſo ever be in the *Weroances*, and *Prieſts*; this opinion worketh ſo much in the common ſort, that they haue great reſpect to their Governours: and as great care to avoyde torment after death, and to enioy bliſſe. Yet they haue divers ſorts of puniſhments according to the offence, according to the greatneſſe of the fact. And this is the ſum of their Religion, which I learned by having ſpeciall familiaritie with their Prieſts, wherein they were not ſo ſure grounded, nor gaue ſuch credit, but through converſing with vs, they were brought into great doubts of their owne, and no ſmall admiration of ours: of which many deſired to learne more then we had meanes for want of vtterance in their Language to expreſſe.

The ſubtiltie of their Prieſts.

Moſt things they ſaw with vs as Mathematicall Inſtruments, Sea-Compaſſes; the vertue of the Loadſtone, Perſpectiue Glaſſes, burning Glaſſes: Clocks to goe of themſelues; Bookes, writing, Guns, and ſuch like; ſo far exceeded their capacities, that they thought they were rather the workes of gods then men; or at leaſt the gods had taught vs how to make them, which loued vs ſo much better then them; & cauſed many of them giue credit to what we ſpake concerning our God. In all places where I came, I did my beſt to make his immortall glory knowne. And I told them, although the Bible I ſhewed them, contained all; yet of it ſelfe, it was not of any ſuch vertue as I thought they did conceiue. Notwithſtanding many would be glad to touch it, to kiſſe, and imbrace it, to hold it to their breaſts, and heads, and ſtroke all their body over with it.

Their ſimplicitie.

The King *Wingina* where we dwelt, would oft be with vs at Prayer. Twice he was exceeding ſicke and like to dye. And doubting of any helpe from his Prieſts, thinking he was in ſuch danger for offending vs and our God, ſent for ſome of vs to pray, and be a meanes to our God, he might liue with him after death. And ſo did many other in the like caſe. One other ſtrange Accident (leauing others) will I mention before I end, which mooued the whole Country that either knew or heard of vs, to haue vs in wonderfull admiration.

Their deſire of ſalvation.

There was no Towne where they had practiſed any villany againſt vs (we leauing it vnpuniſhed, becauſe we ſought by all poſſible meanes to winne them by gentlenes) but within a few dayes after our departure, they began to dye; in ſome Townes twenty, in ſome forty, in ſome ſixty, and in one an hundred and twenty, which was very many in reſpect of their numbers. And this hapned in no place (we could learn) where we had bin, but where they had vſed ſome practiſe to betray vs. And this diſeaſe was ſo ſtrange, they neither knew what it was, nor how to cure it; nor had they knowne the like time out of minde; a thing ſpecially obſerved by vs, as alſo by themſelues, in ſo much that ſome of them who were our friends, eſpecially *Wingina*, had obſerved ſuch effects in foure or fiue Townes, that they were perſwaded it was the worke of God through our meanes: and that we by him might kill and ſlay whom we would, without weapons, and not come

A wonderfull Accident.

heare them. And therevpon, when they had any vnderſtanding, that any of their enemies abuſed vs in our Iourneyes, they would intreat vs, we would be a meanes to our God, that they, as the others that had dealt ill with vs, might dye in like ſort: although we ſhewed them their requeſts were vngodly; and that our GOD would not ſubiect himſelfe to any ſuch requeſts of men, but all things as he pleaſed came to paſſe: and that we to ſhew our ſelues his true ſervants, ought rather to pray for the contrary: yet becauſe the effect fell out ſo ſuddenly after, according to their deſires, they thought it came to paſſe by our meanes, and would come giue vs thankes in their manner, that though we ſatisfied them not in words, yet in deeds we had fulfilled their deſires.

Their ſtrange opinions.

This marueilous Accident in all the Country wrought ſo ſtrange opinions of vs, that they could not tell whether to thinke vs gods or men. And the rather that all the ſpace of their ſickneſſe, there was no man of ours knowne to die, or much ſicke. They noted alſo we had no women, nor cared for any of theirs: ſome therefore thought we were not borne of women, and therefore not mortall, but that we were men of an old generation many yeares paſt, & riſen againe from immortalitie. Some would Propheſie there were more of our generation yet to come, to kill theirs and take their places. Thoſe that were to come after vs they imagined to be in the ayre, yet inviſible and without bodies: and that they by our intreaties, for loue of vs, did make the people die as they did, by ſhooting inviſible bullets into them.

To confirme this, their Phyſicians to excuſe their Ignorance in curing the diſeaſe, would make the ſimple people beleeue, that the ſtrings of bloud they ſucked out of the ſicke bodies, were the ſtrings wherein the inviſible bullets were tyed; and caſt. Some thought we ſhot them our ſelues from the place where we dwelt, and killed the people that had offended vs, as we liſted, how farre diſtant ſoever. And others ſaid it was the ſpeciall worke of God for our ſakes, as we had cauſe in ſome ſort to thinke no leſſe, whatſoever ſome doe, or may imagine to the contrary; eſpecially ſome *Aſtrologers* by the eclipſe of the Sunne we ſaw that yeare before our Voyage, and by a *Comet* which began to appeare but a few dayes before the ſickneſſe began: but to exclude them from being the ſpeciall cauſes of ſo ſpeciall an Accident, there are farther reaſons then I thinke fit to preſent or alledge.

Theſe their opinions I haue ſet downe, that you may ſee there is hope to imbrace the truth, and honor, obey, feare and loue vs, by good dealing and government: though ſome of our company towards the latter end, before we came away with Sir *Francis Drake* ſhewed themſelues too furious, in ſlaying ſome of the people in ſome Townes, vpon cauſes that on our part might haue bin borne with more mildneſſe; notwithſtanding they iuſtly had deſerued it. The beſt nevertheleſſe in this, as in all actions beſides, is to be indevoured and hoped; and of the worſt that may happen, notice to be taken with conſideration; and as much as may be eſchewed; the better to allure them hereafter to Civilitie and Chriſtianitie.

Thus you may ſee, *How*

Falling:

Nature her ſelfe delights her ſelfe in ſundry Inſtruments,
That ſundry things be done to decke the earth with Ornaments;
Nor ſuffers ſhe her ſervants all ſhould runne one race,
But wills the walke of every one frame in a divers pace;
That divers wayes and divers workes, the world might better grace.

Written by *Thomas Heriot*, one of the Voyage.

How Sir Richard Grenvill *went to relieue them.*

1586. IN the yeare of our Lord 1586. Sir *Walter Raleigh* and his Aſſociates prepared a ſhip of a hundred tun, fraughted plentifully of all things neceſſary: but before they

they ſet ſayle from *England* it was *Eaſter*. And arriving at *Hatorask*, they after ſome time ſpent in ſeeking the *Colony* vp in the Country, and not finding them, returned with all the proviſion againe to *England*.

About 14. or 15. dayes after, Sir *Richard Grenvill* accompanied with three ſhips well appoynted, arrived there. Who not finding the aforeſaid ſhip according to his expectation, nor hearing any newes of the *Colony* there ſeated, and left by him as is ſaid 1585. travailing vp and downe to ſeeke them, but when he could heare no newes of them, and found their habitation abandoned, vnwilling to loſe the poſſeſſion of the Country, after good deliberation he landed fiftie men in the Ile of *Roanoak*, plentifully furniſhed with all manner of proviſion for two yeares: and ſo returned for *England*.

Sir *Richard Grenvill* left fiftie men.

Where many began ſtrangely to diſcant of thoſe croſſe beginnings, and him; which cauſed me remember an old ſaying of *Euripides*.

Who broacheth ought that's new, to fooles vntaught,
Himſelfe ſhall iudged be vnwiſe, and good for naught.

Three Ships more ſent to relieue them by M^r. White.

WE went the old courſe by the weſt *Indies*, and *Simon Ferdinando* our continuall Pilot miſtaking *Virginia* for Cape *Fear*, we fayled not much to haue beene caſt away, vpon the conceit of our all-knowing *Ferdinando*, had it not beene prevented by the vigilancy of Captaine *Stafford*. We came to *Hatorask* the 22. of Iuly, and with fortie of our beſt men, intending at *Roanoack* to find the 50 men left by Sir *Richard Grenvill*. But we found nothing but the bones of a man, and where the Plantation had beene, the houſes vnhurt, but overgrowne with weeds, and the Fort defaced, which much perplexed vs.

Maſter *White* his Voyage. 1587.

By the Hiſtory it ſeemes *Simon Ferdinando* did what he could to bring this voyage to confuſion; but yet they all arrived at *Hatorask*. They repayred the old houſes at *Roanock*, and Maſter *George How*, one of the Councell, ſtragling abroad, was ſlaine by the Salvages. Not long after Maſter *Stafford* with 20. men went to *Croatan* with *Manteo*, whoſe friends dwelled there: of whom we thought to haue ſome newes of our 50 men. They at firſt made ſhew to fight, but when they heard *Manteo*, they threw away their Armes, and were friends, and deſired there might be a token giuen to be knowne by, leaſt we might hurt them by miſpriſion, as the yeare before one had bin by Maſter *Layne*, that was ever their friend, and there preſent yet lame.

One of the Councell ſlaine.

The next day we had conference with them concerning the people of *Secotan*, *Aquaſcogoc*, and *Pomeiok*, willing them of *Croatan* to ſee if they would accept our friendſhip, and renew our old acquaintance: which they willingly imbraced, and promiſed to bring their King and Governours to *Roanoak*, to confirme it. We alſo vnderſtood that Maſter *Howe* was ſlaine by the men of *Wingina*, of *Daſſamonpeack*: and by them of *Roanoack*, that the fiftie men left by Sir *Richard Grenvill*, were ſuddainly ſet vpon by three hundred of *Secotan*, *Aquaſcogoc*, and *Daſſamonpeack*. Firſt they intruded themſelues among 11 of them by friendſhip, one they ſlew, the reſt retyring to their houſes, they ſet them on fire, that our men with what came next to hand were forced to make their paſſage among them; where one of them was ſhot in the mouth, and preſently dyed, and a Salvage ſlaine by him. On both ſides more were hurt; but our men retyring to the water ſide, got their boat, & ere they had rowed a quarter of a myle towards *Hatorask*, they tooke vp foure of their fellowes, gathering Crabs and Oyſters: at laſt they landed on a little Ile by *Hatorask*, where they remained a while, but after departed they

How the fiftie men were ſlaine.

knew not whether. So taking our leaues of the *Croatans*, we came to our Fleet at *Hatorask*.

The Governour having long expected the King and Governours of *Pomeiok*, *Secotan*, *Aquaſcogoc*, and *Daſſamonpeack*, and the 7. dayes expired, and no newes of them, being alſo informed by thoſe of *Croatan*, that they of *Daſſamonpeack* ſlew Maſter *How*, and were at the driving our men from *Raonoack*, he thought no longer to deferre the revenge. Wherefore about midnight, with Captaine *Stafford*, and twentie-foure men, whereof *Manteo* was one, for our guide, (that behaved himſelfe towards vs as a moſt faithfull Engliſh man) he ſet forward.

An ill miſpriſion.

The next day by breake of day we landed, and got beyond their houſes, where ſeeing them ſit by the fire we aſſaulted them. The miſerable ſoules amazed fled into the Reeds, where one was ſhot through, and we thought to haue beene fully revenged, but we were deceiued, for they were our friends come from *Croatan* to gather their corne, becauſe they vnderſtood our enemies were fled after the death of Maſter *How*, and left all behinde them for the birds. But they had like to haue payd too deare for it, had we not chanced vpon a *Weroances* wife, with a childe at her backe, and a Salvage that knew Captaine *Stafford*, that ran to him calling him by his name. Being thus diſappointed of our purpoſe, we gathered the fruit we found ripe, left the reſt vnſpoyled, and tooke *Menatonon* his wife with her childe, and the reſt with vs to *Roanoak*. Though this miſtake grieued *Manteo*, yet he imputed it to their own folly, becauſe they had not kept promiſe to come to the governor at the day appointed. The 13. of Auguſt our Salvage *Manteo* was Chriſtened, and called Lord of *Daſſamonpeack*, in reward of his faithfulneſſe. And the 18th, *Ellinor* the Governours daughter, and wife to *Ananias Dare*, was delivered of a daughter in *Roanoak*; which being the firſt Chriſtian there borne, was called *Virginia*.

A child borne in *Virginia*.

Our ſhips being ready to depart, ſuch a ſtorme aroſe, as the Admirall was forced to cut her Cables: and it was ſix dayes ere ſhe could recouer the ſhore, that made vs doubt ſhe had beene loſt, becauſe the moſt of her beſt men were on ſhore. At this time Controverſies did grow betwixt our Governour and the Aſſiſtants, about chooſing one of them 12. to goe as Factor for them all to *England*; for all refuſed ſaue one, whom all men thought moſt inſufficient: the Concluſion was by a generall conſent, they would haue the Governour goe himſelfe, for that they thought none would ſo truly procure there ſupplyes as he. Which though he did what he could to excuſe it, yet their importunitie would not ceaſe till he vndertooke it, and had it vnder all their hands how vnwilling he was, but that neceſſity and reaſon did doubly conſtraine him. At their ſetting ſayle for *England*, waighing Anchor, twelue of the men in the flyboat were throwne from the Capſtern, by the breaking of a barre, and moſt of them ſo hurt, that ſome never recouered it. The ſecond time they had the like fortune, being but 15. they cut the Cable and kept company with their Admirall to *Flowres* and *Corues*; the Admirall ſtayed there looking for purchaſe: but the flyboats men grew ſo weake they were driuen to *Smerwick* in the Weſt of *Ireland*. The Governour went for *England*; and *Simon Ferdinando* with much adoe at laſt arrived at *Portſmouth*. 1587.

A controverſie who to ſend for Factor to *England*.

The Names of thoſe were landed in this Plantation were,

Iohn White Governour.	*Chriſtopher Couper.*	*Dionis Harvie.*
Roger Bayley.	*Thomas Stevens.*	*Roger Prat.*
Ananias Dare.	*Iohn Samſon.*	*George How.*
Simon Ferdinando.	*Thomas Smith.*	*Antony Cage.*

With divers others to the number of about 115.

The

The firſt Voyage to Virginia ; *vndertaken by* Mr. Iohn White. 1589.

THe 20. of March three ſhips went from *Plimouth*, and paſſed betwixt *Barbary* and *Mogadoro* to *Dominico* in the Weſt *Indies*. After we had done ſome exployts in thoſe parts, the third of Auguſt wee fell with the low ſandy Iles weſtward of *Wokokon*. But by reaſon of ill weather it was the 12, ere we could Anchor there ; and on the 12. we came to *Croatan*, where is a great breach in 35 degrees and a halfe, in the Northeaſt poynt of the Ile. The 15. we came to *Hatorask* in 36. degrees & a terſe, at 4. fadom, 3 leagues from ſhore: where we might perceiue a ſmoake at the place where I left the Colony, 1587. The next morning Captaine *Cooke*, Captaine *Spicer*, & their companies, with two boats left our ſhips, and diſcharged ſome Ordnance to giue them notice of our comming, but when we came there, we found no man, nor ſigne of any that had beene there lately : and ſo returned to our Boats. The next morning we prepared againe for *Roanoack*. Captaine *Spicer* had then ſent his Boat aſhore for water, ſo it was ten of the Clocke ere we put from the ſhips, which rode two myles from the ſhore. The Admirals boat, being a myle before the other, as ſhe paſſed the bar, a ſea broke into the boat and filled her halfe full of water: but by Gods good will, and the carefull ſtearage of Captaine *Cook*, though our proviſions were much wet we ſafe eſcaped, the wind blew hard at Northeaſt, which cauſed ſo great a current and a breach vpon the barre ; Captaine *Spicer* paſſed halfe over, but by the indiſcreet ſteering of *Ralph Skinner*, their boat was overſet, the men that could catch hold hung about her, the next ſea caſt her on ground, where ſome let goe their hold to wade to ſhore, but the ſea beat them downe. The boat thus toſſed vp and downe Captaine *Spicer* and *Skinner* hung there till they were drowne ; but 4. that could ſwim a little, kept themſelues in deeper water, were ſaued by the meanes of Captaine *Cook*, that preſently vpon the overſetting of their boat, ſhipped himſelfe to ſaue what he could. Thus of eleuen, ſeuen of the chiefeſt were drowned. This ſo diſcomfited all the Saylers, we had much to do to get them any more to ſeeke further for the Planters, but by their Captaines forwardnes at laſt they fitted themſelues againe for *Hatorask* in 2 boats, with 19 perſons. It was late ere we arrived, but ſeeing a fire through the woods, we ſounded a Trumpet, but no anſwer could we heare. The next morning we went to it, but could ſee nothing but the graſſe, and ſome rotten trees burning. We went vp and downe the Ile, and at laſt found three faire Romane Letters carved. *C. R. O.* which preſently we knew to ſignifie the place where I ſhould find them, according to a ſecret note betweene them & me : which was to write the name of the place they would be in, vpon ſome tree, dore, or poſt : and if they had beene in any diſtreſſe, to ſignifie it by making a croſſe over it. For at my departure they intended to goe fiftie myles into the mayne. But we found no ſigne of diſtreſſe ; then we went to a place where they were left in ſundry houſes, but we found them all taken downe, and the place ſtrongly incloſed with a high Palizado, very Fortlike ; and in one of the chiefe Poſts carued in fayre capitall Letters *CROATAN*, without any ſigne of diſtreſſe, and many barres of Iron, two pigs of Lead, foure Fowlers, Iron ſhot, and ſuch like heauie things throwne here and there, overgrowne with graſſe and weeds. We went by the ſhore to ſeeke for their boats but could find none, nor any of the Ordnance I left them. At laſt ſome of the Sailers found divers Chiſts had beene hidden and digged vp againe, and much of the goods ſpoyled, and ſcattered vp and downe, which when I ſaw, I knew three of them to be my owne ; but bookes, pictures, and all things els were ſpoyled. Though it much grieued me, yet it did much comfort me that I did know they were at *Croatan* ; ſo we returned to our Ships, but had like to haue bin caſt away by a great ſtorme that continued all that night.

1589. Maſter *White* his returne to *Virginia*.

Captaine *Spicer* and ſeauen others drowned.

They finde where they had buryed their proviſions.

The next morning we weighed Anchor for *Croatan*: having the Anchor a-pike, the Cable broke, by the meanes whereof we loſt another: letting fall the third, the ſhip yet went ſo faſt a drift, we fayled not much there to haue ſplit. But God bringing vs into deeper water; conſidering we had but one Anchor, and our proviſion neare ſpent, we reſolued to goe forthwith to S. *Iohns* Ile, *Hiſpaniola*, or *Trinidado*, to refreſh our ſelues and ſeeke for purchaſe that Winter, and the next Spring come againe to ſeeke our Country-men. But our *Vice Admirall* would not, but went directly for *England*, and we our courſe for *Trinidado*. But within two dayes after, the wind changing, we were conſtrained for the Weſterne Iles to refreſh our ſelues, where we met with many of the Queenes ſhips our owne conſort, and diuers others, the 23. of Seeptember 1590. And thus we left ſeeking our Colony, that was neuer any of them found, nor ſeene to this day 1622. And this was the concluſion of this Plantation, after ſo much time, labour, and charge conſumed. Whereby we ſee;

The end of this Plantation.

Not all at once, nor all alike, nor ever hath it beene,
That God doth offer and confer his bleſſings vpon men.

Written by Maſter *Iohn White.*

1602. A briefe Relation of the Deſcription of *Elizabeths* Ile, and ſome others towards the North part of *Virginia*; and what els they diſcouered in the yeare 1602. by Captaine *Bartholomew Goſnoll*, and Captaine *Bartholomew Gilbert*; and diuers *other Gentlemen their Aſſociates.*

12. yeares it lay dead.

ALL hopes of *Virginia* thus abandoned, it lay dead and obſcured from 1590. till this yeare 1602. that Captaine *Goſnoll*, with 32. and himſelfe in a ſmall Barke, ſet ſayle from *Dartmouth* vpon the 26. of March. Though the wind favoured vs not at the firſt, but forced vs as far Southward as the *Aſores*, which was not much out of our way; we ran directly weſt from thence, whereby we made our iourney ſhorter then heretofore by 500. leagues: the weakneſſe of our ſhip, the badnes of our ſaylers, and our ignorance of the coaſt, cauſed vs carry but a low ſayle, that made our paſſage longer then we expected.

On fryday the 11. of May we made land, it was ſomewhat low, where appeared certaine hummocks or hills in it: the ſhore white ſand, but very rockie, yet overgrowne with fayre trees. Comming to an Anchor, 8 *Indians* in a Baske ſhallop, with maſt and ſayle came boldly aboord vs. It ſeemed by their ſignes & ſuch things as they had, ſome Biskiners had fiſhed there: being about the latitude of 43. But the harbour being naught, & doubting the weather, we went not aſhore, but waighed, and ſtood to the Southward into the Sea. The next morning we found our ſelues imbayed with a mightie headland: within a league of the ſhore we anchored, and Captaine *Goſnoll*, my ſelfe, & three others went to it in our boat, being a white ſand & a bold coaſt. Though the weather was hot, we marched to the higheſt hils we could ſee, where we perceiued this headland part of the mayn, neare inuironed with Ilands. As we were returning to our ſhip, a good proper, luſty young man came to vs, with whom we had but ſmall conference, and ſo we left him. Here in 5. or 6. houres we tooke more Cod then we knew what to doe with, which made vs perſwade our ſelues, there might be found a good fiſhing in March, Aprill, and May.

Their firſt landing.

At

At length we came among theſe fayre Iles, ſome a league, 2. 3. 5. or 6. from the Mayne, by one of them we anchored. We found it foure myles in compaſſe, without houſe or inhabitant. In it is a lake neare a myle in circuit; the reſt overgrowne with trees, which ſo well as the buſhes, were ſo overgrowne with Vines, we could ſcarce paſſe them. And by the bloſſomes we might perceiue there would be plenty of Strawberries, Reſpiſes, Gouſberries, and divers other fruits: beſides, Deere and other Beaſts we ſaw, and Cranes, Hernes, with divers other ſorts of fowle; which made vs call it *Martha's Vineyard.* *Martha's Vineyard.*

The reſt of the Iſles are repleniſhed with ſuch like; very rocky, and much tinctured ſtone like Minerall. Though we met many *Indians*, yet we could not ſee their habitations: they gaue vs fiſh, Tobacco, and ſuch things as they had. But the next Iſle we arrived at was but two leagues from the Maine, & 16. myle about, invironed ſo with creekes and coues, it ſeemed like many Iſles linked together by ſmall paſſages like bridges. In it is many places of plaine graſſe, and ſuch other fruits, and berries as before were mentioned. In mid-May we did ſow Wheat, Barley, Oates, & Peaſe, which in 14. dayes ſprung vp 9. inches. The ſoyle is fat and luſty: the cruſt therof gray, a foot or leſſe in depth. It is full of high timbred Okes, their leaues thriſe ſo broad as ours: Cedar ſtraight and tall, Beech, Holly, Walnut, Hazell, Cherry trees like ours, but the ſtalke beareth the bloſſom or fruit thereof like a cluſter of Grapes, forty or fiftie in a bunch. There is a tree of Orange colour, whoſe barke in the filing is as ſmooth as Vᵹlvet. There is a lake of freſh water three myles in compaſſe, in the midſt an Iſle containing an acre or thereabout, overgrowne with wood: here are many Tortoiſes, and abundance of all ſorts of foules, whoſe young ones we tooke and eate at our pleaſure. Grounds nuts as big as egges, as good as Potatoes, and 40. on a ſtring, not two ynches vnder ground. All ſorts of ſhell-fiſh, as Schalops, Muſſels, Cockles, Crabs, Lobſters, Welks, Oyſters, exceeding good and very great; but not to cloy you with particulars, what God and nature hath beſtowed on thoſe places, I refer you to the Authors owne writing at large. We called this Iſle *Elizabeths* Iſle, from whence we went right over to the mayne, where we ſtood a while as raviſhed at the beautie and dilicacy of thie ſweetneſſe, beſides divers cleare lakes, whereof we ſaw no end, & meadows very large and full of greene graſſe, &c. *Elizabeths* Iſland.

Here we eſpyed 7. Salvages, at firſt they expreſſed ſome feare, but by our courteous vſage of them, they followed vs to the necke of Land, which we thought had beene ſevered from the Mayne, but we found it otherwiſe. Here we imagined was a river, but becauſe the day was farre ſpent, we left to diſcover it till better leaſure. But of good Harbours, there is no doubt, conſidering the Land is all rocky and broken lands. The next day we determined to fortifie our ſelues in the Iſle in the lake. Three weekes we ſpent in building vs there a houſe. But the ſecond day after our comming from the Mayne, 11. Canows with neare 50. Salvages came towards vs. Being vnwilling they ſhould ſee our building, we went to, & exchanged with them Kniues, Hatchets, Beades Bels, and ſuch trifles, for ſome Bevers, Lyzards, Martins, Foxes, wilde Catte skinnes, and ſuch like. We ſaw them haue much red Copper, whereof they make chaines, collars, and drinking cups, which they ſo little eſteemed they would giue vs for ſmall toyes, & ſignified vnto vs they had it out of the earth in the Mayne: three dayes they ſtayed with vs, but every night retyred two or three myle from vs: after with many ſignes of loue and friendſhip they departed, ſeaven of them ſtaying behind, that did helpe vs to dig and carry Saxafras, and doe any thing they could, being of a comely proportion and the beſt condition of any Salvages we had yet incountred. They haue no Beards but counterfeits, as they did thinke ours alſo was: for which they would haue changed with ſome of our men that had great beards. Some of the baſer ſort would ſteale; but the better ſort, we found very civill and iuſt. We ſaw but three of their women, and they were but of meane ſtature, attyred in skins like the men, A Copper Mine.

but fat and well favoured. The wholeſomeneſſe and temperature of this climate, doth not onely argue the people to be anſwerable to this Deſcription, but alſo of a perfect conſtitution of body, actiue, ſtrong, healthfull, and very witty, as the ſundry toyes by them ſo cunningly wrought may well teſtifie. For our ſelues, we found our ſelues rather increaſe in health and ſtrength then otherwiſe, for all our toyle, bad dyet and lodging; yet not one of vs was touched with any ſickneſſe. Twelue intended here a while to haue ſtayed, but vpon better conſideration, how meanely we were provided, we left this Iſland (with as many true ſorrowfull eyes as were before deſirous to ſee it) the 18. of Iune, and arrived at *Exmouth*, the 23 of Iuly.

Their return.

But yet mans minde doth ſuch it ſelfe expley,
As Gods great Will doth frame it every way.
And, *Such thoughts men haue, on earth that doe but liue,*
As men may craue, but God doth onely giue.

Written by *Iohn Brierton* one of the Voyage.

1603. *A Voyage of Captaine* Martin Pring, *with two Barks from* Briſtow, *for the North part of* Virginia. 1603.

BY the inducements and perſwaſions of Mr *Richard Hackluite*, Mr *Iohn Whitſon* being Maior, with his brethren the Aldermen, & moſt of the Merchants of the Citie of *Briſtow*, raiſed a ſtocke of 1000l. to furniſh out two Barkes, the one of 50. tuns, with 30. men and boyes, the other 26. tuns, with 13. men and boyes, having *Martin Pring* an vnderſtanding Gentleman, and a ſufficient Mariner for Captaine, and *Robert Salterne* his Aſſiſtant, who had bin with Captaine *Goſnoll* there the yeare before for Pilot. Though they were much croſſed by contrary windes vpon the coaſt of *England*, and the death of that ever moſt memorable, miracle of the world, our moſt deare ſoveraigne Lady and Queene *Elizabeth*: yet at laſt they paſſed by the weſterne Iſles, and about the 7. of Iune, fell vpon the north part of *Virginia*, about the degrees of fortie three. Where they found plentie of moſt ſorts of fiſh, and ſaw a high country full of great woods of ſundry ſorts. As they ranged the coaſt at a place they named *Whitſon Bay*, they were kindly vſed by the Natiues, that came to them, in troupes, of tens, twenties, & thirties, and ſometimes more. But becauſe in this Voyage for moſt part they followed the courſe of Captaine *Goſnoll*, and haue made no relation but to the ſame effect he writ before, we will thus conclude;

Lay hands vnto this worke with all thy wit,
But pray that God would ſpeed and perfit it.

Robert Salterne.

1605. *A relation of a Diſcovery towards the Northward of* Virginia, *by Captaine* George Waymouth 1605. *imployed thether by the right Honorable* Thomas Arundell, *Baron of* Warder, *in the Raigne of our moſt royall King* IAMES.

VPon tueſday the fift of March we ſet ſayle from *Ratcliffe*, but by contrary winds we were forced into *Dartmouth* till the laſt of this moneth, then with 29. as good ſea men, & all neceſſary proviſiõs as could poſſibly be gotten, we put

to

to ſea; and the 24 of Aprill fell with *Flowres* and *Cornos*. We intended as we were directed towards the Southward of 39. But the winds ſo croſſed vs wee fell more Northwards about 41. and 20. minuits, we ſounded at 100. fathom, & by that we had run 6 leagues we had but 5. yet ſaw no land; from the mayne top we deſcryed a whitiſh ſandy clift, Weſt North-weſt ſome 6. leagues from vs, but ere we had run two leagues further we found many ſhoules and breaches, ſometimes in 4. fadom and the next throw 15. or 18. Being thus imbayed among thoſe ſhoules, we were conſtrained to put back againe, which we did with no ſmall danger, though both the winde and weather were as fayre as we could deſire. Thus we parted from the Land, which we had not before ſo much deſired, and at the firſt ſight reioyced, as now we all ioyfully prayſed God that he had delivered vs from ſo eminent danger. Here we found excellent Cod, and ſaw many Whales as we had done 2. or 3. daies before. Being thus conſtrained to put to ſea, the want of wood & water cauſed vs take the beſt advantage of the winde, to fall with the ſhore whereſoever: but we found our Sea-cards moſt directly falſe. The 17. of May we made the Land againe, but it blew ſo hard, we durſt not approach it. The next day it appeared to vs a mayne high land, but we found it an Iſland of 6. myles in compaſſe: within a league of it we came to an anchor, and went on ſhore for wood & water, of which we found ſufficient. The water guſhing forth downe the rocky clifts in many places, which are all overgrown with Firre, Birch, Beech, & Oke, as the Verge is with Gouſberries, Strawberries, wild Peaſe, and Roſe buſhes, and much foule of divers ſorts that breed among the rockes: here as in all places els where we came, we found Cod enough.

Dangerous ſhoules.

Cod and Whales.

Their firſt landing.

From hence we might diſcerne the mayne land and very high mountaines, the next day becauſe we rode too open to the Sea, we waighed, and came to the Iſles adioyning to the mayn: among which we found an excellent rode, defended from all windes, for ſhips of any burthen, in 6. 7. 8. 9. or 10. fadom vpon a clay oze. This was vpon a Whitſonday, wherefore we called it *Pentecoſt Harbour*. Here I cannot omit for fooliſh feare of imputation of flattery, the painfull induſtry of our Captaine, who as at Sea he was alwayes moſt carefull & vigilant, ſo at land he refuſed no paines: but his labour was ever as much or rather more then any mans; which not onely incouraged others with better content, but alſo effected much with great expedition. We digged a Garden the 22. of May, where among our garden-ſeeds we ſowed Peaſe and Barley, which in 16. dayes grew vp 8. ynches, although this was but the cruſt of the ground, and much inferiour to the mould we after found in the mayne.

Pentecoſt haſ-bour.

The Captains diligence.

After we had taken order for all our neceſſary buſineſſes, we marched through two of theſe Iſles. The biggeſt was 4. or 5. myles in compaſſe; we found here all ſorts of ordinary trees, beſides, Vines, Currants, Spruce, Yew, Angelica, and divers gummes: in ſo much many of our company wiſhed themſelues ſetled here. Vpon the 30. our Captaine with 13. went to diſcover the mayne: we in the ſhip eſpyed 3. Canowes that came towards the ſhip. Which after they had well viewed, one of them came aboord with 3. men, and by our good vſage of them not long after the reſt, two dayes we had their companies, in all reſpects they are but like them at *Elizabeths* Iſles, therefore this may ſuffice for their deſcription. In this time our Captain had diſcovered a fayre river, trending into the mayne 40 myles, and returned backe to bring in the ſhip. The Salvages alſo kept their words and brought vs 40. Bever, Otter, and ſable skins, for the value of 5. ſhillings in knives, glaſſes, combes, and ſuch toyes, and thus we vſed them ſo kindly as we could, becauſe we intended to inhabit in their Country, they lying aboord with vs and we aſhore with them; but it was but as changing man for man as hoſtages, and in this manner many times we had their companies.

Trade with the Salvages.

At laſt they deſired our Captaine to goe with them to the mayne to trade with their *Baſhabes*, which is their chiefe Lord, which we did, our boat well manned with

14. yet would they row faſter with 5. Ores in their Canowes then we with 8. but when we ſaw our old acquaintance, would not ſtay aboord vs as before for hoſtage, but did what they could to draw vs into a narrow cirke, we exchanged one *Owen Griffin* with them for a yong fellow of theirs, that he might ſee if he could diſcover any trechery, as he did, for he found there aſſembled 283. Salvages with bowes & arrows, but not any thing at all to trade as they pretended. Theſe things conſidered, we conceited them to be but as all Salvages ever had beene, kinde till they found opportunitie to do miſchiefe. Wherefore we determined to take ſome of them, before they ſhould ſuſpect we had diſcovered their plot, leſt they ſhould abſent themſelues from vs, ſo the firſt that ever after came into the ſhip were three which we kept, and two we tooke on ſhore with much adoe, with two Canowes, their bowes and arrowes.

Their trechery.

Five Salvages ſurpriſed.

Some time we ſpent in ſounding all the Iſles, channels, and inlets thereabouts, and we found 4. ſeverall waies a ſhip might be brought into this Bay. In the interim there came 2. Canowes more boldly aboord vs, ſignifying we ſhould bring our ſhip to the place where he dwelt to trade. We excuſed our ſelues why we could not, but vſed them kindly, yet got them away with all the ſpeed we could, that they ſhould not be perceiued by them in the houle, then we went vp the river 26. myles, of which I had rather not write, then by my relation detract from it, it is in breadth a myle, neare 40. myles; and a channell of 6. 7. 8. 9. or 10. fadom, & on both ſides every halfe myle gallant Coues, to containe in many of them 100 ſayle, where they may lye on Oze without Cable or Anchor, onely mored with a Hanſer, and it floweth 18. foot, that you may make, docke, or carine ſhips with much facilitie: beſides the land is moſt rich, trending all along on both ſides in an equall plaine, neither rocky nor mountainous, but verged with a greene border of graſſe, doth make tender to the beholder her pleaſant fertilitie, it by cleanſing away the woods ſhe were converted into meadow.

A deſcription of the river.

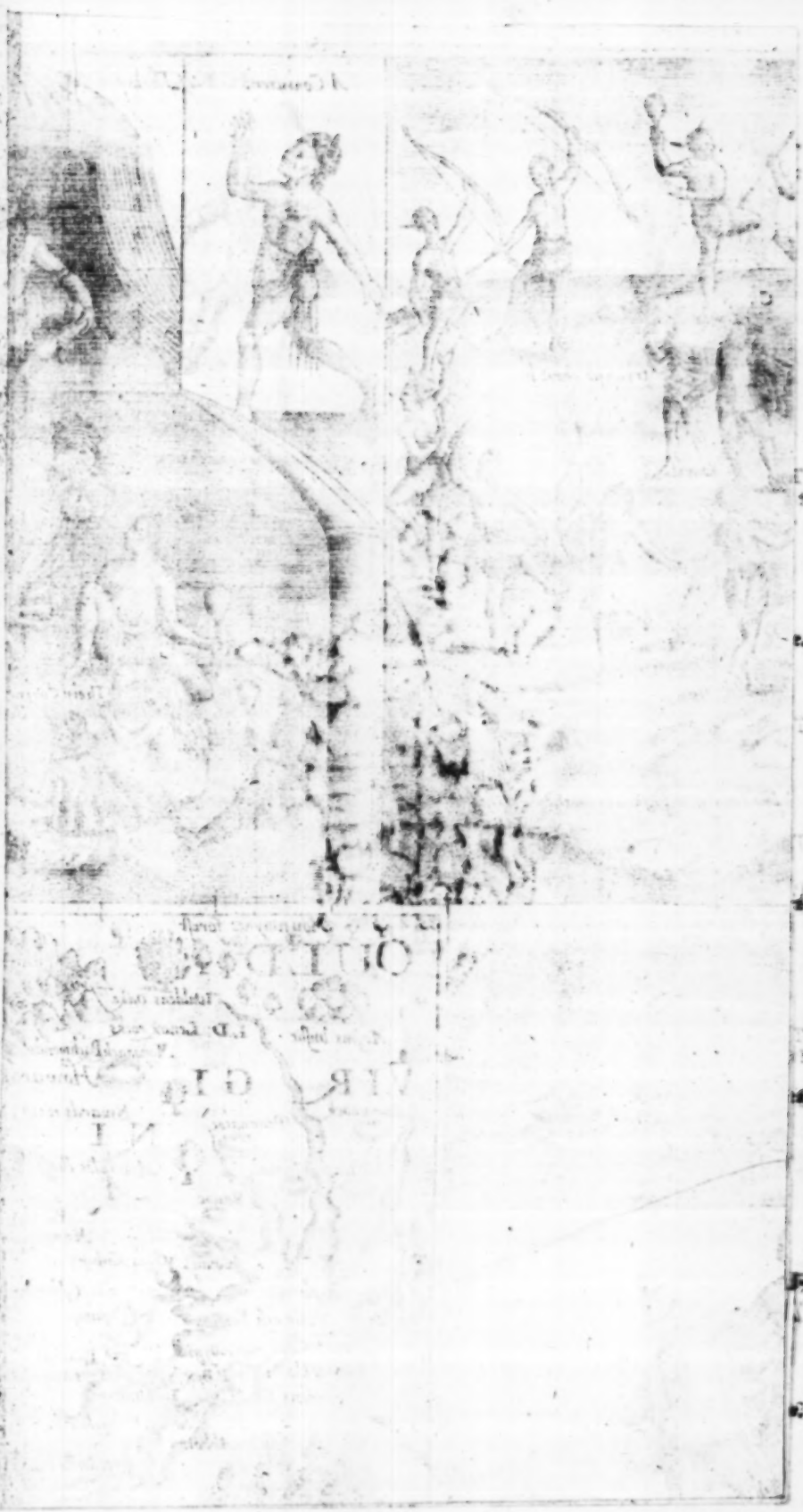
The woods are great, and tall, ſuch as are ſpoken of in the Iſlands, and well watered with many freſh ſprings. Our men that had ſeene *Oranoque* ſo famous in the worlds eares, *Reogrande*, *Loyer*, & *Slion*, report, though they be great & goodly rivers, yet are not comparable to it. Leaving our ſhip we went higher, till we were 7. myles higher then the ſalt water flowed; we marched towards the mountains we had ſeene, but the weather was ſo hot, & our labour ſo great, as our Captaine was contented to returne: after we had erected a croſſe we left this faire land and river, in which the higher we went the better we liked it, and returned to our ſhip. By the way we met a Canow that much deſired one of our men to go vp to their *Baſſhabes*, but we knew their intents, and ſo turned them off; and though we had both time and proviſion to haue diſcovered much more, and might haue found peradventure good trade, yet becauſe our company was but ſmall, we would not hazzard ſo hopefull a buſineſſe as this was, either for our private, or particular ends, being more regardfull of a publicke good, and promulgating Gods holy Church by planting Chriſtianity, which was the intent of our adventurers ſo well as ours; returning by the Iſles in the entry of the Sound we called them St *Georges* Iſles, & becauſe on ſunday we ſet out of *England*, on ſunday alſo the 16. of Iune we departed hence. When we had run 30. leagues we had 40. fadom, then 70. then 100. After 2. or 3. watches more we were in 24. fadoms, where we tooke ſo much Cod as we did know what to doe with, and the 18. of Iuly came to *Dartmouth*, and all our men as well God be thanked as when they went forth.

Thus may you ſee;

God hath not all his gifts beſtowed on all or any one,
Words ſweeteſt, and wits ſharpeſt, courage, ſtrength of bone;
All rarities of minde and parts doe all concurre in none.

Written by *Iames Roſier* one of the Voyage.

The



A Coniurer.

Their

C: Smith takes the King of Paspahegh prisoner. Ao 1609.

Graven and extracted out of ye generall history

C. Smith taketh the King of Pamavukes prisoner 1608

The Countrey wee now call Virginia beginneth at Cape Henry distant from Roanoack 60 miles, where was S.r Walter Raleigh's plantation: and because the people differ very little from them of Powhatan in any thing, I have inserted those figures in this place because of the conveniency.

King Powhatan com̄ands C. Smith to be slayne, his daughter Pokahontas beggs his life his thankfullness and how he subiected 39 of their kings. reade ye history.

printed by James Rowe

...rginia, New England, and Som̄er Iles, by Robert Vaughan.

The ſecond Booke.

THE SIXT VOYAGE. 1606.

To another part of *Virginia*, where now are Planted our *Engliſh Colonies*, Whom God increaſe and preſerue: Diſcouered and Deſcribed by Captaine IOHN SMITH, ſometimes *Gouernour of the Countrey.*

BY theſe former relations you may ſee what inconueniences ſtill croſſed thoſe good intents, and how great a matter it was all this time to finde but a Harbour, although there be ſo many. But this *Virginia* is a Country in *America* betweene the degrees of 34. and 45. of the North latitude. The bounds thereof on the East ſide are the great *Ocean*: on the South lyeth *Florida*: on the North *nova Francia*: as for the Weſt thereof, the limits are vnknowne. Of all this Country we purpoſe not to ſpeake, but onely of that part which was planted by the *Engliſh men* in the yeare of our Lord, 1606. *And this is vnder the degrees* 37. 38. *and* 39. The temperature of this Country doth agree well with *Engliſh* conſtitutions, being once ſeaſoned to the Country. Which appeared by this, that though by many occaſions our people fell ſicke; yet did they recouer by very ſmall meanes, and continued in health, though there were other great cauſes, not onely to haue made them ſicke, but euen to end their dayes, &c. 1606. The latitude. The temperature.

The Sommer is hot as in *Spaine*; the Winter cold as in *France* or *England*. The heat of ſommer is in Iune, Iuly, and Auguſt, but commonly the coole Breeſes aſſwage the vehemency of the heat. The chiefe of winter is halfe December, Ianuary, February, and halfe March. The colde is extreame ſharpe, but here the Proverbe is true, that *no extreame long continueth.*

In the yeare 1607. was an extraordinary froſt in moſt of *Europe*, and this froſt was found as extreame in *Virginia*. But the next yeare for 8. or 10. dayes of ill weather, other 14. dayes would be as Sommer.

The windes here are variable, but the like thunder and lightning to purifie the ayre, I haue ſeldome either ſeene or heard in *Europe*. From the Southweſt came the greateſt guſts with thunder and heat. The Northweſt winde is commonly coole and bringeth faire weather with it. From the North is the greateſt cold, and from the East and Southeaſt as from the *Barmudas*, fogs and raines. The windes.

Some times there are great droughts, other times much raine, yet great neceſſitie of neither, by reaſon we ſee not but that all the raritie of needfull fruits in *Europe*, may be there in great plentie, by the induſtry of men, as appeareth by thoſe we there Planted.

There is but one entrance by Sea into this Country, and that is at the mouth of a very goodly Bay, 18. or 20. myles broad. The cape on the South is called *Cape Henry*, in honour of our moſt noble Prince. The land white hilly ſands like vnto the Downes, and all along the ſhores great plentie of Pines and Firres. The entrance. *Cape Henry.*

The north *Cape* is called *Cape Charles*, in honour of the worthy Duke of *Yorke*. The Iſles before it, *Smith's* Iſles, by the name of the diſcouer. Within is a country that *Cape Charles.*

may haue the prerogatiue over the moſt pleaſant places knowne, for large and pleaſant navigable Rivers, heaven & earth never agreed better to frame a place for mans habitation; were it fully manured and inhabited by induſtrious people. Here are mountaines, hils, plaines, valleyes, rivers, and brookes, all running moſt pleaſantly into a faire Bay, compaſſed but for the mouth, with fruitfull and delightſome land. In the Bay and rivers are many Iſles both great & ſmall, ſome woody, ſome plaine, moſt of them low and not inhabited. This Bay lyeth North and South, in which the water floweth neare 200. myles, and hath a channell for 140 myles, of depth betwixt 6 and 15 fadome, holding in breadth for the moſt part 10 or 14 myles. From the head of the Bay to the Northweſt, the land is mountanous, and ſo in a manner from thence by a Southweſt line; So that the more Southward, the farther off from the Bay are thoſe mountaines. From which fall certaine brookes which after come to fiue principall navigable rivers. Theſe run from the Northweſt into the South eaſt, and ſo into the Weſt ſide of the Bay, where the fall of every River is within 20 or 25 myles one of another.

The Country.

The mountaines,

The mountaines are of divers natures: for at the head of the Bay the rockes are of a compoſition like Mill ſtones. Some of Marble, &c. And many peeces like Chriſtall we found, as throwne downe by water from thoſe mountaines. For in Winter they are covered with much ſnow, and when it diſſolveth the waters fall with ſuch violence, that it cauſeth great inundations in ſome narrow valleyes, which is ſcarce perceiued being once in the rivers. Theſe waters waſh from the rocks ſuch gliſtering tinctures, that the ground in ſome places ſeemeth as guilded, where both the rocks and the earth are ſo ſplendent to behold, *that better iudgements then ours might haue beene perſwaded, they contained more then probabilities.* The veſture of the earth in moſt places doth manifeſtly proue the nature of the ſoyle to be luſty and very rich. The colour of the earth we found in diuerſe places, reſembleth *bole Armoniac, terra ſigillata*, and *Lemnia*, Fullers earth, Marle, and divers other ſuch appearances. But generally for the moſt part it is a blacke ſandy mould, in ſome places a fat ſlimy clay, in other places a very barren gravell. But the beſt ground is knowne by the veſture it beareth, as by the greatneſſe of trees, or abundance of weeds, &c.

The ſoyle.

The valleyes.

Plaines.

The Country is not mountanous, nor yet low, but ſuch pleaſant plaine hils, and fertile valleyes, one prettily croſſing another, & watered ſo conueniently with freſh brookes and ſprings, no leſſe commodious, then delightſome. By the rivers are many plaine mariſhes, containing ſome 20 ſome 100. ſome 200 Acres, ſome more, ſome leſſe. Other plaines there are few, but onely where the Salvages inhabit: but all overgrowne with trees & weeds, being a plaine wilderneſſe as God firſt made it.

On the weſt ſide of the Bay, we ſayd were 5. faire and delightfull navigable rivers. The firſt of thoſe, and the next to the mouth of the Bay hath his courſe from the Weſt Northweſt. It is called *Powhatan*, according to the name of a principall country that lyeth vpon it. The mouth of this river is neare three myles in breadth, *yet doe the ſhoules force the Channell ſo neare the land, that a Sacre will ouerſhoot it at point blanke. It is navigable 150 myles, the ſhoulds and ſoundings are here needleſſe to be expreſſed.* It falleth from Rockes farre weſt in a Country inhabited by a nation they call *Monacans*. But where it commeth into our diſcovery it is *Powhatan*. In the fartheſt place that was diligently obſerved, are falles, rockes, ſhoules, &c. which makes it paſt navigation *any higher*. Thence in the running downeward, the river is enriched with many goodly brookes, which are maintained by an infinit number of ſmall rundles and pleaſant ſprings, that diſperſe themſelues for beſt ſervice, as do the veines of a mans body. From the South there fals into it: Firſt, the pleaſant river of *Apamatuck*. Next more to the Eaſt are two ſmall rivers of *Quiyoughcohanocke*. A little farther is a Bay wherein falleth 3 or 4 prettie brookes & creekes that halfe intrench the Inhabitants of *Warraskoyac*, then the river of *Nandſamund*, and laſtly the brooke of *Chiſapeack*. From the North ſide is the river of *Chickahamania*, the backe river of *Iames* Towne; another by the *Cedar Iſle*, where we liued ten weekes vpon Oyſters, then a conuenient harbour for Fiſher boats at *Kecoughtan*, that ſo turneth it ſelfe into

The river *Powhatan*.

The branches

Bayes

Bayes and Creekes, it makes that place very pleasant to inhabit; their cornefields being girded therein in a manner as *Peninsulaes*. The most of these rivers are inhabited by severall nations, or rather families, of the name of the rivers They haue also over those some Governour, as their King, which they call *Werowances*. In a *Peninsula* on the North side of this river are the *English* Planted in a place by them called *Iames* Towne, in honour of the Kings most excellent Maiestie. *Iames Towne.*

The first and next the rivers mouth are the *Kecoughtans*, who besides their women & children, haue not past 20. fighting men. The *Paspaheghes* (on whose land is seated *Iames* Towne, some 40. myles from the *Bay*) haue not past 40. The river called *Chickahamania* neare 250. The *Weanocks* 100. The *Arrowhatocks* 30. The place called *Powhatan*, some 40. On the South side this river the *Appamatucks* haue sixtie fighting men. The *Quiyougcohanocks* 25. The *Nandsamūds* 200. The *Chesapeacks* 100. Of this last place the *Bay* beareth the name. In all these places is a severall commander, which they call *Werowance*, except the *Chickahamanians*, who are governed by the Priests and their Assistants, or their Elders called *Caw-cawwassoughes*. In sommer no place affordeth more plentie of *Sturgeon*, nor in winter more aoundance of foule, especially in the time of frost. I tooke once 52 Sturgeons at a draught, at another 68. From the later end of May till the end of Iune are taken few, but yong Sturgeons of two foot, or a yard long. From thence till the midst of September, them of two or three yards long and few others. And in 4 or 5, houres with one Net were ordinarily taken 7 or 8: often more, seldome lesse. In the small rivers all the yeare there is good plentie of small fish, so that with hookes those that would take paines had sufficient. The severall Inhabitants.

Foureteene myles Northward from the river *Powhatan*, is the river *Pamaunkee*, *which is navigable 60 or 70 myles, but with Catches and small Barkes 30 or 40 myles farther*. At the ordinary flowing of the salt water, it divideth it selfe into two gallant branches. On the South side inhabit the people of *Youghtanund*, who haue about 60 men for warres. On the North branch *Mattapament*, who haue 30 men. Where this river is divided the Country is called *Pamaunkee*, and nourisheth neare 300 able men. About 25. myles lower on the North side of this river is *Werawocomoco*, where their great King inhabited when I was delivered him prisoner; yet there are not past 40 able men. Ten or twelue myles lower, on the South side of this river, is *Chiskiack*, which hath some 40 or 50 men. These, as also *Apamatuck*, *Arrohatock*, and *Powhatan*, are their great Kings chiefe alliance, and inhabitants. The rest his Conquests. R. *Pamaunkee.* The inhabitants.

Before we come to the third river that falleth from the mountaines, there is another river (*some 30 myles navigable*) that commeth from the Inland, called *Payankatanke*, the Inhabitants are about 50 or 60 serviceable men. *Payankatank* R.

The third navigable river is called *Toppahanock*. (*This is navigable some 130 myles*) At the top of it inhabit the people called *Mannahoacks* amongst the mountaines, but they are aboue the place we described. Vpon this river on the North side are the people *Cuttatawomen*, with 30 fighting men. Higher are the *Moraughtacunds*, with 80. Beyond them *Rapahanock* with 100. Far aboue is another *Cuttatawomen* with 20. On the South is the pleasant seat of *Nantaughtacund* having 150 men. This river also as the two former, is repleniſhed with fish and foule. *Toppahanock* R. The inhabitants.

The fourth river is called *Patawomeke*, 6 or 7 myles in breadth. *It is navigable* 140 *myles*, and fed as the rest with many sweet rivers and springs, which fall from the bordering hils. These hils many of them are planted, and yeeld no lesse plentie and varietie of fruit, then the river exceedeth with abundance of fish. It is inhabited on both sides. First on the South side at the very entrance is *Wighcocomoco* & hath some 130 men, beyond them *Sekacawone* with 30. The *Onawmanient* with 100. And the *Patawomekes* more then 200. Here doth the river divide it selfe into 3 or 4 conuenient branches. The greatest of the least is called *Quiyough*, trending Northwest, but the river it selfe turneth Northeast, and is still a navigable streame. On the Westerne side of this bought is *Tauxenent* with 40 men. On the North of this river is *Secowocomoco* with 40. Somewhat further *Potapaco* with 20. In the East part is *Pamacacack* *Patawomek* R. The inhabitants.

with 60. After *Mojowance* with 100. And laſtly, *Nacotchtanke* with 80. The river aboue this place maketh his paſſage downe a low pleaſant valley overſhaddowed in many places with high rocky mountaines; from whence diſtill innumerable ſweet and pleaſant ſprings.

Pawtuxunt, R.

The fift river is called *Pawtuxunt*, of a leſſe proportion then the reſt; but the channell is 16 fadome deepe in ſome places. Here are infinit skuls of divers kindes of fiſh more then elſwhere. Vpon this river dwell the people called *Acquintanacksuak*, *Pawtuxunt*, and *Mattapanient*. Two hundred men was the greateſt ſtrength that could be there perceived. But they inhabit together, and not ſo diſperſed as the reſt. Theſe of all other we found moſt civill to giue intertainement.

Bolus, R.

Thirtie leagues Northward is a river not inhabited, yet navigable; for the red clay reſembling *bole Armoniack* we called it *Bolus*.

The head of the Bay.

At the end of the Bay where it is 6 or 7 myles in breadth, it divides it ſelfe into 4. branches, the beſt commeth Northweſt from among the mountaines, but though Canows may goe a dayes iourney or two vp it, we could not get two myles vp it with our boat for rockes. Vpon it is ſeated the

Saſqueſahanock.

Saſqueſahanocks, neare it North and by Weſt runneth a creeke a myle and a halfe: at the head whereof the Eble left vs on ſhore, where we found many trees cut with hatchets. The next tyde keeping the ſhore to ſeeke for ſome Salvages; (for within thirtie leagues ſayling, we ſaw not any, being a barren Country,) we went vp another ſmall river like a creeke 6 or 7 myle. From thence returning we met 7 Canowes of the *Maſſowomeks*, with whom we had conference by ſignes, for we vnderſtood one another ſcarce a word: the next day we diſcovered the ſmall river & people of *Tockwhogh* trending Eaſtward.

Having loſt our Grapnell among the rocks of *Saſqueſahanocks*, we were then neare 200 myles from home, and our Barge about two tuns, and had in it but 12 men to performe this Diſcovery, wherein we lay aboue 12 weekes vpon thoſe great waters in thoſe vnknowne Countries, having nothing but a little meale, oatemeale and water to feed vs; and ſcarce halfe ſufficient of that for halfe that time, but what proviſion we got among the Salvages, and ſuch rootes and fiſh as we caught by accident, and Gods direction; nor had we a Mariner nor any had skill to trim the ſayles but two ſaylers and my ſelfe, the reſt being Gentlemen, or them were as ignorant in ſuch toyle and labour. Yet neceſſitie in a ſhort time by good words and examples made them doe that that cauſed them ever after to feare no colours. What I did with this ſmall meanes I leaue to the Reader to iudge, and the Mappe I made of the Country, which is but a ſmall matter in regard of the magnitude thereof. But to proceed, 60 of thoſe *Saſqueſahanocks* came to vs with skins, Bowes, Arrows, Targets, Beads, Swords, and Tobacco pipes for preſents. Such great and well proportioned men are ſeldome ſeene, for they ſeemed like Giants to the Engliſh, yea and to the neighbours, yet ſeemed of an honeſt and ſimple diſpoſition, with much adoe reſtrained from adoring vs as Gods. Thoſe are the ſtrangeſt people of all thoſe Countries, both in language & attire; for their language it may well beſeeme their proportions, ſounding from them, as a voyce in a vault. Their attire is the skinnes of Beares, and Woolues, ſome haue Caſſacks made of Beares heads & skinnes, that a mans head goes through the skinnes neck, and the eares of the Beare faſtned to his ſhoulders, the noſe and teeth hanging downe his breaſt, another Beares face ſplit behind him, and at the end of the noſe hung a Pawe, the halfe ſleeues comming to the elbowes were the neckes of Beares, and the armes through the mouth with pawes hanging at their noſes. One had the head of a Woolfe hanging in a chaine for a Iewell, his Tobacco pipe three quarters of a yard long, prettily carued with a Bird, a Deere, or ſome ſuch deviſe at the great end, ſufficient to beat out ones braines: with Bowes, Arrowes, and clubs, ſutable to their greatneſſe. Theſe are ſcarſe knowne to *Powhatan*. They can make neare 600 able men, and are palliſadoed in their Townes to defend them from the *Maſſawomekes* their mortall enemies. Fiue of their chiefe *Werowances* came aboord vs, and croſſed the *Bay* in their Barge. The picture of the greateſt of them is ſignified in the Mappe. The calfe of whoſe leg was three quarters of a yard about,

The deſcription of a Saſqueſahanough.

and

and all the reſt of his limbes ſo anſwerable to that proportion, that he ſeemed the goodlieſt man we ever beheld. His hayre, the one ſide was long, the other ſhore cloſe with a ridge over his crowne like a cocks combe. His arrowes were fiue quarters long, headed with the ſplinters of a white chriſtall-like ſtone, in forme of a heart, an inch broad, and an inch and a halfe or more long. Theſe he wore in a Woolues skinne at his backe for his Quiver, his bow in the one hand and his clubbe in the other, as is deſcribed.

On the Eaſt ſide the *Bay*, is the river *Tockwhogh*, and vpon it a people that can make 100 men, ſeated ſome ſeaven myles within the river: where they haue a Fort very well palliſadoed and mantelled with barkes of trees. Next them is *Ozinies* with ſixty men. More to the South of that Eaſt ſide of the *Bay*, the river *Rapahanock*, neere vnto which is the river *Kuskarawaock*, Vpon which is ſeated a people with 200 men. After that, is the river *Tants Wighcocomoco*, & on it a people with 100 men. The people of thoſe rivers are of little ſtature, of another language from the reſt, & very rude. But they on the river *Acohanock* with 40 men, & they of *Accomack* 80 men doth equalize any of the Territories of *Powhatan*, and ſpeake his language, who over all thoſe doth rule as King.

Tockwhogh, R.

Rapahanock, R.
Kuskarawaock R.
Wighcocomoco, R.
Accomack, R.

Southward we went to ſome parts of *Chawonock* and the *Mangoags* to ſearch for them left by Mr *White*. Amongſt thoſe people are thus many ſeverall Nations of ſundry Languages, that environ *Powhatans* Territories. The *Chawonockes*, the *Mangoags*, the *Monacans*, the *Mannahokes*, the *Maſawomekes*, the *Powhatans*, the *Saſqueſahanocks*, the *Atquanachukes*, the *Tockwoghes*, and the *Kuſcarawaokes*. All thoſe not any one vnderſtandeth another but by Interpreters. Their ſeverall habitations are more plainly deſcribed by this annexed Mappe, which will preſent to the eye, the way of the mountaines, and current of the rivers, with their ſeverall turnings, bayes, ſhoules, Iſles, Inlets, and creekes, the breadth of the waters, the diſtances of places, and ſuch like. In which Mappe obſerue this, that as far as you ſee the little Croſſes on rivers, mountaines, or other places haue beene diſcovered; the reſt was had by information of the Savages, and are ſet downe according to their inſtructions.

Chawonock,

The ſeverall languages.

Thus haue I walkt a wayleſs way, with vncouth pace,
Which yet no Chriſtian man did ever trace:
But yet I know this not affects the minde,
Which eares doth heare, as that which eyes doe finde.

Of ſuch things which are naturally in Virginia, *and how they vſe them.*

VIRGINIA doth afford many excellent vegetables, and liuing Creatures, yet graſſe there is little or none, but what groweth in low Mariſhes: for all the Countrey is overgrowne with trees, whoſe droppings continually turneth their graſſe to weeds, by reaſon of the rancknes of the ground, which would ſoone be amended by good husbandry. The wood that is moſt common is Oke and Walnut, many of their Okes are ſo tall & ſtraight, that they will beare two foote and a halfe ſquare of good timber for 20 yards long; Of this wood there is two or three ſeverall kinds. The Acornes of one kinde, whoſe barke is more white then the other, & ſomewhat ſweetiſh, which being boyled, at laſt affords a ſweet oyle, that they keepe in gourds to annoint their heads and ioynts. The fruit they eate made in bread or otherwiſe. There is alſo ſome Elme, ſome blacke Walnut tree, and ſome Aſh: of Aſh and Elme they make ſope Aſhes. If the trees be very great, the Aſhes will be good, and melt to hard lumps, but if they be ſmall, it will be but powder, and not ſo good as the other. Of walnuts there is 2 or 3 kindes; there is a kinde of wood we called Cypres, becauſe both the wood, the fruit, and leafe did moſt reſemble it, and of thoſe trees there are ſome neare three fadome about at the foot, very ſtraight,

Why there is little graſſe.

Woods with their fruits.

Elme.

Walnuts.

Suppoſed Cypres.

ſtraight, and 50, 60, or 80 foot without a branch. By the dwelling of the Salvages
Mulberries. are ſome great Mulbery trees, and in ſome parts of the Countrey, they are found growing naturally in prettie groues. There was an aſſay made to make ſilke, and ſurely the wormes proſpered excellent well, till the maſter workeman fell ſicke. During which time they were eaten with Rats.

Cheſnuts. In ſome parts were found ſome Cheſnuts, whoſe wild fruit equalize the beſt in *France*, *Spaine*, *Germany*, or *Italy*. Plums there are of three ſorts. The red and white are like our hedge plums, but the other which they call *Putchamins*, grow as high as a *Palmeta*: the fruit is like a Medler; it is firſt greene, then yellow, and red when it is ripe; if it be not ripe, it will draw a mans mouth awry, with much torment, but when it is ripe, it is as delicious as an Apricot.

Cherries. They haue Cherries, and thoſe are much like a Damſon, but for their taſtes and
Vines. colour we called them Cherries. We ſaw ſome few Crabs, but very ſmall and bitter. Of vines great abundance in many parts that climbe the toppes of the higheſt trees in ſome places, but theſe beare but few grapes. Except by the rivers & ſavage habitations, where they are not overſhadowed from the ſunne, they are covered with fruit, though never pruined nor manured. Of theſe hedge grapes we made neere twentie gallons of wine, which was like our French Brittiſh wine, but certainely they would proue good were they well manured. There is another ſort of grape neere as great as a Cherry, this they call *Meſſamins*, they be fatte, and the iuyce thicke. Neither doth the taſte ſo well pleaſe when they are made in wine. They haue a ſmall fruit growing on little trees, husked like a Cheſnut, but the fruit moſt like a very ſmall
Chechinquamins. Acorne. This they call *Chechinquamins*, which they eſteeme a great daintie. They haue a berry much like our Gooſeberry, in greatneſſe, colour, and taſt; thoſe they
Rawcomens. call *Rawcomens*, and doe eat them raw or boyled. Of theſe naturall fruits they liue a
How they vſe their fruits. great part of the yeare, which they vſe in this manner; The Walnuts, Cheſnuts, Acornes, and *Chechinquamins* are dryed to keepe. When they need walnuts they breake them betweene two ſtones, yet ſome part of the ſhels will cleaue to the fruit. Then doe they dry them againe vpon a Mat over a hurdle. After they put it into a morter of wood, and beat it very ſmall: that done they mix it with water, that the ſhels may
Walnut milke. ſinke to the bottome. This water will be coloured as milke, which they call *Pawcohiccora*, and keepe it for their vſe. The fruit like Medlers they call *Putchamins*, they caſt vpon hurdles on a Mat, and preſerue them as Pruines. Of their Cheſnuts and *Chechinquamins* boyled, they make both broath and bread for their chiefe men, or at their greateſt feaſts. Beſides thoſe fruit trees, there is a white Popular, and another tree like vnto it, that yeeldeth a very cleare and an odoriferous
Gummes. Cedars. *Gumme* like *Turpentine*, which ſome called *Balſom*. There are alſo *Cedars* and *Saxa-*
Saxafras trees. *fras* trees. They alſo yeeld gummes in a ſmall proportion of themſelues. Wee tryed concluſions to extract it out of the wood, but nature afforded more then our arts.

Berries. In the watry valleyes groweth a Berry which they call *Ocoughtanamnis* very much like vnto Capers. Theſe they dry in ſommer. When they eat them they boile them
Matoum. neare halfe a day; for otherwiſe they differ not much from poyſon. *Mattoum* groweth as our Bents. The ſeed is not much vnlike to Rie, though much ſmaller. This they vſe for a daintie bread buttered with deare ſuet.

Strawberries. During Sommer there are either Strawberries, which ripen in Aprill, or Mulberries which ripen in May and Iune. Raſpiſes, hurts; or a fruit that the inhabitants call *Maracocks*, which is a pleaſant wholſome fruit much like a Lemond. Many
Hearbes. herbes in the ſpring are cõmonly diſperſed throughout the woods, good for brothes and ſallets, as Violets, Purſlain, Sorrell, &c. Beſides many we vſed whoſe names we know not.

Rootes. The chiefe root they haue for food is called *Tockawhoughe*. It groweth like a flagge in Mariſhes. In one day a Salvage will gather ſufficient for a weeke. Theſe roots are much of the greatneſſe and taſte of *Potatoes*. They vſe to cover a great many of them with Oke leaues and Ferne, and then cover all with earth in the manner of a Colepit; over it, on each ſide, they continue a great fire 24 houres before they dare eat it.

Raw

Raw it is no better then poyſon, and being roſted, except it be tender and the heat abated, or ſliced and dryed in the Sunne, mixed with ſorrell and meale or ſuch like, it will prickle and torment the throat extreamely, and yet in ſommer they vſe this ordinarily for bread.

They haue another roote which they call *Wighſacan*: as th'other feedeth the body, ſo this cureth their hurts and diſeates. It is a ſmall root which they bruiſe and apply to the wound. *Pocones* is a ſmall root that groweth in the mountaines, which being dryed and beate in powder turneth red. And this they vſe for ſwellings, aches, annointing their ioynts, painting their heads and garments. They account it very precious, and of much worth. *Muſquaſpen* is a roote of the bigneſſe of a finger, and as red as bloud. In drying, it will wither almoſt to nothing. This they vſe to paint their Mattes, Targets, and ſuch like.

Wighſacan a roote.
Pocones a ſmall roote.
Muſquaſpen a roote.

There is alſo *Pellitory of Spaine*, *Saſafrage*, and divers other ſimples, which the Apothecaries gathered, and commended to be good, and medicinable.

Pellitory.
Saſafrage.

In the low Mariſhes grow plots of Onyons, containing an Acre of ground or more in many places; but they are ſmall, not paſt the bigneſſe of the toppe of ones Thumbe.

Onyons.

Of beaſts the chiefe are Deere, nothing differing from ours. In the deſerts towards the heads of the rivers, there are many, but amongſt the rivers few. There is a beaſt they call *Aroughcun*, much like a badger, but vſeth to liue on trées as Squirrels doe. Their Squirrels ſome are neare as great as our ſmalleſt ſort of wilde Rabbets, ſome blackiſh or blacke and white, but the moſt are gray.

Their chiefe beaſts are Deere.
Aroughcun.
Squirrels.

A ſmall beaſt they haue they call *Aſſapanick*, but we call them flying Squirrels, becauſe ſpreading their legs, and ſo ſtretching the largeneſſe of their skins, that they haue beene ſeene to fly 30 or 40 yards. An *Opaſſom* hath a head like a Swine, and a taile like a Rat, and is of the bigneſſe of a Cat. Vnder her belly ſhee hath a bagge, wherein ſhe lodgeth, carrieth, and ſuckleth her young. A *Muſſaſcus* is a beaſt of the forme and nature of our water Rats, but many of them ſmell exceeding ſtrongly of Muske. Their Hares no bigger then our Conies, and few of them to be found.

Aſſapanick, a Squirrel flying.
Opaſſom.
Muſſaſcus.

Their Beares are very little in compariſon of thoſe of *Muſcovia* and *Tartaria*. The Beaver is as big as an ordinary water dog, but his legs exceeding ſhort. His foreſeete like a dogs, his hinder feet like a Swans. His taile ſomewhat like the forme of a Racker, bare without haire, which to eat the Salvages eſteeme a great delicate. They haue many *Otters*, which as the *Beavers* they take with ſnares, and eſteeme the skins great ornaments, and of all thoſe beaſts they vſe to feed when they catch them. An *Vtchunquoyes* is like a wilde Cat. Their Foxes are like our ſilver haired Conies, of a ſmall proportion, and not ſmelling like thoſe in *England*. Their Dogges of that Country are like their Woolues, and cannot barke but howle, and the Woolues not much bigger then our Engliſh Foxes. Martins, Powlecats, Weeſels, and Minkes we know they haue, becauſe we haue ſeene many of their skinnes, though very ſeldome any of them aliue. But one thing is ſtrange, that we could never perceiue their Vermine deſtroy our Hennes, Egges, nor Chickens, nor doe any hurt, nor their flyes nor ſerpents any way pernicious, where in the South parts of *America* they are alwayes dangerous, and often deadly.

Beares.
The Beaver.
Otters.
Vtchũquoyes.
Foxes.
Dogges.
Martins.
Polcats.
Weeſels, and Minkes.

Of Birds the Eagle is the greateſt devourer. Hawkes there be of divers ſorts, as our Falconers called them: *Sparrow-hawkes*, *Lanarets*, *Goſhawkes*, *Falcons* and *Oſperayes*, but they all prey moſt vpon fiſh. Their Partridges are little bigger then our Quailes. Wilde Turkies are as bigge as our tame. There are Wooſels or Blackbirds with red ſhoulders, Thruſhes and divers ſorts of ſmall Birds, ſome red, ſome blew, ſcarce ſo bigge as a Wrenne, but few in Sommer. In Winter there are great plentie of Swans, Cranes, gray and white with blacke wings, Herons, Geeſe, Brants, Ducke, Wigeon, Dotterell, Oxeies, Parrats, and Pigeons. Of all thoſe ſorts great abundance, and ſome other ſtrange kinds, to vs vnknowne by name. But in Sommer noe any, or a very few to be ſeene.

Birds.

Of fiſh we were beſt acquainted with Sturgeon, Grampus, Porpus, Seales, *Stin-*

Fiſh.

graies, whose tailes are very dangerous. Bretts, Mullets, white Salmonds, Trowts, Soles, Plaice, Herrings, Conyfish, Rockfish, Eeles, Lampreys, Catfish, Shades, Pearch of three sorts, Crabs, Shrimps, Crevises, Oysters, Cocles, and Muscles. But the most strange fish is a small one, so like the picture of St *George* his Dragon, as possible can be, except his legs and wings, and the Toadefish, which will swell till it be like to burst, when it commeth into the ayre.

The rockes. Concerning the entrailes of the earth, little can be said for certaintie. There wanted good Refiners; for those that tooke vpon them to haue skill this way, tooke vp the washings from the mountaines, and some moskered shining stones and spangles which the waters brought downe, flattering themselues in their owne vaine conceits to haue beene supposed what they were not, by the meanes of that ore, if it proued as their arts and iudgements expected. Onely this is certaine, that many regions lying in the same latitude, afford Mines very rich of divers natures. The crust also of these rockes would easily perswade a man to beleeue there are other Mines then yron and steele, if there were but meanes and men of experience that knew the Mine from *Spar*.

Of their Planted fruits in Virginia, *and how they vse them.*

How they divide the yeare. THey divide the yeare into fiue seasons. Their winter some call *Popanow*, the spring *Cattapeuk*, the sommer *Cohattayough*, the earing of their Corne *Nepinough*, the harvest and fall of leafe *Taquitock*. From September vntill the midst of November are the chiefe feasts & sacrifice. Then haue they plentie of fruits as well planted as naturall, as corne, greene and ripe, fish, fowle, and wilde beasts exceeding fat.

How they prepare the ground. The greatest labour they take, is in planting their corne, for the Country naturally is overgrowne with wood. To prepare the ground they bruise the barke of the trees neare the root, then doe they scortch the roots with fire that they grow no more. The next yeare with a crooked peece of wood they beat vp the weeds by the rootes, and in that mould they plant their Corne. Their manner is this. They make a hole in the earth with a sticke, and into it they put foure graines of wheate and two of beanes These holes they make foure foote one from another; Their women and children do continually keepe it with weeding, and when it is growne middle high, they hill it about like a hop-yard.

How they plant. In Aprill they begin to plant, but their chiefe plantation is in May, and so they continue till the midst of Iune. What they plant in Aprill they reape in August, for May in September, for Iune in October; Every stalke of their corne commonly beareth two eares, some three, seldome any foure, many but one, and some none. Every eare ordinarily hath betwixt 200 and 500 graines. The stalke being greene hath a sweet iuice in it, somewhat like a sugar Cane, which is the cause that when they gather their corne greene, they sucke the stalkes: for as we gather greene pease, so doe they their corne being greene, which excelleth their old. They plant also pease they call *Assentamens*, which are the same they call in *Italy*, *Fagiols*. Their Beanes are the same the Turkes call *Garnauses*, but these they much esteeme for dainties.

How they vse their Corne. Their corne they rost in the eare greene, and bruising it in a morter of wood with a Polt, lap it in rowles in the leaues of their corne, and so boyle it for a daintie. They also reserue that corne late planted that will not ripe, by roasting it in hot ashes, the heat thereof drying it. In winter they esteeme it being boyled with beanes for a rare dish, they call *Pausarowmena*. Their old wheat they first steepe a night in hot water, in the morning pounding it in a morter. They vse a small basket for their Temmes, then pound againe the great, and so separating by dashing their hand in the basket, receiue the flower in a platter made of wood, scraped to that forme with burning

and

and ſhels. Tempering this flower with water, they make it either in cakes, covering them with aſhes till they be baked, and then waſhing them in faire water, they drie preſently with their owne heat: or elſe boyle them in water, eating the broth with the bread which they call *Ponap*. The groutes and peeces of the corne remaining, by fanning in a Platter or in the wind, away, the branne they boyle 3 or 4 houres with water, which is an ordinary food they call *Vſtatahamen*. But ſome more thriftie then cleanly, doe burne the core of the eare to powder, which they call *Pungnough*, mingling that in their meale, but it never taſted well in bread, nor broth. Their fiſh & fleſh they boyle either very tenderly, or boyle it ſo long on hurdles over the fire, or elſe after the *Spaniſh* faſhion, putting it on a ſpit, they turne firſt the one ſide, then the other, till it be as drie as their ierkin Beefe in the weſt *Indies*, that they may keepe it a moneth or more without putrifying. The broth of fiſh or fleſh they eat as commonly as the meat.

How they vſe their fiſh and fleſh.

In May alſo amongſt their corne they plant *Pumpeons*, and a fruit like vnto a muske mellon, but leſſe and worſe, which they call *Macocks*. Theſe increaſe exceedingly, and ripen in the beginning of Iuly, and continue vntill September. They plant alſo *Maracocks* a wild fruit like a Lemmon, which alſo increaſe infinitely. They begin to ripe in September, and continue till the end of October. When all their fruits be gathered, little els they plant, and this is done by their women and children; neither doth this long ſuffice them, for neare three parts of the yeare, they onely obſerue times and ſeaſons, and liue of what the Country naturally affordeth from hand to mouth, &c.

Planted fruits

The Commodities in Virginia, *or that may be had by Induſtrie.*

THe mildneſſe of the ayre, the fertilitie of the ſoyle, and ſituation of the rivers are ſo propitious to the nature and vſe of man, as no place is more conuenient for pleaſure, profit, and mans ſuſtenance, vnder that latitude or climat. Here will liue any beaſts, as horſes, goats, ſheepe, aſſes, hens, &c. as appeared by them that were carried thether. The waters, Iſles, and ſhoales, are full of fare harbours for ſhips of warre or marchandize, for boats of all ſorts, for tranſportation or fiſhing, &c. The Bay and rivers haue much marchantable fiſh, and places fit for Salt coats, building of ſhips, making of Iron, &c.

A prooſe caſtell will liue well.

Muſcouia and *Polonia* doe yearely receiue many thouſands, for pitch, tarre, ſope-aſhes, Roſen, Flax, Cordage, Sturgeon, Maſts, Yards, Wainſcot, Firres, Glaſſe, and ſuch like; alſo *Swethland* for Iron and Copper. *France* in like manner, for Wine, Canvas, and Salt. *Spaine* aſmuch for Iron, Steele, Figges, Reaſons, and Sackes. *Italy* with Silkes and Velvets conſumes our chiefe Commodities. *Holland* maintaines it ſelfe by fiſhing and trading at our owne doores. All theſe temporize with other for neceſſities, but all as vncertaine as peace or warres. Beſides the charge, travell, and danger in tranſporting them, by ſeas, lands, ſtormes, and Pyrats. Then how much hath *Virginia* the prerogatiue of all thoſe flouriſhing Kingdomes, for the benefit of our Land, when as within one hundred myles all thoſe are to be had, either ready provided by nature, or elſe to be prepared, were there but induſtrious men to labour. Onely of Copper we may doubt is wanting, but there is good probabilitie that both Copper and better Minerals are there to be had for their labour. Other Countries haue it. So then here is a place, a nurſe for ſouldiers, a practiſe for mariners, a trade for marchants, a reward for the good, and that which is moſt of all, a buſineſſe (moſt acceptable to God) to bring ſuch poore Infidels to the knowledge of God and his holy Goſpell.

The Commodities.

Of the naturall Inhabitants of VIRGINIA.

THe land is not populous, for the men be few; their far greater number is of women and children. Within 60 myles of *Iames* Towne, there are about ſome 5000 people, but of able men fit for their warres ſcarce 1500. To nouriſh ſo many together

The number

Seaven hundred men were the moſt were ſeene together when they thought to haue ſurpriſed Captaine *Smith*.

together they haue yet no meanes, becauſe they make ſo ſmall a benefit of their land, be it never ſo fertile. Six or ſeauen hundred haue beene the moſt hath beene ſeene together, when they gathered themſelues to *haue ſurpriſed* mee *at Pamaunkee*, having but fifteene to withſtand the worſt of their fury. As ſmall as the proportion of ground that hath yet beene diſcouered, is in compariſon of that yet vnknowne: the people differ very much in ſtature, eſpecially in language, as before is expreſſed. Some being very great as the *Seſquehahanecks*; others very little, as the *Wighcocomocoes*: but generally tall and ſtraight, of a comely proportion, and of a colour browne when they are of any age, but they are borne white. Their hayre is generally blacke, but few haue any beards. The men weare halfe their beards ſhaven, the other halfe long; for Barbers they vſe their women, who with two ſhels will grate away the hayre, of any faſhion they pleaſe. The women are cut in many faſhions, agreeable to their yeares, but ever ſome part remaineth long. They are very ſtrong, of an able body and full of agilitie, able to endure to lie in the woods vnder a tree by the fire, in the worſt of winter, or in the weedes and graſſe, in Ambuſcado in the Sommer. They are inconſtant in every thing, but what feare conſtraineth them to keepe. Craftie, timerous, quicke of apprehenſion, and very ingenuous. Some are of diſpoſition fearefull, ſome bold, moſt cautelous, all Savage. Generally covetous of Copper, Beads, and ſuch like traſh. They are ſoone moued to anger, and ſo malicious, that they ſeldome forget an iniury: they ſeldome ſteale one from another, leaſt their coniurers ſhould reveale it, and ſo they be purſued and puniſhed. That they are thus feared is certaine, but that any can reueale their offences by coniuration I am doubtfull. Their women are carefull not to be ſuſpected of diſhoneſtie without the leaue of their huſbands. Each houſhold knoweth their owne lands, and gardens, and moſt liue of their owne labours. For their apparell, they are ſometime covered with the skinnes of wilde beaſts, which in Winter are dreſſed with the hayre, but in Sommer without. The better ſort vſe large mantels of Deare skins, not much differing in faſhion from the Iriſh mantels. Some imbrodered with white beads, ſome with Copper, other painted after their manner. But the common ſort haue ſcarce to cover their nakedneſſe, but with graſſe, the leaues of trees, or ſuch like. We haue ſeene ſome vſe mantels made of Turky feathers, ſo prettily wrought & woven with threads that nothing could be diſcerned but the feathers. That was exceeding warme and very handſome. But the women are alwayes covered about their middles with a skin, and very ſhamefaſt to be ſeene bare. They adorne themſelues moſt with copper beads and paintings. Their women, ſome haue their legs, hands, breaſts and face cunningly imbrodered with divers workes, as beaſts, ſerpents, artificially wrought into their fleſh with blacke ſpots. In each eare commonly they haue 3 great holes, whereat they hang chaines, bracelets, or copper. Some of their men weare in thoſe holes, a ſmall greene and yellow coloured ſnake, neare halfe a yard in length, which crawling and lapping her ſelfe about his necke oftentimes familiarly would kiſſe his lips. Others weare a dead Rat tyed by the taile. Some on their heads weare the wing of a bird, or ſome large feather with a Rattell. Thoſe Rattels are ſomewhat like the chape of a Rapier, but leſſe, which they take from the taile of a ſnake. Many haue the whole skinne of a Hawke or ſome ſtrange foule, ſtuffed with the wings abroad. Others a broad peece of Copper, and ſome the hand of their enemy dryed. Their heads and ſhoulders are painted red with the roote *Pocone* brayed to powder, mixed with oyle, this they hold in ſommer to preſerue them from the heate, and in winter from the cold. Many other formes of paintings they vſe, but he is the moſt gallant that is the moſt monſtrous to behold.

A deſcription of the people.

The Barbers.

The conſtitution.

The diſpoſition.

The poſſeſſions.

Their attire.

Their ornaments.

Their buildings.

Their buildings and habitations are for the moſt part by the rivers, or not farre diſtant from ſome freſh ſpring. Their houſes are built like our Arbors, of ſmall young ſprings bowed and tyed, and ſo cloſe covered with Mats, or the barkes of trees very handſomely, that notwithſtanding either winde, raine, or weather, they are as warme as ſtooues, but very ſmoaky, yet at the toppe of the houſe there is a hole made for the ſmoake to goe into right over the fire.

Againſt

Againſt the fire they lie on little hurdles of Reeds covered with a Mat, borne from the ground a foote and more by a hurdle of wood. On theſe round about the houſe they lie heads and points one by th'other againſt the fire, ſome covered with Mats, ſome with skins, and ſome ſtarke naked lie on the ground, from 6 to 20 in a houſe. Their houſes are in the midſt of their fields or gardens, which are ſmall plots of ground. Some 20 acres, ſome 40. ſome 100. ſome 200. ſome more, ſome leſſe. In ſome places from 2 to 50 of thoſe houſes together, or but a little ſeparated by groues of trees. Neare their habitations is little ſmall wood or old trees on the ground by reaſon of their burning of them for fire. So that a man may gallop a horſe amongſt theſe woods any way, but where the creekes or Rivers ſhall hinder. Their lodgings. Their gardens

Men, women, and children haue their ſeverall names according to the ſeverall humor of their Parents. Their women (they ſay) are eaſily delivered of childe, yet doe they loue children very dearely. To make them hardie, in the coldeſt mornings they them waſh in the rivers, and by painting and oyntments ſo tanne their skinnes, that after a yeare or two, no weather will hurt them. How they vſe their children.

The men beſtow their times in fiſhing, hunting, warres, and ſuch man-like exerciſes, ſcorning to be ſeene in any woman-like exerciſe, which is the cauſe that the women be very painefull, and the men often idle. The women and children doe the reſt of the worke. They make mats, baskets, pots, morters, pound their corne, make their bread, prepare their victuals, plant their corne, gather their corne, beare all kind of burdens, and ſuch like. The induſtrie of their women.

Their fire they kindle preſently by chafing a dry pointed ſticke in a hole of a little ſquare peece of wood, that firing it ſelfe, will ſo fire moſſe, leaues, or any ſuch like dry thing, that will quickly burne. In March and Aprill they liue much vpon their fiſhing wires; and feed on fiſh, Turkies, and Squirrels. In May and Iune they plant their fields, and liue moſt of Acornes, Walnuts, and fiſh. But to amend their dyet, ſome diſperſe themſelues in ſmall companies, and liue vpon fiſh, beaſts, crabs, oyſters, land Tortoiſes, ſtrawberries, mulberries, and ſuch like. In Iune, Iuly, and Auguſt, they feed vpon the rootes of *Tockwough* berries, fiſh, and greene wheat. It is ſtrange to ſee how their bodies alter with their dyet, even as the deere & wilde beaſts they ſeeme fat and leane, ſtrong and weake. *Powhatan* their great King, and ſome others that are provident, roſt their fiſh and fleſh vpon hurdles as before is expreſſed, and keepe it till ſcarce times. How they ſtrike fire. The order of dyet.

For fiſhing, hunting, and warres they vſe much their bow and arrowes. They bring their bowes to the forme of ours by the ſcraping of a ſhell. Their arrowes are made ſome of ſtraight young ſprigs, which they head with bone, ſome 2 or 3 ynches long. Theſe they vſe to ſhoot at Squirrels on trees. Another ſort of arrowes they vſe made of Reeds. Theſe are peeced with wood, headed with ſplinters of chriſtall, or ſome ſharpe ſtone, the ſpurres of a Turkey, or the bill of ſome bird. For his knife he hath the ſplinter of a Reed to cut his feathers in forme. With this knife alſo, he will ioynt a Deere, or any beaſt, ſhape his ſhooes, buskins, mantels, &c. To make the noch of his arrow he hath the tooth of a Beaver, ſet in a ſticke, wherewith he graſeth it by degrees. His arrow head he quickly maketh with a little bone, which he ever weareth at his bracer, of any ſplint of a ſtone, or glaſſe in the forme of a heart, and theſe they glew to the end of their arrowes. With the ſinewes of Deere, and the tops of Deeres hornes boyled to a ielly, they make a glew that will not diſſolue in cold water. How they make their bowes and arrowes. Their knives.

For their warres alſo they vſe Targets that are round and made of the barkes of trees, and a ſword of wood at their backes, but oftentimes they vſe for ſwords the horne of a Deere put through a peece of wood in forme of a Pickaxe. Some a long ſtone ſharpned at both ends, vſed in the ſame manner. This they were wont to vſe alſo for hatchets, but now by trucking they haue plentie of the ſame forme of yron. And thoſe are their chiefe inſtruments and armes. Their Targets and Swords.

Their fiſhing is much in Boats. Theſe they make of one tree by burning and ſcratching away the coales with ſtones and ſhels, till they haue made it in forme of a Trough. Their Boats.

Trough. Some of them are an elne deepe, and fortie or fiftie foote in length, and ſome will beare 40 men, but the moſt ordinary are ſmaller, and will beare 10, 20, or 30. according to their bignеſſe. In ſtead of Oares, they vſe Paddles and ſtickes, with which they will row faſter then our Barges. Betwixt their hands and thighes, their women vſe to ſpin, the barkes of trees, Deere ſinewes, or a kind of graſſe they call *Pemmenaw*, of theſe they make a thread very even and readily. This thread ſerveth for many vſes. As about their houſing, apparell, as alſo they make nets for fiſhing, for the quantitie as formally braded as ours. They make alſo with it lines for angles.

How they ſpin.

Their fiſh-hookes.

Their hookes are either a bone grated as they noch their arrowes in the forme of a crooked pinne or fiſh-hooke, or of the ſplinter of a bone tyed to the clift of a little ſticke, and with the end of the line, they tie on the bait. They vſe alſo long arrowes tyed in a line, wherewith they ſhoote at fiſh in the rivers. But they of *Accawmack* vſe ſtaues like vnto Iauelins headed with bone. With theſe they dart fiſh ſwimming in the water. They haue alſo many artificiall wires, in which they get abundance of fiſh.

In their hunting and fiſhing they take extreame paines; yet it being their ordinary exerciſe from their infancy, they eſteeme it a pleaſure and are very proud to be expert therein. And by their continuall ranging, and travell, they know all the advantages and places moſt frequented with Deere, Beaſts, Fiſh, Foule, Roots, and Berries.

How they hunt.

At their huntings they leaue their habitations, and reduce themſelues into companies, as the *Tartars* doe, and goe to the moſt deſert places with their families, where they ſpend their time in hunting and fowling vp towards the mountaines, by the heads of their rivers, where there is plentie of game. For betwixt the rivers the grounds are ſo narrowe, that little commeth here which they devoure not. It is a marvell they can ſo directly paſſe theſe deſerts, ſome 3 or 4 dayes iourney without habitation. Their hunting houſes are like vnto Arbours covered with Mats. Theſe their women beare after them, with Corne, Acornes, Morters, and all bag and baggage they vſe. When they come to the place of exerciſe, every man doth his beſt to ſhew his dexteritie, for by their excelling in thoſe qualities, they get their wiues. Fortie yards will they ſhoot levell, or very neare the marke, and 120 is their beſt at Random. At their huntings in the deſerts they are commonly two or three hundred together. Having found the Deere, they environ them with many fires, & betwixt the fires they place themſelues. And ſome take their ſtands in the midſts. The Deere being thus feared by the fires, and their voyces, they chaſe them ſo long within that circle, that many times they kill 6, 8, 10, or 15 at a hunting. They vſe alſo to driue them into ſome narrow poynt of land, when they find that advantage; and ſo force them into the river, where with their boats they haue *Ambuſcadoes* to kill them. When they haue ſhot a Deere by land, they follow him like bloud-hounds by the bloud, and ſtraine, and oftentimes ſo take them. Hares, Partridges, Turkies, or Egges, fat or leane, young or old, they devoure all they can catch in their power. In one of theſe huntings they found me in the diſcovery of the head of the river of *Chickahamania*, where they ſlew my men, and tooke me priſoner in a Bogmire, where I ſaw thoſe exerciſes, and gathered theſe Obſervations.

One Salvage hunting alone.

One Salvage hunting alone, vſeth the skinne of a Deere ſlit on the one ſide, and ſo put on his arme, through the neck, ſo that his hand comes to the head which is ſtuffed, and the hornes, head, eyes, eares, and every part as artificially counterfeited as they can deviſe. Thus ſhrowding his body in the skinne by ſtalking, he approacheth the Deere, creeping on the ground from one tree to another. If the Deere chance to find fault, or ſtand at gaze, he turneth the head with his hand to his beſt advantage to ſeeme like a Deere, alſo gazing and licking himſelfe. So watching his beſt advantage to approach, having ſhot him, he chaſeth him by his bloud and ſtraine till he get him.

Their Conſultations.

When they intend any warres, the *Werowances* vſually haue the advice of their their Prieſts and Coniurers, and their allies, and ancient friends, but chiefely the Prieſts determine their reſolution. Every *Werowance*, or ſome luſtie fellow, they appoin

point Captaine over every nation. They ſeldome make warre for lands or goods, but for women and children, and principally for revenge. They haue many enemies, namely, all their weſternly Countries beyond the mountaines, and the heads of the rivers. Vpon the head of the *Powhatans* are the *Monacans*, whoſe chiefe habitation is at *Rasawreak*, vnto whom the *Mowhemenchughes*, the *Massinnacacks*, the *Monahassanughs*, the *Monasickapanoughs*, and other nations pay tributes. Vpon the head of the river of *Toppahanock* is a people called *Mannahoacks*. To theſe are contributers the *Tauxanias*, the *Shackaconias*, the *Ontponeas*, the *Tegninateos*, the *Whonkenteaes*, the *Stegarakes*, the *Hassinunga es*, and divers others, all confederates with the *Monacans*, though many different in language, and be very barbarous, liuing for the moſt part of wild beaſts and fruits. Beyond the mountaines from whence is the head of the river *Patawomeke*, the Salvages report inhabit their moſt mortall enemies, the *Massawomekes*, vpon a great ſalt water, which by all likelihood is either ſome part of *Canada*, ſome great lake, or ſome inlet of ſome ſea that falleth into the South ſea. Theſe *Massawomekes* are a great nation and very populous. For the heads of all thoſe rivers, eſpecially the *Pattawomekes*, the *Pautuxuntes*, the *Saſqueſahanocks*, the *Tockwoughes* are continually tormented by them: of whoſe crueltie, they generally complained, and very importunate they were with me, and my company to free them from theſe tormentors. To this purpoſe they offered food, conduct, aſſiſtance, and continuall ſubiection. Which I concluded to effect. But the councell then preſent emulating my ſucceſſe, would not thinke it fit to ſpare me fortie men to be hazzarded in thoſe vnknowne regions, having paſſed (as before was ſpoken of) but with 12, and ſo was loſt that opportunitie. Seaven boats full of theſe *Massawomekes* wee encountred at the head of the *Bay*; whoſe Targets, Baskets, Swords, Tobaccopipes, Platters, Bowes, and Arrowes, and every thing ſhewed, they much exceeded them of our parts, and their dexteritie in their ſmall boats, made of the barkes of trees, ſowed with barke and well luted with gumme, argueth that they are ſeated vpon ſome great water.

Their enemies.

Massawomekes.

Their offer of ſubiection.

Againſt all theſe enemies the *Powhatans* are conſtrained ſometimes to fight. Their chiefe attempts are by Stratagems, trecheries, or ſurpriſals. Yet the *Werowances* women and children they put not to death, but keepe them Captiues. They haue a method in warre, and for our pleaſures they ſhewed it vs, and it was in this manner performed at *Mattapanient*.

Having painted and diſguiſed themſelues in the fierceſt manner they could deviſe. They divided themſelues into two Companies, neare a hundred in a company. The one company called *Monacans*, the other *Powhatans*. Either army had their Captaine. Theſe as enemies tooke their ſtands a muſket ſhot one from another; ranked themſelues 15 a breaſt, and each ranke from another 4 or 5 yards, not in fyle, but in the opening betwixt their fyles. So the Reare could ſhoot as conveniently as the Front. Having thus pitched the fields: from either part went a meſſenger with theſe conditions, that whoſoever were vanquiſhed, ſuch as eſcape vpon their ſubmiſſion in two dayes after ſhould liue, but their wiues and children ſhould be prize for the Conquerours. The meſſengers were no ſooner returned, but they approached in their orders; On each flanke a Serieant, and in the Reare an Officer for Lieutenant, all duly keeping their orders, yet leaping and ſinging after their accuſtomed tune, which they onely vſe in Warres. Vpon the firſt flight of arrowes they gaue ſuch horrible ſhouts and ſcreeches, as ſo many infernall hell-hounds could not haue made them more terrible. When they had ſpent their arrowes, they ioyned together prettily, charging and retyring, every ranke ſeconding other. As they got advantage they catched their enemies by the hayre of the head, and downe he came that was taken. His enemy with his wooden ſword ſeemed to beat out his braines, and ſtill they crept to the Reare, to maintaine the skirmiſh. The *Monacans* decreaſing, the *Powhatans* charged them in the forme of a halfe Moone; they vnwilling to be incloſed, fled all in a troope to their *Ambuſcadoes*, on whom they led them very cunningly. The *Monacans* diſperſe themſelues among the freſh men, wherevpon the

Their manner of Battell.

Powhatans retired, with all ſpeed to their ſeconds; which the *Monacans* ſeeing, tooke that advantage to retire againe to their owne battell, and ſo each returned to their owne quarter. All their actions, voyces, and geſtures, both in charging and retiring were ſo ſtrained to the height of their qualitie and nature, that the ſtrangeneſſe thereof made it ſeeme very delightfull.

Their Muſicke. For their Muſicke they vſe a thicke Cane, on which they pipe as on a Recorder. For their warres they haue a great deepe platter of wood. They cover the mouth thereof with a skin, at each corner they tie a walnut, which meeting on the backſide neere the bottome, with a ſmall rope they twitch them together till it be ſo tought and ſtiffe, that they may beat vpon it as vpon a drumme. But their chiefe inſtruments are Rattles made of ſmall gourds, or Pumpeons ſhels. Of theſe they haue Baſe, Tenor, Countertenor, Meane, and Treble. Theſe mingled with their voyces ſometimes twenty or thirtie together, make ſuch a terrible noiſe as would rather affright, then delight any man.

Their entertainement. If any great commander arriue at the habitation of a *Werowance*, they ſpread a Mat as the Turkes doe a Carpet for him to ſit vpon. Vpon another right oppoſite they ſit themſelues. Then doe all with a tunable voice of ſhouting bid him welcome. After this doe two or more of their chiefeſt men make an Oration, teſtifying their loue. Which they doe with ſuch vehemency, and ſo great paſſions, that they ſweat till they drop, and are ſo out of breath they can ſcarce ſpeake. So that a man would take them to be exceeding angry, or ſtark mad. Such victuall as they haue, they ſpend freely, and at night where his lodging is appointed, they ſet a woman freſh painted red with *Pocones* and oyle, to be his bed-fellow.

Their trade. Their manner of trading is for copper, beads, and ſuch like, for which they giue ſuch commodities as they haue, as skins, foule, fiſh, fleſh, and their Country Corne. But their victualls are their chiefeſt riches.

Their Phiſicke. Every ſpring they make themſelues ſicke with drinking the iuyce of a roote they call *Wighſacan*, and water; whereof they powre ſo great a quantitie, that it purgeth them in a very violent manner; ſo that in three or foure dayes after, they ſcarce recouer their former health.

Their Chirurgery. Sometimes they are troubled with dropſies, ſwellings, aches, and ſuch like diſeaſes; for cure whereof they build a Stoue in the forme of a Doue-houſe with mats, ſo cloſe that a few coales therein covered with a pot, will make the patient ſweat extreamely. For ſwellings alſo they vſe ſmall peeces of touchwood, in the forme of cloues, which pricking on the griefe they burne cloſe to the fleſh, and from thence draw the corruption with their mouth. With this roote *Wighſacan* they ordinarily heale greene wounds. But to ſcarrifie a ſwelling, or make inciſion, their beſt inſtruments are ſome ſplinted ſtone. Old vlcers, or putrified hurts are ſeldome ſeene cured amongſt them.

Their charmes to cure. They haue many profeſſed Phiſicians, who with their charmes and Rattles, with an infernall rout of words and actions, will ſeeme to ſucke their inward griefe from their navels, or their grieued places; but of our Chirurgians they were ſo conceited, that they beleeued any Plaiſter would heale any hurt.

But 'tis not alwayes in Phiſicians skill,
To heale the Patient that is ſicke and ill:
For ſometimes ſickneſſe on the Patients part,
Proues ſtronger farre then all Phiſicians art.

Of their Religion.

THere is yet in *Virginia* no place diſcovered to be ſo Savage, in which they haue not a Religion, Deere, and Bow, and Arrowes. All things that are able to doe them hurt beyond their prevention, they adore with their kinde of divine worſhip; as the fire, water, lightning, thunder, our Ordnance, peeces, horſes, &c.

Their God. But their chiefe God they worſhip is the Devill. Him they call *Okee*, and

and ſerue him more of feare then loue. They ſay they haue conference with him, and faſhion themſelues as neare to his ſhape as they can imagine. In their Temples they haue his image euill fauouredly carved, and then painted and adorned with chaines of copper, and beads, and covered with a skin, in ſuch manner as the deformitie may well ſuit with ſuch a God. By him is commonly the ſepulcher of their Kings. Their bodies are firſt bowelled, then dried vpon hurdles till they be very dry, and ſo about the moſt of their ioynts and necke they hang bracelets, or chaines of copper, pearle, and ſuch like, as they vſe to weare, their inwards they ſtuffe with copper beads, hatchets, and ſuch traſh. Then lappe they them very carefully in white skins, and ſo rowle them in mats for their winding ſheets. And in the Tombe which is an arch made of mats, they lay them orderly. What remaineth of this kinde of wealth their Kings haue, they ſet at their feet in baskets. Theſe Temples and bodies are kept by their Prieſts. How they bury their Kings

For their ordinary burials, they dig a deepe hole in the earth with ſharpe ſtakes, and the corpſe being lapped in skins and mats with their iewels, they lay them vpon ſtickes in the ground, and ſo cover them with earth. The buriall ended, the women being painted all their faces with blacke cole and oyle, doe ſit twenty foure houres in the houſes mourning and lamenting by turnes, with ſuch yelling and howling, as may expreſſe their great paſſions. Their ordinary burials.

In every Territory of a *Werowance* is a Temple and a Prieſt, two or three or more. Their principall Temple or place of ſuperſtition is at *Vttamuſſack*, at *Pamaunkee*, neare vnto which is a houſe, Temple, or place of *Powhatans*. Their Temples.

Vpon the top of certaine red ſandy hils in the woods, there are three great houſes filled with images of their Kings, and Devils, and Tombes of their Predeceſſors. Thoſe houſes are neare ſixtie foot in length built arbour-wiſe, after their building. This place they count ſo holy as that but the Prieſts & Kings dare come into them; nor the Salvages dare not goe vp the river in boats by it, but they ſolemnly caſt ſome peece of copper, white beads, or *Pocones* into the river, for feare their *Okee* ſhould be offended and revenged of them.

Thus, *Feare was the firſt their Gods begot:*
Till feare began, their Gods were not.

In this place commonly are reſident ſeauen Prieſts. The chiefe differed from the reſt in his ornaments, but inferior Prieſts could hardly be knowne from the common people, but that they had not ſo many holes in their eares to hang their iewels at. The ornaments of the chiefe Prieſt were certaine attires for his head made thus. They tooke a doſen, or 16, or more ſnakes skins and ſtuffed them with moſſe, and of Weeſels and other Vermines skins a good many. All theſe they tie by their tailes, ſo as all their tailes meete in the toppe of their head like a great Taſſell. Round about this Taſſell is as it were a crowne of feathers, the skins hang round about his head, necke, and ſhoulders, and in a manner cover his face. The faces of all their Prieſts are painted as vgly as they can deviſe, in their hands they had every one his Rattle, ſome baſe, ſome ſmaller. Their devotion was moſt in ſongs, which the chiefe Prieſt beginneth and the reſt followed him, ſometimes he maketh invocations with broken ſentences by ſtarts and ſtrange paſſions, and at every pauſe, the reſt giue a ſhort groane. Their ornaments for their Prieſts.

Thus ſeeke they in deepe fooliſhneſſe,
To climbe the height of happineſſe.

It could not be perceiued that they keepe any day as more holy then other; But onely in ſome great diſtreſſe of want, feare of enemies, times of triumph and gathering together their fruits, the whole Country of men, women, and children come together to ſolemnities. The manner of their devotion is, ſometimes to make a great fire, in the houſe or fields, and all to ſing and dance about it with Rattles and ſhouts The times of ſolemnities.

together, foure or fiue houres. Sometimes they ſet a man in the midſt, and about him they dance and ſing, he all the while clapping his hands, as if he would keepe time, and after their ſongs and dauncings ended they goe to their Feaſts.

Through God begetting feare,
Mans blinded minde did reare
A hell-god to the ghoſts;
A heaven-god to the hoaſts;
Yea God vnto the Seas:
Feare did create all theſe.

Their coniurations. They haue alſo divers coniurations, one they made when I was their priſoner; of which hereafter you ſhall reade at large.

Their Altars. They haue alſo certaine Altar ſtones they call *Pawcorances*, but theſe ſtand from their Temples, ſome by their houſes, others in the woods and wildernesſes, where they haue had any extraordinary accident, or incounter. And as you travell, at thoſe ſtones they will tell you the cauſe why they were there erected, which from age to age they inſtruct their children, as their beſt records of antiquities. Vpon theſe they offer bloud, Deere ſuet, and Tobacco. This they doe when they returne from the Warres, from hunting, and vpon many other occaſions. They haue alſo another ſuperſtition that they vſe in ſtormes, when the waters are rough in the Rivers and Sea coaſts. Their Coniurers runne to the water ſides, or paſſing in their boats, after many helliſh outcryes and invocations, they caſt Tobacco, Copper, *Pocones*, or ſuch traſh into the water, to pacifie that God whom they thinke to be very angry in thoſe ſtormes. Before their dinners and ſuppers the better ſort will take the firſt bit, and caſt it in the fire, which is all the grace they are knowne to vſe.

Sacrifices to the water.

In ſome part of the Country they haue yearely a ſacrifice of children. Such a one was at *Quiyoughcohanock* ſome ten myles from *Iames* Towne, and thus performed. Fifteene of the propereſt young boyes, betweene ten and fifteene yeares of age they painted white. Having brought them forth, the people ſpent the forenoone in dancing and ſinging about them with Rattles. In the afternoone they put thoſe children to the roote of a tree. By them all the men ſtood in a guard, every one having a Baſtinado in his hand, made of reeds bound together. This made a lane betweene them all along, through which there were appointed fiue young men to fetch theſe children: ſo every one of the fiue went through the guard to fetch a childe each after other by turnes, the guard fiercely beating them with their Baſtinadoes, and they patiently enduring and receiuing all, defending the children with their naked bodies from the vnmercifull blowes, that pay them ſoundly, though the children eſcape. All this while the women weepe and cry out very paſſionately, prouiding mats, skins, moſſe, and dry wood, as things fitting their childrens funerals. After the children were thus paſſed the guard, the guard tore down the trees, branches & boughs, with ſuch violence that they rent the body, and made wreaths for their heads, or bedecked their hayre with the leaues. What els was done with the children, was not ſeene, but they were all caſt on a heape, in a valley as dead, where they made a great feaſt for all the company. The *Werowance* being demanded the meaning of this ſacrifice, anſwered that the children were not all dead, but that the *Okee* or *Divell* did ſucke the bloud from their left breaſt, who chanced to be his by lot, till they were dead, but the reſt were kept in the wilderneſſe by the young men till nine moneths were expired, during which time they muſt not converſe with any, and of theſe were made their Prieſts and Coniurers. This ſacrifice they held to be ſo neceſſary, that if they ſhould omit it, their *Okee* or *Devill*, and all their other *Quiyoughcoſughes*, which are their other Gods, would let them haue no Deere, Turkies, Corne, nor fiſh, and yet beſides he would make a great ſlaughter amongſt them.

Their ſolemn Sacrifices of children, which they call Blackboyes.

Thoſe Blackboyes are made ſo mad with a kind of drinke, that they will doe any miſchiefe, at the command of their Keepers.

Their reſurrection. They thinke that their *Werowances* and Prieſts which they alſo eſteeme *Quiyoughcoſughes*, when they are dead, doe goe beyond the mountaines towards the ſetting of the ſunne, and ever remaine there in forme of their *Okee*, with their heads painted

ted with oyle and *Pocones*, finely trimmed with feathers, and ſhall haue beads, hatchets, copper, and Tobacco, doing nothing but dance and ſing, with all their Predeceſſors. But the common people they ſuppoſe ſhall not liue after death, but rot in their graues like dead dogs.

To divert them from this blind Idolatry, we did our beſt endevours, chiefly with the *Werowance* of *Quiyoughcohanock*, whoſe devotion, apprehenſion, and good diſpoſition, much exceeded any in thoſe Countries, with whom although we could not as yet prevaile, to forſake his falſe Gods, yet this he did beleeue that our God as much exceeded theirs, as our Gunnes did their Bowes & Arrowes, and many times did ſend to me to *Iames* Towne, intreating me to pray to my God for raine, for their Gods would not ſend them any. And in this lamentable ignorance doe theſe poore ſoules ſacrifice themſelues to the Devill, not knowing their Creator; and we had not language ſufficient, ſo plainly to expreſſe it as make them vnderſtand it; which God grant they may.

For, *Religion 'tis that doth diſtinguiſh vs,*
From their brute humor, well we may it know;
That can with vnderſtanding argue thus,
Our God is truth, but they cannot doe ſo.

Of the manner of the Virginians *Government.*

ALthough the Country people be very barbarous, yet haue they amongſt them ſuch government, as that their Magiſtrates for good commanding, and their people for due ſubiection, and obeying, excell many places that would be counted very civill. The forme of their Common-wealth is a Monarchicall government, one as Emperour ruleth ouer many Kings or Governours. Their chiefe ruler is called *Powhatan*, and taketh his name of his principall place of dwelling called *Powhatan*. But his proper name is *Wahunſonacock*. Some Countries he hath which haue beene his anceſtors, and came vnto him by inheritance, as the Country called *Powhatan*, *Arrohateck*, *Appamatuck*, *Pamavnkee*, *Toughtanund*, and *Mattapanient*. All the reſt of his Territories expreſſed in the Mappe, they report haue beene his ſeverall Conqueſts. In all his ancient inheritances, he hath houſes built after their manner like arbours, ſome 30. ſome 40. yards long, and at every houſe proviſion for his entertainement according to the time. At *Werowcomoco* on the Northſide of the river *Pamavnkee*, was his reſidence, when I was delivered him priſoner, ſome 14 myles from *Iames* Towne, where for the moſt part, he was reſident, but at laſt he tooke ſo little pleaſure in our neare neighbourhood, that he retired himſelfe to *Orapakes*, in the deſert betwixt *Chickahamania* and *Toughtanund*. He is of perſonage a tall well proportioned man, with a ſower looke, his head ſomwhat gray, his beard ſo thinne, that it ſeemeth none at all, his age neare ſixtie; of a very able and hardy body to endure any labour. About his perſon ordinarily attendeth a guard of 40 or 50 of the talleſt men his Country doth afford. Every night vpon the foure quarters of his houſe are foure Sentinels, each from other a flight ſhoot, and at every halfe houre one from the *Corps du guard* doth hollow, ſhaking his lips with his finger betweene them; vnto whom every Sentinell doth anſwer round from his ſtand: if any faile, they preſently ſend forth an officer that beateth him extreamely.

A deſcription of *Powhatan*.

His attendace and watch.

A myle from *Orapakes* in a thicket of wood, he hath a houſe in which he keepeth his kinde of Treaſure, as skinnes, copper, pearle, and beads, which he ſtoreth vp againſt the time of his death and buriall. Here alſo is his ſtore of red paint for oyntment, bowes and arrowes, Targets and clubs. This houſe is fiftie or ſixtie yards in length, frequented onely by Prieſts. At the foure corners of this houſe ſtand foure

His treaſury.

Images as Sentinels, one of a Dragon, another a Beare, the third like a Leopard, and the fourth like a giantlike man, all made evill favouredly, according to their beſt workemanſhip.

His wiues. He hath as many women as he will, whereof when he lieth on his bed, one ſitteth at his head, and another at his feet, but when he ſitteth, one ſitteth on his right hand and another on his left. As he is weary of his women, he beſtoweth them on thoſe that beſt deſerue them at his hands. When he dineth or ſuppeth, one of his women before and after meat, bringeth him water in a wooden platter to waſh his hands. Another waiteth with a bunch of feathers to wipe them in ſtead of a Towell, and the feathers when he hath wiped are dryed againe. His kingdomes deſcend not to his ſonnes nor children, but firſt to his brethren, whereof he hath 3. namely, *Opitchapan*, *Opechancanough*, and *Catataugh*, and after their deceaſe to his ſiſters. Firſt to the eldeſt ſiſter, then to the reſt, and after them to the heires male or female of the eldeſt ſiſter, but never to the heires of the males.

His ſucceſſors

Their authoritie. He nor any of his people vnderſtand any letters, whereby to write or reade, onely the lawes whereby he ruleth is cuſtome. Yet when he liſteth his will is a law and muſt be obeyed: not onely as a King, but as halfe a God they eſteeme him. His inferiour Kings whom they call *Werowances*, are tyed to rule by cuſtomes, and haue power of life and death at their command in that nature. But this word *Werowance*, which we call and conſtrue for a King, is a common word, whereby they call all commanders: for they haue but few words in their language, and but few occaſions to vſe any officers more then one commander, which commonly they call *Werowance*, or *Cancorouſe*, which is Captaine. They all know their ſeverall lands, and habitations, and limits, to fiſh, foule, or hunt in, but they hold all of their great *Werowance Powhatan*, vnto whom they pay tribute of skinnes, beads, copper, pearle, deere, turkies, wild beaſts, and corne. What he commandeth they dare not diſobey in the leaſt thing. It is ſtrange to ſee with what great feare and adoration, all theſe people doe obey this *Powhatan*. For at his feet they preſent whatſoever he commandeth, and at the leaſt frowne of his brow, their greateſt ſpirits will tremble with feare: and no marvell, for he is very terrible & tyrannous in puniſhing ſuch as offend him.

The tenor of their lands.

His manner of puniſhments. For example, he cauſed certaine malefactors to be bound hand and foot, then having of many fires gathered great ſtore of burning coales, they rake theſe coales round in the forme of a cockpit, and in the midſt they caſt the offenders to broyle to death. Sometimes he cauſeth the heads of them that offend him, to be laid vpon the altar or ſacrificing ſtone, and one with clubbes beats out their braines. When he would puniſh any notorious enemy or malefactor, he cauſeth him to be tyed to a tree, and with Muſſell ſhels or reeds, the executioner cutteth off his ioynts one after another, ever caſting what they cut of into the fire; then doth he proceed with ſhels and reeds to caſe the skinne from his head and face; then doe they rip his belly and ſo burne him with the tree and all. Thus themſelues reported they executed *George Caſſen*. Their ordinary correction is to beate them with cudgels. We haue ſeene a man kneeling on his knees, and at *Powhatans* command, two men haue beate him on the bare skin, till he hath fallen ſenſeleſſe in a ſound, and yet never cry nor complained. And he made a woman for playing the whore, ſit vpon a great ſtone, on her bare breech twenty-foure houres, onely with corne and water, every three dayes, till nine dayes were paſt, yet he loued her exceedingly: notwithſtanding there are common whores by profeſſion.

In the yeare 1608, he ſurpriſed the people of *Payankatank* his neare neighbours and ſubiects. The occaſion was to vs vnknowne, but the manner was thus. Firſt he ſent divers of his men as to lodge amongſt them that night, then the *Ambuſcadoes* environed all their houſes, and at the houre appointed, they all fell to the ſpoyle, twenty-foure men they ſlew, the long haire of the one ſide of their heads, with the skinne caſed off with ſhels or reeds, they brought away. They ſurpriſed alſo the women, and the children, and the *Werowance*. All theſe they preſented to *Powhatan*. The *Werowance*, women and children became his priſoners, and doe him ſervice.

The

The lockes of haire with their skinnes he hanged on a line betwixt two trees. And thus he made oſtentation of his triumph at *Werowocomoco*, where he intended to haue done as much to mee and my company.

And this is as much as my memory can call to minde worthy of note; which I haue purpoſely collected, to ſatisfie my friends of the true worth and qualitie of *Virginia*. Yet ſome bad natures will not ſticke to ſlander the Countrey, that will ſlovenly ſpit at all things, eſpecially in company where they can finde none to contradict them. Who though they were ſcarce euer ten myles from *Iames* Towne, or at the moſt but at the falles; yet holding it a great diſgrace that amongſt ſo much action, their actions were nothing, exclaime of all things, though they never adventured to know any thing; nor euer did any thing but devoure the fruits of other mens labours. Being for moſt part of ſuch tender educations, and ſmall experience in Martiall accidents, becauſe they found not Engliſh Cities, nor ſuch faire houſes, nor at their owne wiſhes any of their accuſtomed dainties, with feather beds and downe pillowes, Tavernes and Alehouſes in every breathing place, neither ſuch plentie of gold and ſilver and diſſolute libertie, as they expected, had little or no care of any thing, but to pamper their bellies, to fly away with our Pinnaces, or procure their meanes to returne for *England*. For the Country was to them a miſery, a ruine, a death, a hell, and their reports here, and their actions there according.

Some other there were that had yearely ſtipends to paſſe to and againe for tranſportation: who to keepe the myſterie of the buſineſſe in themſelues, though they had neither time nor meanes to know much of themſelues; yet all mens actions or relations they ſo formally tuned to the temporizing times ſimplicitie, as they could make their ignorances ſeeme much more, then all the true actors could by their experience. And thoſe with their great words deluded the world with ſuch ſtrange promiſes, as abuſed the buſineſſe much worſe then the reſt. For the buſineſſe being builded vpon the foundation of their fained experience, the planters, the money and meanes haue ſtill miſcarried: yet they ever returning, and the planters ſo farre abſent, who could contradict their excuſes? which, ſtill to maintaine their vaine glory and eſtimation, from time to time haue vſed ſuch diligence as made them paſſe for truths, though nothing more falſe. And that the adventurers might be thus abuſed, let no man wonder; for the wiſeſt liuing is ſooneſt abuſed by him that hath a faire tongue and a diſſembling heart.

There were many in *Virginia* meerely proiecting, verball, and idle contemplators, and thoſe ſo devoted to pure idleneſſe, that though they had liued two or three yeares in *Virginia*, lordly, neceſſitie it ſelfe could not compell them to paſſe the *Peninſula*, or *Palliſadoes* of *Iames* Towne, and thoſe witty ſpirits, what would they not affirme in the behalfe of our tranſporters, to get victuall from their ſhips, or obtaine their good words in *England*, to get their paſſes. Thus from the clamors, and the ignorance of falſe informers, are ſprung thoſe diſaſters that ſprung in *Virginia*: and our ingenious verbaliſts were no leſſe plague to vs in *Virginia*, then the Locuſts to the Egyptians. For the labour of twentie or thirtie of the beſt onely preſerved in Chriſtianitie by their induſtry, the idle livers of neare two hundred of the reſt: who liuing neere ten moneths of ſuch naturall meanes, as the Country naturally of it ſelfe afforded, notwithſtanding all this, and the worſt fury of the Salvages, the extremitie of ſickneſſe, mutinies, faction, ignorances, and want of victuall; in all that time I loſt but ſeaven or eight men, yet ſubiected the ſalvages to our deſired obedience, and receiued contribution from thirtie fiue of their Kings, to protect and aſſiſt them againſt any that ſhould aſſault them, in which order they continued true and faithfull, and as ſubiects to his Maieſtie, ſo long after as I did governe there, vntill I left the Countrey: ſince, how they haue revolted, the Countrie loſt, and againe replanted, and the buſineſſes hath ſucceded from time to time, I referre you to the relations of them returned from *Virginia*, that haue beene more diligent in ſuch Obſervations.

Iohn Smith *writ this with his owne hand.*

Becauſe many doe deſire to know the manner of their Language, I haue inſerted theſe few words.

KA katorawines yowo. What call you this.
Nemarough, a man.
Crenepo, a woman.
Marowanchesſo, a boy.
Tehawkans, Houſes.
Matchcores, Skins, or garments.
Mockaſins, Shooes.
Tuſſan, Beds. *Pokatawer*, Fire.
Attawp, A bow. *Attonce*, Arrowes.
Monacookes, Swords.
Aumouhhowgh, A Target.
Pawcuſſacks, Gunnes.
Tomahacks, Axes.
Tockahacks, Pickaxes.
Pameſacks, Kniues.
Accowprets, Sheares.
Pawpecones, Pipes. *Mattaßin*, Copper
Vſſawaſſin, Iron, Braſſe, Silver, or any white mettall. *Muſſes*, Woods.
Attaſſkuſſ, Leaues, weeds, or graſſe.
Chepſin, Land. *Shacquohocan*. A ſtone.
Wepenter, A cookold.
Suckahanna, Water. *Noughmaſſ*, Fiſh.
Copotone, Sturgeon.
Weghſhaughes, Fleſh.
Sawwehone, Bloud.
Netoppew, Friends.
Marrapough, Enemies.
Maskapow, the worſt of the enemies.
Mawchick chammay, The beſt of friends
Caſacunnakack, peya quagh acquintan vttaſantaſough, In how many daies will there come hither any more Engliſh Ships.

Their Numbers.

Necut, 1. *Ningh*, 2. *Nuſſ*, 3. *Yowgh*, 4. *Paranske*, 5. *Comotinch*, 6. *Teppawoſſ*, 7 *Nuſſwaſe*, 8. *Kekatawgh*, 9. *Kaskeke* 10 They count no more but by tennes as followeth.

Caſe, how many.
Ninghſapoocksku, 20.
Nuſſapoocksku, 30.
Yowghapoocksku, 40.
Paranketaſsapoocksku, 50.
Comatinchtaſsapoocksku, 60.
Nuſſwaſhtaſſapoocksku, 70.
Kekataughtaſsapoocksku, 80.
Necuttoughtyſmough, 100.
Necuttwevnquaough, 1000.
Rawcoſowghs, Dayes.
Keſkowghes, Sunnes:
Toppquough. Nights.
Nepawweſhowghs, Moones.
Pawpaxſoughes, Yeares.
Pummahumps, Starres.
Oſies, Heavens.
Okees, Gods.
Quiyoughcoſoughs, Pettie Gods, and their affinities.
Righcomoughes, Deaths.
Kekughes, Liues.
Mowchick weyawgh tawgh noeragh kaqueremecher, I am very hungry? what ſhall I eate?
Tawnor nehiegh Powhatan, Where dwels Powhatan.
Mache, nehiegh yourough, Orapaks. Now he dwels a great way hence at Orapaks.
Vittapitchewayne anpechitchs nehawper Werowacomoco, You lie, he ſtaid ever at Werowacomoco.
Kator nehiegh mattagh neer vttapitchewayne, Truely he is there I doe not lie.
Spaughtynere keragh werowance mawmarinough kekatē wawgh peyaquaugh. Run you then to the King Mawmarynough and bid him come hither.
Vttek, e peya weyack wighwhip, Get you gone, & come againe quickly.
Kekaten Pokahontas patiaquagh ningh tanks manotyens neer mowchick rawremoak audowgh, Bid Pokahontas bring hither two little Baskets, and I will giue her white Beads to make her a Chaine. *FINIS.*

The third Booke.

THE PROCEEDINGS AND ACCIDENTS OF The Engliſh *Colony* in *Virginia*,

Extracted from the Authors following, by WILLIAM SIMONS, *Doctour of Divinitie.*

CHAPTER I.

IT might well be thought, a Countrie ſo faire (as *Virginia* is) and a people ſo tractable, would long ere this haue beene quietly poſſeſſed, to the ſatisfaction of the adventurers, & the eternizing of the memory of thoſe that effected it. But becauſe all the world doe ſee a defailement; this following Treatiſe ſhall giue ſatisfaction to all indifferent Readers, how the buſineſſe hath bin carried: where no doubt they will eaſily vnderſtand and anſwer to their queſtion, how it came to paſſe there was no better ſpeed and ſucceſſe in thoſe proceedings.

1606. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treaſurer.

Captaine *Bartholomew Goſnoll*, one of the firſt movers of this plantation, having many yeares ſolicited many of his friends, but found ſmall aſſiſtants; at laſt prevailed with ſome Gentlemen, as Captaine *Iohn Smith*, Mr *Edward-maria Wingfield*, Mr *Robert Hunt*, and divers others, who depended a yeare vpon his proiects, but nothing could be effected, till by their great charge and induſtrie, it came to be apprehended by certaine of the Nobilitie, Gentry, and Marchants, ſo that his Maieſtie by his letters patents, gaue commiſſion for eſtabliſhing Councels, to direct here; and to governe, and to execute there. To effect this, was ſpent another yeare, and by that, three ſhips were provided, one of 100 Tuns, another of 40. and a Pinnace of 20. The tranſportation of the company was committed to Captaine *Chriſtopher Newport*, a Marriner well practiſed for the Weſterne parts of *America*. But their orders for government were put in a box, not to be opened, nor the governours knowne vntill they arrived in *Virginia*.

The firſt mouer of the action.

Orders for government.

On the 19 of December, 1606. we ſet ſayle from Blackwall, but by vnproſperous winds, were kept ſix weekes in the ſight of *England*; all which time, Mr *Hunt* our Preacher, was ſo weake and ſicke, that few expected his recovery. Yet although he were but twentie myles from his habitation (the time we were in the Downes) and notwithſtanding the ſtormy weather, nor the ſcandalous imputations (of ſome few, little better then Atheiſts, of the greateſt ranke amongſt vs) ſuggeſted againſt him, all this could never force from him ſo much as a ſeeming deſire to leaue the buſines, but preferred the ſervice of God, in ſo good a voyage, before any affection to conteſt with his godleſſe foes, whoſe diſaſterous deſignes (could they haue prevailed)

had even then overthrowne the buſineſſe, ſo many diſcontents did then ariſe, had he not with the water of patience, and his godly exhortations (but chiefly by his true devoted examples) quenched thoſe flames of envie, and diſſention.

We watered at the Canaries, we traded with the Salvages at *Dominica*; three weekes we ſpent in refreſhing our ſelues amongſt theſe weſt-India Iſles; in *Gwardalupa* we found a bath ſo hot, as in it we boyled Porck as well as over the fire. And at a little Iſle called *Monica*, we tooke from the buſhes with our hands, neare two hogſheads full of Birds in three or foure houres. In *Mevis*, *Mona*, and the Virgin Iſles, we ſpent ſome time, where, with a lothſome beaſt like a Crocodil, called a Gwayn, Tortoiſes, Pellicans, Parrots, and fiſhes, we daily feaſted. Gone from thence in ſearch of *Virginia*, the company was not a little diſcomforted, ſeeing the Marriners had 3 dayes paſſed their reckoning and found no land, ſo that Captaine *Ratliffe* (Captaine of the Pinnace) rather deſired to beare vp the helme to returne for *England*, then make further ſearch. But God the guider of all good actions, forcing them by an extreame ſtorme to hull all night, did driue them by his providence to their deſired Port, beyond all their expectations, for never any of them had ſeene that coaſt. The firſt land they made they called *Cape Henry*; where thirtie of them recreating themſelues on ſhore, were aſſaulted by fiue Salvages, who hurt two of the Engliſh very dangerouſly. That night was the box opened, and the orders read, in which *Bartholomew Goſnoll*, *Iohn Smith*, *Edward Wingfield*, *Chriſtopher Newport*, *Iohn Ratliffe*, *Iohn Martin*, and *George Kendall*, were named to be the Councell, and to chooſe a Preſident amongſt them for a yeare, who with the Councell ſhould governe. Matters of moment were to be examined by a Iury, but determined by the maior part of the Councell, in which the Preſident had two voyces. Vntill the 13 of May they ſought a place to plant in, then the Councell was ſworne, Mr *Wingfield* was choſen Preſident, and an Oration made, why Captaine *Smith* was not admitted of the Councell as the reſt.

Monica an vnfrequented Iſle full of Birds.

Their firſt landing.

Matters of government.

Now falleth every man to worke, the Councell contriue the Fort, the reſt cut downe trees to make place to pitch their Tents; ſome prouide clapbord to relade the ſhips, ſome make gardens, ſome nets, &c. The Salvages often viſited vs kindly. The Preſidents overweening iealouſie would admit no exerciſe at armes, or fortification, but the boughs of trees caſt together in the forme of a halfe moone by the extraordinary paines and diligence of Captaine *Kendall*. *Newport*, *Smith*, and twentie others, were ſent to diſcover the head of the river: by divers ſmall habitations they paſſed, in ſix dayes they arrived at a Towne called *Powhatan*, conſiſting of ſome twelue houſes, pleaſantly ſeated on a hill; before it three fertile Iſles, about it many of their cornefields, the place is very pleaſant, and ſtrong by nature, of this place the Prince is called *Powhatan*, and his people *Powhatans*, to this place the river is navigable: but higher within a myle, by reaſon of the Rockes and Iſles, there is not paſſage for a ſmall Boat, this they call the Falles, the people in all parts kindly intreated them, till being returned within twentie myles of *Iames* towne, they gaue iuſt cauſe of iealouſie, but had God not bleſſed the diſcoverers otherwiſe then thoſe at the Fort, there had then beene an end of that plantation; for at the Fort, where they arrived the next day, they found 17 men hurt, and a boy ſlaine by the Salvages, and had it not chanced a croſſe barre ſhot from the Ships ſtrooke downe a bough from a tree amongſt them, that cauſed them to retire, our men had all beene ſlaine, being ſecurely all at worke, and their armes in dry fats.

The diſcovery of the *Falles* & *Powhatan*.

The Fort aſſaulted by the Salvages.

Herevpon the Preſident was contented the Fort ſhould be palliſadoed, the Ordnance mounted, his men armed and exerciſed, for many were the aſſaults, and ambuſcadoes of the Salvages, & our men by their diſorderly ſtragling were often hurt, when the Salvages by the nimbleneſſe of their heeles well eſcaped. What toyle we had, with ſo ſmall a power to guard our workemen adayes, watch all night, reſiſt our enemies, and effect our buſineſſe, to relade the ſhips, cut downe trees, and prepare the ground to plant our Corne, &c, I refere to the Readers conſideration. Six weekes being ſpent in this manner, Captaine *Newport* (who was hired onely for

our

our tranſportation) was to returne with the ſhips. Now Captaine *Smith*, who all this time from their departure from the Canaries was reſtrained as a priſoner vpon the ſcandalous ſuggeſtions of ſome of the chiefe (envying his repute) who fained he intended to vſurpe the government, murther the Councell, and make himſelfe King, that his confederats were diſperſed in all the three ſhips, and that divers of his confederats that revealed it, would affirme it, for this he was committed as a priſoner: thirteene weekes he remained thus ſuſpected, and by that time the ſhips ſhould returne they pretended out of their commiſſerations, to referre him to the Councell in *England* to receiue a check, rather then by particulating his deſignes make him ſo odious to the world, as to touch his life, or vtterly overthrow his reputation. But he ſo much ſcorned their charitie, and publikely defied the vttermoſt of their cruelties, he wiſely prevented their policies, though he could not ſuppreſſe their envies, yet ſo well he demeaned himſelfe in this buſineſſe, as all the company did ſee his innocency, and his adverſaries malice, and thoſe ſuborned to accuſe him, accuſed his accuſers of ſubornation; many vntruthes were alledged againſt him; but being ſo apparently diſproved, begat a generall hatred in the hearts of the company againſt ſuch vniuſt Commanders, that the Preſident was adiudged to giue him 200l. ſo that all he had was ſeized vpon, in part of ſatisfaction, which *Smith* preſently returned to the Store for the generall vſe of the *Colony*. Many were the miſchiefes that daily ſprung from their ignorant (yet ambitious) ſpirits; but the good Doctrine and exhortation of our Preacher Mr *Hunt* reconciled them, and cauſed Captaine *Smith* to be admitted of the Councell; the next day all receiued the Communion, the day following the Salvages voluntarily deſired peace, and Captaine *Newport* returned for *England* with newes; leaving in *Virginia* 100. the 15 of Iune 1607.

Captain *Newports* returne for *England*.

By this obſerue;

Good men did ne'r their Countries ruine bring.
But when evill men ſhall iniuries beginne;
Not caring to corrupt and violate
The iudgements-ſeats for their owne Luci's ſake:
Then looke that Country cannot long haue peace,
Though for the preſent it haue reſt and eaſe.

The names of them that were the firſt Planters, were theſe following.

1607.

Councell.

Mr *Edward Maria Wingfield.*
Captaine *Bartholomew Goſnoll.*
Captaine *Iohn Smith.*
Captaine *Iohn Ratliffe.*
Captaine *Iohn Martin.*
Captaine *George Kendall.*

Sir *Thomas Smith* Treaſurer.

Gent.

Mr *Robert Hunt* Preacher.
Mr *George Percie.*
Anthony Goſnoll.
George Flower.
Cap. *Gabriell Archer.*
Robert Fenton.
Robert Ford.
William Bruſter.
Edward Harrington.
Dru Pickhouſe.
Thomas Iacob.
Iohn Brookes.

Ellis Kingſton.
Thomas Sands.
Beniamin Beaſt.
Iohn Robinſon.
Thomas Mouton.
Euſtace Clevill.
Stephen Halthrop.
Kellam Throgmorton.
Edward Morriſh.
Nathaniell Powell.
Edward Browne.
Robert Bebethland.
Iohn Penington.
Ieremy Alicock.
George Walker.
Thomas Studley.
Richard Crofts.
Nicholas Houlgrave.
Thomas Webbe.

Gent.

Iohn Waller.	*William Laxon.*	Carpenters.	*Iam: Read*, Blackſmith.
Iohn Short.	*Edward Piſing.*		*Ionas Profit*, Sailer.
William Tankard.	*Thomas Emry.*		*Tho: Cowper*, Barber.
William Smethes.	*Robert Small.*		*Will: Garret*, Bricklayer.
Francis Snarsbrough.			*Edward Brinto*, Maſon.
Richard Simons.	*Iohn Laydon.*	Labourers.	*William Loue*, Taylor.
Edward Brookes.	*William Caſſon.*		*Nic: Scot*, Drum.
Richard Dixon.	*George Caſſon.*		*Wil: Wilkinſon*, Chirurg.
Iohn Martin.	*Thomas Caſſen.*		
Roger Cooke.	*William Rodes.*		*Samuell Collier*, boy.
Anthony Goſnold.	*William White.*		*Nat. Pecock*, boy.
Tho: Wotton, Chirurg.	*Old Edward*		*Iames Brumfield*, boy.
Iohn Stevenſon.	*Henry Tavin.*		*Richard Mutton*, boy.
Thomas Gore.	*George Goulding.*		
Henry Adling.	*Iohn Dods.*		With divers others to the number of 100.
Francis Midwinter.	*William Iohnſon.*		
Richard Frith.	*William Vnger.*		

Gent.

Chap. II.

What happened till the firſt ſupply.

The occaſion of ſickneſſe.

BEing thus left to our fortunes, it fortuned that within ten dayes ſcarce ten amongſt vs could either goe, or well ſtand, ſuch extreame weaknes and ſicknes oppreſſed vs. And thereat none need marvaile, if they conſider the cauſe and reaſon, which was this; whileſt the ſhips ſtayed, our allowance was ſomewhat bettered, by a daily proportion of Bisket, which the ſailers would pilfer to ſell, giue, or exchange with vs, for money, Saxefras, furres, or loue. But when they departed, there remained neither taverne, beere-houſe, nor place of reliefe, but the common Kettell. Had we beene as free from all ſinnes as gluttony, and drunkenneſſe, we might haue beene canonized for Saints; But our Preſident would never haue beene admitted, for ingroſſing to his private, Oatmeale, Sacke, Oyle, *Aqua-vitæ*, Beefe, Egges, or what not, but the Kettell; that indeed he allowed equally to be diſtributed, and that was halfe a pint of wheat, and as much barley boyled with water for a man a day, and this having fryed ſome 26. weekes in the ſhips hold, contained as many wormes as graines; ſo that we might truely call it rather ſo much bran then corne, our drinke was water, our lodgings Caſtles in the ayre: with this lodging and dyet, our extreame toile in bearing and planting Palliſadoes, ſo ſtrained and bruiſed vs, and our continuall labour in the extremitie of the heat had ſo weakned vs, as were cauſe ſufficient to haue made vs as miſerable in our natiue Countrey, or any other place in the world. From May, to September, thoſe that eſcaped, liued vpon Sturgeon, and Sea-crabs, fiftie in this time we buried, the reſt ſeeing the Preſidents proiects to eſcape theſe miſeries in our Pinnace by flight (who all this time had neither felt want nor ſicknes) ſo moved our dead ſpirits, as we depoſed him; and eſtabliſhed *Ratcliffe* in his place, (*Goſnoll* being dead) *Kendall* depoſed, *Smith* newly recovered, *Martin* and *Ratcliffe* was by his care preſerved and relieued, and the moſt of the ſouldiers recovered, with the skilfull diligence of Mr *Thomas Wotton* our Chirurgian generall. But now was all our proviſion ſpent, the Sturgeon gone, all helps abandoned, each houre expecting the fury of the Salvages; when God the patron of all good indevours, in that deſperate extremitie ſo changed the hearts of the Salvages, that they brought ſuch plenty of their fruits, and proviſion, as no man wanted.

The Sailers abuſes.

A bad Preſident.

Plentie vnexpected.

And now where ſome affirmed it was ill done of the Councell to ſend forth men ſo badly provided, this incontradictable reaſon will ſhew them plainely they are too ill adviſed to nouriſh ſuch ill conceits; firſt, the fault of our going was our owne,

what

what could be thought fitting or neceſſary we had, but what we ſhould find, or want, or where we ſhould be, we were all ignorant, and ſuppoſing to make our paſſage in two moneths, with victuall to liue, and the advantage of the ſpring to worke; we were at Sea fiue moneths, where we both ſpent our victuall and loſt the opportunitie of the time, and ſeaſon to plant, by the vnskilfull preſumption of our ignorant tranſporters, that vnderſtood not at all, what they vndertooke.

Such actions haue ever ſince the worlds beginning beene ſubiect to ſuch accidents, and every thing of worth is found full of difficulties, but nothing ſo difficult as to eſtabliſh a Common-wealth ſo farre remote from men and meanes, and where mens mindes are ſo vntoward as neither doe well themſelues, nor ſuffer others. But to proceed.

The new Preſident and *Martin*, being little beloved, of weake iudgement in dangers, and leſſe induſtrie in peace, committed the managing of all things abroad to Captaine *Smith*: who by his owne example, good words, and faire promiſes, ſet ſome to mow, others to binde thatch, ſome to build houſes, others to thatch them, himſelfe alwayes bearing the greateſt taske for his owne ſhare, ſo that in ſhort time, he provided moſt of them lodgings, neglecting any for himſelfe. This done, ſeeing the Salvages ſuperfluitie beginne to decreaſe (with ſome of his workemen) ſhipped himſelfe in the Shallop to ſearch the Country for trade. The want of the language, knowledge to mannage his boat without ſailes, the want of a ſufficient power, (knowing the multitude of the Salvages) apparell for his men, and other neceſſaries, were infinite impediments, yet no diſcouragement. Being but ſix or ſeauen in company he went downe the river to *Kecoughtan*, where at firſt they ſcorned him, as a famiſhed man, and would in deriſion offer him a handfull of Corne, a peece of bread, for their ſwords and muskets, and ſuch like proportions alſo for their apparell. But ſeeing by trade and courteſie there was nothing to be had, he made bold to try ſuch concluſions as neceſſitie inforced, though contrary to his Commiſſion: Let fly his muskets, ran his boat on ſhore, whereat they all fled into the woods. So marching towards their houſes, they might ſee great heapes of corne: much adoe he had to reſtraine his hungry ſouldiers from preſent taking of it, expecting as it hapned that the Salvages would aſſault them, as not long after they did with a moſt hydeous noyſe. Sixtie or ſeaventie of them, ſome blacke, ſome red, ſome white, ſome party-coloured, came in a ſquare order, ſinging and dauncing out of the woods, with their *Okee* (which was an Idoll made of skinnes, ſtuffed with moſſe, all painted and hung with chaines and copper) borne before them: and in this manner being well armed, with Clubs, Targets, Bowes and Arrowes, they charged the Engliſh, that ſo kindly receiued them with their muskets loaden with Piſtoll ſhot, that downe fell their God, and divers lay ſprauling on the ground; the reſt fled againe to the woods, and ere long ſent one of their *Quiyoughkaſoucks* to offer peace, and redeeme their *Okee*. *Smith* told them, if onely ſix of them would come vnarmed and loade his boat, he would not only be their friend, but reſtore them their *Okee*, and giue them Beads, Copper, and Hatchets beſides: which on both ſides was to their contents performed: and then they brought him Veniſon, Turkies, wild foule, bread, and what they had, ſinging and dauncing in ſigne of friendſhip till they departed. In his returne he diſcovered the Towne and Country of *Warraskoyack*.

The building of *Iames Towne*.

The beginning of Trade abroad.

Thus God vnboundleſſe by his power,
Made them thus kind, would vs deuour.

Smith perceiving (notwithſtanding their late miſerie) not any regarded but from hand to mouth (the company being well recovered) cauſed the Pinnace to be provided with things fitting to get proviſion for the yeare following; but in the interim he made 3. or 4. iournies and diſcovered the people of *Chickahamania*: yet what he carefully provided the reſt carelesly ſpent. *Wingfield* and *Kendall* liuing in diſgrace, ſeeing all things at randome in the abſence of *Smith*, the companies diſlike of their

Amerò, a Salvage his beſt friend ſlaine for loving vs.

The Diſcovery of *Chickahamine*.

Preſidents weaknes, and their ſmall loue to *Martins* never mending ſicknes, ſtrengthened themſelues with the ſailers, and other confederates to regaine their former credit and authority, or at leaſt ſuch meanes abord the Pinnace, (being fitted to ſaile as *Smith* had appointed for trade) to alter her courſe and to goe for *England*. *Smith* vnexpectedly returning had the plot diſcouered to him, much trouble he had to preuent it, till with ſtore of ſakre and muſket ſhot he forced them ſtay or ſinke in the riuer, which action coſt the life of captaine *Kendall*. Theſe brawles are ſo diſguſtfull, as ſome will ſay they were better forgotten, yet all men of good iudgement will conclude, it were better their baſenes ſhould be manifeſt to the world, then the buſines beare the ſcorne and ſhame of their excuſed diſorders. The Preſident and captaine *Archer* not long after intended alſo to haue abandoned the country, which proiect alſo was curbed, and ſuppreſſed by *Smith*. The *Spaniard* never more greedily deſired gold then he victuall, nor his ſouldiers more to abandon the Country, then he to keepe it. But finding plentie of Corne in the riuer of *Chickahamania* where hundreds of Salvages in diuers places ſtood with baskets expecting his comming. And now the winter approaching, the rivers became ſo covered with ſwans, geeſe, duckes, and cranes, that we daily feaſted with good bread, Virginia peaſe, pumpions, and putchamins, fiſh, fowle, and diverſe ſorts of wild beaſts as fat as we could eate them: ſo that none of our Tuftaffaty humoriſts deſired to goe for *England*. But our *Comedies* never endured long without a *Tragedie*; ſome idle exceptions being muttered againſt Captaine *Smith*, for not diſcouering the head of *Chickahamania* river, and taxed by the Councell, to be too ſlow in ſo worthy an attempt. The next voyage hee proceeded ſo farre that with much labour by cutting of trees in ſunder he made his paſſage, but when his Barge could paſſe no farther, he left her in a broad bay out of danger of ſhot, commanding none ſhould goe a ſhore till his returne: himſelfe with two Engliſh and two Salvages went vp higher in a Canowe, but hee was not long abſent, but his men went a ſhore, whoſe want of government, gaue both occaſion and opportunity to the Salvages to ſurpriſe one *George Caſſen*, whom they ſlew, and much failed not to haue cut of the boat and all the reſt. *Smith* little dreaming of that accident, being got to the marſhes at the rivers head, twentie myles in the deſert, had his * two men ſlaine (as is ſuppoſed) ſleeping by the Canowe, whilſt himſelfe by fowling ſought them victuall, who finding he was beſet with 200. Salvages, two of them hee ſlew, ſtill defending himſelfe with the ayd of a Salvage his guid, whom he bound to his arme with his garters, and vſed him as a buckler, yet he was ſhot in his thigh a little, and had many arrowes that ſtucke in his cloathes but no great hurt, till at laſt they tooke him priſoner. When this newes came to *Iames* towne, much was their ſorrow for his loſſe, fewe expecting what enſued. Sixe or ſeuen weekes thoſe Barbarians kept him priſoner, many ſtrange triumphes and coniurations they made of him, yet hee ſo demeaned himſelfe amongſt them, as he not onely diverted them from ſurpriſing the Fort, but procured his owne libertie, and got himſelfe and his company ſuch eſtimation amongſt them, that thoſe Salvages admired him more then their owne *Quiyouckoſucks*. The manner how they vſed and deliuered him, is as followeth.

Another proiect to abandon the country.

* *Iohn Robinſon* and *Thomas Emry* ſlaine.

Captaine *Smith* taken priſoner.

The Salvages hauing drawne from *George Caſſen* whether Captaine *Smith* was gone, proſecuting that oportunity they followed him with. 300. bowmen, conducted by the King of *Pamaunkee*, who in diuiſions ſearching the turnings of the riuer, found *Robinſon* and *Emry* by the fire ſide, thoſe they ſhot full of arrowes and ſlew. Then finding the Captaine, as is ſaid, that vſed the Salvage that was his guide as his ſheld (three of them being ſlaine and diuers other ſo gauld) all the reſt would not come neere him. Thinking thus to haue returned to his boat, regarding them, as he marched, more then his way, ſlipped vp to the middle in an oaſie creeke & his Salvage with him, yet durſt they not come to him till being neere dead with cold, he threw away his armes. Then according to their compoſition they drew him forth and led him to the fire, where his men were ſlaine. Diligently they chafed his benummed

nummed limbs. He demanding for their Captaine, they ſhewed him *Opechankanough*, King of *Pamaunkee*, to whom he gaue a round Ivory double compaſs Dyall. Much they marvailed at the playing of the Fly and Needle, which they could ſee ſo plainely, and yet not touch it, becauſe of the glaſſe that covered them. But when he demonſtrated by that Globe-like Iewell, the roundneſſe of the earth, and skies, the ſpheare of the Sunne, Moone, and Starres, and how the Sunne did chaſe the night round about the world continually; the greatneſſe of the Land and Sea, the diverſitie of Nations, varietie of complexions, and how we were to them *Antipodes*, and many other ſuch like matters, they all ſtood as amazed with admiration. Notwithſtanding, within an houre after they tyed him to a tree, and as many as could ſtand about him prepared to ſhoot him, but the King holding vp the Compaſs in his hand, they all laid downe their Bowes and Arrowes, and in a triumphant manner led him to *Orapaks*, where he was after their manner kindly feaſted, and well vſed.

Their order in conducting him was thus; Drawing themſelues all in fyle, the King in the middeſt had all their Peeces and Swords borne before him. Captaine *Smith* was led after him by three great Salvages, holding him faſt by each arme: and on each ſide ſix went in fyle with their Arrowes nocked. But arriving at the Towne (which was but onely thirtie or fortie hunting houſes made of Mats, which they remoue as they pleaſe, as we our tents) all the women and children ſtaring to behold him, the ſouldiers firſt all in fyle performed the forme of a *Biſſon* ſo well as could be; and on each flanke, officers as Serieants to ſee them keepe their orders. A good time they continued this exerciſe, and then caſt themſelues in a ring, dauncing in ſuch ſeverall Poſtures, and ſinging and yelling out ſuch helliſh notes and ſcreeches; being ſtrangely painted, every one his quiver of Arrowes, and at his backe a club; on his arme a Fox or an Otters skinne, or ſome ſuch matter for his vambrace; their heads and ſhoulders painted red, with Oyle and *Poconet* mingled together, which Scarlet-like colour made an exceeding handſome ſhew; his Bow in his hand, and the skinne of a Bird with her wings abroad dryed, tyed on his head, a peece of copper, a white ſhell, a long feather, with a ſmall rattle growing at the tayles of their ſnaks tyed to it, or ſome ſuch like toy. All this while *Smith* and the King ſtood in the middeſt guarded, as before is ſaid, and after three dances they all departed. *Smith* they conducted to a long houſe, where thirtie or fortie tall fellowes did guard him, and ere long more bread and veniſon was brought him then would haue ſerved twentie men, I thinke his ſtomacke at that time was not very good; what he left they put in baskets and tyed over his head. About midnight they ſet the meate againe before him, all this time not one of them would eate a bit with him, till the next morning they brought him as much more, and then did they eate all the old, & reſerved the new as they had done the other, which made him thinke they would fat him to eat him. Yet in this deſperate eſtate to defend him from the cold, one *Maocaſſater* brought him his gowne, in requitall of ſome beads and toyes *Smith* had given him at his firſt arrivall in *Virginia*.

The order they obſerved in their triumph.

Two dayes after a man would haue ſlaine him (but that the guard prevented it) for the death of his ſonne, to whom they conducted him to recover the poore man then breathing his laſt. *Smith* told them that at *Iames* towne he had a water would doe it, if they would let him fetch it, but they would not permit that; but made all the preparations they could to aſſault *Iames* towne, craving his advice, and for recompence he ſhould haue life, libertie, land, and women. In part of a Table booke he writ his minde to them at the Fort, what was intended, how they ſhould follow that direction to affright the meſſengers, and without fayle ſend him ſuch things as he writ for. And an Inventory with them. The difficultie and danger, he told the Salvages, of the Mines, great gunnes, and other Engins exceedingly affrighted them, yet according to his requeſt they went to *Iames* towne, in as bitter weather as could be of froſt and ſnow, and within three dayes returned with an anſwer.

How he ſhould haue beene ſlaine at *Orapaks*.

But when they came to *Iames* towne, ſeeing men ſally out as he had told them they would, they fled; yet in the night they came againe to the ſame place where he had told

How he ſaued *Iames* towne from being ſurpriſed.

told them they should receiue an answer, and such things as he had promised them, which they found accordingly, and with which they returned with no small expedition, to the wonder of them all that heard it, that he could either divine, or the paper could speake: then they led him to the *Youthtanunds*, the *Mattapanients*, the *Payankatanks*, the *Nantaughtacunds*, and *Onawmanients* vpon the rivers of *Kapahanock*, and *Patawomek*, over all those rivers, and backe againe by divers other severall Nations, to the Kings habitation at *Pamavnkee*, where they entertained him with most strange and fearefull Coniurations;

How they did Coniure him at *Pamavnkee*.

As if neare led to hell,
Amongst the Devils to dwell.

Not long after, early in a morning a great fire was made in a long house, and a mat spread on the one side, as on the other, on the one they caused him to sit, and all the guard went out of the house, and presently came skipping in a great grim fellow, all painted over with coale, mingled with oyle; and many Snakes and Wesels skins stuffed with mosse, and all their tayles tyed together, so as they met on the crowne of his head in a tassell; and round about the tassell was as a Coronet of feathers, the skins hanging round about his head, backe, and shoulders, and in a manner covered his face; with a hellish voyce and a rattle in his hand. With most strange gestures and passions he began his invocation, and environed the fire with a circle of meale; which done, three more such like devils came rushing in with the like antique tricks, painted halfe blacke, halfe red: but all their eyes were painted white, and some red stroakes like Mutchato's, along their cheekes: round about him those fiends daunced a pretty while, and then came in three more as vgly as the rest; with red eyes, and white stroakes over their blacke faces, at last they all sat downe right against him; three of them on the one hand of the chiefe Priest, and three on the other. Then all with their rattles began a song, which ended, the chiefe Priest layd downe fiue wheat cornes: then strayning his armes and hands with such violence that he sweat, and his veynes swelled, he began a short Oration: at the conclusion they all gaue a short groane; and then layd down three graines more. After that, began their song againe, and then another Oration, ever laying downe so many cornes as before, till they had twice incirculed the fire; that done, they tooke a bunch of little stickes prepared for that purpose, continuing still their devotion, and at the end of every song and Oration, they layd downe a sticke betwixt the divisions of Corne. Till night, neither he nor they did either eate or drinke, and then they feasted merrily, with the best provisions they could make. Three dayes they vsed this Ceremony; the meaning whereof they told him, was to know if he intended them well or no. The circle of meale signified their Country, the circles of corne the bounds of the Sea, and the stickes his Country. They imagined the world to be flat and round, like a trencher, and they in the middest. After this they brought him a bagge of gunpowder, which they carefully preserved till the next spring, to plant as they did their corne; because they would be acquainted with the nature of that seede. *Opitchapam* the Kings brother invited him to his house, where, with as many platters of bread, foule, and wild beasts, as did environ him, he bid him wellcome; but not any of them would eate a bit with him, but put vp all the remainder in Baskets. At his returne to *Opechancanoughs*, all the Kings women, and their children, flocked about him for their parts, as a due by Custome, to be merry with such fragments,

But his waking mind in hydeous dreames did oft see wondrous shapes,
Of bodies strange, and huge in growth, and of stupendious makes.

How *Powhatan* entertained him.

At last they brought him to *Meronocomoco*, where was *Powhatan* their Emperor. Here more then two hundred of those grim Courtiers stood wondering at him, as he had beene a monster; till *Powhatan* and his trayne had put themselues in their greatest braveries. Before a fire vpon a seat like a bedsted, he sat covered with a great robe, made of *Rarowcun* skinnes, and all the tayles hanging by. On either hand did sit a young wench of 16 or 18 yeares, and along on each side the house, two rowes

of

of men, and behind them as many women, with all their heads and ſhoulders painted red; many of their heads bedecked with the white downe of Birds; but every one with ſomething: and a great chayne of white beads about their necks. At his entrance before the King, all the people gaue a great ſhout. The Queene of *Appamatuck* was appointed to bring him water to waſh his hands, and another brought him a bunch of feathers, in ſtead of a Towell to dry them: having feaſted him after their beſt barbarous manner they could, a long conſultation was held, but the concluſion was, two great ſtones were brought before *Powhatan*: then as many as could layd hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, and being ready with their clubs, to beate out his braines, *Pocahontas* the Kings deareſt daughter, when no intreaty could prevaile, got his head in her armes, and laid her owne vpon his to ſaue him from death: whereat the Emperour was contented he ſhould liue to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads, and copper; for they thought him aſwell of all occupations as themſelues. For the King himſelfe will make his owne robes, ſhooes, bowes, arrowes, pots; plant, hunt, or doe any thing ſo well as the reſt.

How *Pocahontas* ſaued his life.

They ſay he bore a pleaſant ſhew,
But ſure his heart was ſad.
For who can pleaſant be, and reſt,
That liues in feare and dread:
And having life ſuſpected, doth
It ſtill ſuſpected lead.

Two dayes after, *Powhatan* having diſguiſed himſelfe in the moſt fearefulleſt manner he could, cauſed Capt. *Smith* to be brought forth to a great houſe in the woods, and there vpon a mat by the fire to be left alone. Not long after from behinde a mat that divided the houſe, was made the moſt dolefulleſt noyſe he ever heard; then *Powhatan* more like a devill then a man with ſome two hundred more as blacke as himſelfe, came vnto him and told him now they were friends, and preſently he ſhould goe to *Iames* towne, to ſend him two great gunnes, and a grindſtone, for which he would giue him the Country of *Capahowoſick*, and for ever eſteeme him as his ſonne *Nantaquond*. So to *Iames* towne with 12 guides *Powhatan* ſent him. That night they quarterd in the woods, he ſtill expecting (as he had done all this long time of his impriſonment) every houre to be put to one death or other: for all their feaſting. But almightie God (by his divine providence) had mollified the hearts of thoſe ſterne *Barbarians* with compaſſion. The next morning betimes they came to the Fort, where *Smith* having vſed the Salvages with what kindneſſe he could, he ſhewed *Rawhunt*, *Powhatans* truſty ſervant two demi-Culverings & a mill-ſtone to carry *Powhatan*: they found them ſomewhat too heavie; but when they did ſee him diſcharge them, being loaded with ſtones, among the boughs of a great tree loaded with Iſickles, the yce and branches came ſo tumbling downe, that the poore Salvages ran away halfe dead with feare. But at laſt we regained ſome conference with them, and gaue them ſuch toyes; and ſent to *Powhatan*, his women, and children ſuch preſents, as gaue them in generall full content. Now in *Iames* Towne they were all in combuſtion, the ſtrongeſt preparing once more to run away with the Pinnace; which with the hazzard of his life, with Sakre falcon and muſket ſhot, *Smith* forced now the third time to ſtay or ſinke. Some no better then they ſhould be, had plotted with the Preſident, the next day to haue put him to death by the Leviticall law, for the liues of *Robinſon* and *Emry*, pretending the fault was his that had led them to their ends: but he quickly tooke ſuch order with ſuch Lawyers, that he layd them by the heeles till he ſent ſome of them priſoners for *England*. Now ever once in foure or fiue dayes, *Pocahontas* with her attendants, brought him ſo much proviſion, that ſaued many of their liues, that els for all this had ſtarved with hunger.

How *Powhatan* ſent him to *Iames* Towne.

The third proiect to abandon the Country.

Thus from numbe death our good God ſent reliefe,
The ſweete aſſwager of all other griefe.

A true proofe of Gods loue to the action.

His relation of the plenty he had ſeene, eſpecially at *Werawocomoco*, and of the ſtate and bountie of *Powhatan*, (which till that time was vnknowne) ſo revived their dead ſpirits (eſpecially the loue of *Pocahontas*) as all mens feare was abandoned. Thus you may ſee what difficulties ſtill croſſed any good indevour: and the good ſucceſſe of the buſineſſe being thus oft brought to the very period of deſtruction; yet you ſee by what ſtrange means God hath ſtill delivered it. As for the inſufficiency of them admitted in Commiſſion, that error could not be prevented by the Electors; there being no other choiſe, and all ſtrangers to each others education, qualities, or diſpoſition. And if any deeme it a ſhame to our Nation to haue any mention made of thoſe inormities, let them perуſe the Hiſtories of the Spanyards Diſcoveries and Plantations, where they may ſee how many mutinies, diſorders, and diſſentions haue accompanied them, and croſſed their attempts: which being knowne to be particular mens offences; doth take away the generall ſcorne and contempt, which malice, preſumption, covetouſneſſe, or ignorance might produce; to the ſcandall and reproach of thoſe, whoſe actions and valiant reſolutions deſerue a more worthy reſpect.

Now whether it had beene better for Captaine *Smith*, to haue concluded with any of thoſe ſeverall proiects, to haue abandoned the Countrey, with ſome ten or twelue of them, who were called the better ſort, and haue left Mr *Hunt* our Preacher, Maſter *Anthony Goſnoll*, a moſt honeſt, worthy, and induſtrious Gentleman, Maſter *Thomas Wotton*, and ſome 27 others of his Countrymen to the fury of the Salvages, famine, and all manner of miſchiefes, and inconveniences, (for they were but fortie in all to keepe poſſeſſion of this large Country;) or ſtarue himſelfe with them for company, for want of lodging: or but adventuring abroad to make them proviſion, or by his oppoſition to preſerue the action, and ſaue all their liues; I leaue to the cenſure of all honeſt men to conſider. But

Of two evils the leſſe was choſen.

We men imagine in our Iolitie,
That 'tis all one, or good or bad to be.
But then anone wee alter this againe,
If happily wee feele the ſence of paine;
For then we're turn'd into a mourning vaine.

Written by *Thomas Studley*, the firſt Cape Merchant in *Virginia*, *Robert Fenton*, *Edward Harrington*, and *I. S.*

Chap. III.

The Arrivall of the firſt ſupply, with their Proceedings, and the Ships returne.

ALL this time our care was not ſo much to abandon the Countrey; but the Treaſurer and Councell in *England*, were as diligent & carefull to ſupply vs. Two good ſhips they ſent vs, with neare a hundred men, well furniſhed with all things could be imagined neceſſary, both for them and vs; The one commanded by Captaine *Newport*: the other by Captaine *Francis Nelſon*, an honeſt man, and an expert Marriner. But ſuch was the lewardneſſe of his Ship (that though he was within the ſight of *Cape Henry*) by ſtormy contrary winds was he forced ſo farre to Sea, that the Weſt *Indies* was the next land, for the repaire of his Maſts, and reliefe of wood and water. But *Newport* got in and arrived at *Iames* Towne, not long after the redemption of Captaine *Smith*. To whom the Salvages, as is ſayd, every other day repaired, with ſuch proviſions that ſufficiently did ſerue them from hand to mouth: part alwayes they brought him as Preſents from their Kings, or *Pocahontas*; the reſt he as their Market Clarke ſet the price himſelfe, how they ſhould ſell: ſo he had

The *Phœnix* from Cape *Henry* forced to the Weſt *Indies*.

had inchanted theſe poore ſoules being their priſoner; and now *Newport*, whom he called his Father arriving, neare as directly as he foretold, they eſteemed him as an Oracle, and had them at that ſubmiſſion he might command them what he liſted. That God that created all things they knew he adored for his God: they would alſo in their diſcourſes tearme the God of Captaine *Smith*.

Thus the Almightie was the bringer on,
The guide, path, terme, all which was God alone.

Their opinion of our God.

But the Preſident and Councell ſo much envied his eſtimation among the Salvages, (though we all in generall equally participated with him of the good thereof,) that they wrought it into the Salvages vnderſtandings (by their great bounty in giving foure times more for their commodities then *Smith* appointed) that their greatneſſe and authoritie as much exceeded his, as their bountie and liberalitie. Now the arrivall of this firſt ſupply ſo overioyed vs, that wee could not deviſe too much to pleaſe the Marriners. We gaue them libertie to trucke or trade at their pleaſures. But in a ſhort time it followed, that could not be had for a pound of Copper, which before was ſould vs for an ounce: thus ambition and ſufferance cut the throat of our trade, but confirmed their opinion of the greatneſſe of Capt. *Newport*, (wherewith *Smith* had poſſeſſed *Powhatan*) eſpecially by the great preſents *Newport* often ſent him, before he could prepare the Pinnace to goe and viſit him: ſo that this great Savage deſired alſo to ſee him. A great coyle there was to ſet him forward. When he went he was accompanied with Captaine *Smith*, & Mr *Scrivener*, a very wiſe vnderſtanding Gentleman, newly arrived and admitted of the Councell, with thirtie or fortie choſen men for their guard. Arriving at *Werowocomoco*, *Newports* conceit of this great Savage bred many doubts and ſuſpitions of trecheries, which *Smith* to make appeare was needleſſe, with twentie men well appointed, vndertooke to encounter the worſt that could happen: Knowing

Smiths reviſiting *Powhatan*.

All is but one, and ſelfe-ſame hand, that thus
Both one while ſcourgeth, and that helpeth vs.

Nathaniell Powell.	}	*Anthony Goſnoll.*	}	*Thomas Coe.*	}
Robert Behethland.	} Gent.	*Richard Wyffin.*	} Gent.	*Thomas Hope.*	} Gent.
Michell Phittiplace.	}	*Iohn Taverner.*	}	*Anas Todkill.*	}
William Phittiplace.	}	*William Dyer.*	}		

Theſe, with nine others (whoſe names I haue forgotten) comming a-ſhore, landed amongſt a many of creekes, over which they were to paſſe ſuch poore bridges, onely made of a few cratches, thruſt in the oſe, and three or foure poles laid on them, and at the end of them the like, tyed together onely with barkes of trees, that it made them much ſuſpect thoſe bridges were but traps. Which cauſed *Smith* to make diverſe Salvages goe over firſt, keeping ſome of the chiefe as hoſtage till halfe his men were paſſed, to make a guard for himſelfe and the reſt. But finding all things well, by two or three hundred Salvages they were kindly conducted to their towne. Where *Powhatan* ſtrained himſelfe to the vtmoſt of his greatneſſe to entertaine them, with great ſhouts of ioy, Orations of proteſtations; and with the moſt plenty of victualls he could provide to feaſt them. Sitting vpon his bed of mats, his pillow of leather imbrodered (after their rude manner with pearle and white Beads) his attyre a faire robe of skinnes as large as an Iriſh mantell: at his head and feete a handſome young woman: on each ſide his houſe ſat twentie of his Concubines, their heads and ſhoulders painted red, with a great chaine of white beads about each of their neckes. Before thoſe ſat his chiefeſt men in like order in his arbour-like houſe, and more then fortie platters of fine bread ſtood as a guard in two ſyles on each ſide the doore. Foure or fiue hundred people made a guard behinde them for our paſſage; and Proclamation was made, none vpon paine of death to preſume to doe vs any wrong or diſcourteſie. With many pretty Diſcourſes to re-

Powhatan his entertainement.

new their old acquaintance, this great King and our Captaine ſpent the time, till the ebbe left our Barge aground. Then renewing their feaſts with feates, dauncing and ſinging, and ſuch like mirth, we quartered that night with *Powhatan*. The next day *Newport* came a ſhore and receiued as much content as thoſe people could giue him: a boy named *Thomas Salvage* was then giuen vnto *Powhatan*, whom *Newport* called his ſonne; for whom *Powhatan* gaue him *Namontack* his truſtie ſervant, and one of a ſhrewd, ſubtill capacitie. Three or foure dayes more we ſpent in feaſting, dauncing, and trading, wherein *Powhatan* carried himſelfe ſo proudly, yet diſcreetly (in his ſalvage manner) as made vs all admire his naturall gifts, conſidering his education. As ſcorning to trade as his ſubiects did; he beſpake *Newport* in this manner.

The exchange of a Chriſtian for a Salvage.

Powhatans ſpeech.

Captaine Newport *it is not agreeable to my greatneſſe, in this pedling manner to trade for trifles; and I eſteeme you alſo a great Werowance. Therefore lay me downe all your commodities together; what I like I will take, and in recompence giue you what I thinke fitting their value.* Captaine *Smith* being our interpreter, regarding *Newport* as his father, knowing beſt the diſpoſition of *Powhatan*, tould vs his intent was but onely to cheate vs; yet Captaine *Newport* thinking to out braue this Salvage in oſtentation of greatneſſe, and ſo to bewitch him with his bountie, as to haue what he liſted, it ſo hapned, that *Powhatan* hauing his deſire, valued his corne at ſuch a rate, that I thinke it better cheape in *Spaine*: for we had not foure buſhells for that we expected to haue twentie hogſheads. This bred ſome vnkindneſſe betweene our two Captaines; *Newport* ſeeking to pleaſe the vnſatiable deſire of the Salvage, *Smith* to cauſe the Salvage to pleaſe him; but ſmothering his diſtaſt to avoyd the Saluages ſuſpition, glanced in the eyes of *Powhatan* many trifles, who fixed his humor vpon a few blew beades. A long time he importunately deſired them, but *Smith* ſeemed ſo much the more to affect them, as being compoſed of a moſt rare ſubſtance of the coulour of the skyes, and not to be worne but by the greateſt kings in the world. This made him halfe madde to be the owner of ſuch ſtrange Iewells: ſo that ere we departed, for a pound or two of blew beades, be brought ouer my king for 2. or 300. Buſhells of corne; yet parted good friends. The like entertainment we found of *Opechankanough* king of *Pamaunkee*, whom alſo he in like manner fitted (at the like rates) with blew beads, which grew by this meanes, of that eſtimation, that none durſt weare any of them but their great kings, their wiues and children. And ſo we returned all well to *Iames* towne, where this new ſupply being lodged with the reſt, accidentally fired their quarters and ſo the towne, which being but thatched with reeds, the fire was ſo fierce as it burnt their Palliſado's, (though eight or ten yards diſtant) with their Armes, bedding, apparell, and much priuate prouiſion. Good Maſter *Hunt* our Preacher loſt all his Library and all he had but the cloathes on his backe: yet none neuer heard him repine at his loſſe. This happned in the winter in that extreame froſt. 1607. Now though we had victuall ſufficient I meane onely of Oatmeale, meale and corne, yet the Ship ſtaying 14. weekes when ſhee might as wel haue beene gone in 14. dayes, ſpent a great part of that, and neare all the reſt that was ſent to be landed. When they departed what there diſcretion could ſpare vs, to make a little poore meale or two, we called feaſtes, to reliſh our mouthes: of each ſomwhat they left vs, yet I muſt confeſſe, thoſe that had either money, ſpare clothes credit to giue billes of paiment, gold rings, furrs, or any ſuch commodities, were euer welcome to this remouing tauerne, ſuch was our patience to obay ſuch vile Commanders, and buy our owne proviſions at 15. times the value, ſuffering them feaſt (we bearing the charge) yet muſt not repine, but faſt, leaſt we ſhould incurre the cenſure of factious and ſeditious perſons: and then leakage, ſhip-rats, and other caſualties occaſioned them loſſe, but the veſſels and remnants (for totals) we were glad to receaue with all our hearts to make vp the account, highly commending their prouidence for preſeruing that, leaſt they ſhould diſcourage any more to come to vs. Now for all this plenty our ordynary was but meale and water, ſo that this great charge little releeued our wants, whereby with the extremitie of the bitter

Differences of opinions.

*Iames*towne burnt.

A ſhip Idely loytering 14. weekes.

bitter cold froſt and thoſe defects, more then halfe of vs dyed; I cannot deny but both *Smith* and *Skrivener* did their beſt to amend what was amiſſe, but with the Preſident went the maior part, that there hornes were to ſhort. But the worſt was our guilded refiners with their golden promiſes made all men their ſlaues in hope of recompences; there was no talke, no hope, no worke, but dig gold, waſh gold, refine gold, loade gold, ſuch a bruit of gold, that one mad fellow deſired to be buried in the ſands leaſt they ſhould by there art make gold of his bones: little neede there was and leſſe reaſon, the ſhip ſhould ſtay, there wages run on, our victualls conſume 14. weekes, that the Mariners might ſay, they did helpe to build ſuch a golden Church that we can ſay the raine waſhed neere to nothing in 14. dayes. Were it that captaine *Smith* would not applaude all thoſe golden inventions, becauſe they admitted him not to the ſight of their trialls nor golden conſultations, I know not; but I haue heard him oft queſtion with Captaine *Martin* & tell him, except he could ſhew him a more ſubſtantiall triall, he was not inamoured with their durty skill, breathing out theſe and many other paſſions, neuer any thing did more torment him, then to ſee all neceſſary buſines neglected, to fraught ſuch a drunken ſhip with ſo much guilded durt. Till then we neuer accounted, Captaine *Newport* a refiner, who being ready to ſet ſaile for *England*, & we not hauing any vſe of Parliaments, Plaies, Petitions, Admiralls, Recorders, Interpreters, Chronologers, Courts of Plea, nor Iuſtices of peace, ſent Maſter *Wingfield* and Captaine *Archer* home with him, that had ingroſſed all thoſe titles, to ſeeke ſome better place of imployment.

The effect of meere Verbaliſts.

A needleſſe charge.

A returne to England.

Oh curſed gold thoſe, hunger-ſtarved movers,
To what misfortunes lead'ſt thou all thoſe lovers!
For all the China *wealth, nor* Indies *can*
Suffice the minde of an av'ritious man.

Chap. IIII.

The Arrivall of the Phœnix; *her returne; and other Accidents.*

THe authoritie now conſiſting in Captaine *Martin*, and the ſtill ſickly Preſident, the ſale of the Stores commodities maintained his eſtate, as an inheritable revenew. The ſpring approaching, and the Ship departing, Mr *Scrivener* and Captaine *Smith* devided betwixt them the rebuilding *Iames* towne; the repairing our Pallizadoes; the cutting downe trees; preparing our fields; planting our corne, and to rebuild our Church, and recover our Store houſe. All men thus buſie at their ſeverall labours, Maſter *Nelſon* arrived with his loſt *Phœnix*; loſt (I ſay) for that we all deemed him loſt. Landing ſafely all his men, (ſo well he had mannaged his ill hap,) cauſing the *Indian Iſles* to feede his company, that his victuall to that we had gotten, as is ſaid before, was neare after our allowance ſufficient for halfe a yeare. He had not any thing but he freely imparted it, which honeſt dealing (being a Marriner) cauſed vs admire him: we would not haue wiſhed more then he did for vs. Now to relade this ſhip with ſome good tydings, the Preſident (not holding it ſtood with the dignitie of his place to leaue the Fort) gaue order to Captaine *Smith* to diſcover and ſearch the commodities of the *Monacans* Countrey beyond the Falls. Sixtie able men was allotted them, the which within ſix dayes, *Smith* had ſo well trained to their armes and orders, that they little feared with whom they ſhould incounter: yet ſo vnſeaſonable was the time, and ſo oppoſit was Captaine *Martin* to any thing, but onely to fraught this ſhip alſo with his phantaſticall gold, as Captaine *Smith* rather deſired to relade her with Cedar, (which was a preſent diſpatch) then either with durt, or the hopes and reports of an vncertaine diſcovery, which he would performe when they had leſſe charge and more leiſure.

The rebuilding *Iames* Towne.

Sixtie appointed to diſcover the *Monacans*.

But, *The God of Heav'n, He eaſ'ly can*
Immortalize a mortall man,
With glory and with fame.
The ſame God, ev'n as eaſ'ly may
Afflict a mortall man, I ſay,
With ſorrow and with ſhame.

Whilſt the concluſion was a reſolving, this hapned.

An ill example to ſell ſwords to Salvages.

Powhatan (to expreſſe his loue to *Newport*) when he departed, preſented him with twentie Turkies, conditionally to returne him twentie ſwords, which immediately was ſent him; now after his departure he preſented Captaine *Smith* with the like luggage, but not finding his humor obeyed in not ſending ſuch weapons as he deſired, he cauſed his people with twentie devices to obtaine them. At laſt by ambuſcadoes at our very Ports they would take them perforce, ſurpriſe vs at worke, or any way; which was ſo long permitted, they became ſo inſolent there was no rule; the command from *England* was ſo ſtrait not to offend them, as our authoritie-bearers (keeping their houſes) would rather be any thing then peace-breakers: this charitable humor prevailed, till well it chanced they medled with Captaine *Smith*, who without farther deliberation gaue them ſuch an incounter, as ſome he ſo hunted vp and downe the Iſle, ſome he ſo terrified with whipping, beating, and impriſonment, as for revenge they ſurpriſed two of our forraging diſorderly ſouldiers, and having aſſembled their forces, boldly threatned at our Ports to force *Smith* to redeliver ſeven Salvages, which for their villanies he detained priſoners, or we were all but dead men. But to try their furies he ſallied out amongſt them, and in leſſe then an houre, he ſo hampred their inſolencies, they brought them his two men, deſiring peace without any further compoſition for their priſoners. Thoſe he examined, and cauſed them all beleeue, by ſeverall vollies of ſhot one of their companions was ſhot to death, becauſe they would not confeſſe their intents and plotters of thoſe villanies. And thus they all agreed in one point, they were directed onely by *Powhatan* to obtaine him our weapons, to cut our owne throats, with the manner where, how, and when, which we plainly found moſt true and apparant: yet he ſent his meſſengers, and his deareſt daughter *Pocahontas* with preſents to excuſe him of the iniuries done by ſome raſh vntoward Captaines his ſubiects, deſiring their liberties for this time, with the aſſurance of his loue for ever. After *Smith* had given the priſoners what correction he thought fit, vſed them well a day or two after, & then delivered them *Pocahontas*, for whoſe ſake onely he fayned to haue ſaued their liues, and gaue them libertie. The patient Councell that nothing would moue to warre with the Salvages, would gladly haue wrangled with Captaine *Smith* for his cruelty, yet none was ſlaine to any mans knowledge, but it brought them in ſuch feare and obedience, as his very name would ſufficiently affright them; where before, wee had ſometime peace and warre twice in a day, and very ſeldome a weeke, but we had ſome trecherous villany or other.

The Preſidents weakneſſe.

Smiths attempt to ſuppreſſe the Salvages inſolencies.

Powhatans excuſe.

A ſhip fraught with Cedar.

The fraught of this Ship being concluded to be Cedar, by the diligence of the Maſter, and Captaine *Smith*, ſhe was quickly reladed: Maſter *Scrivener* was neither idle nor ſlow to follow all things at the Fort; the Ship being ready to ſet ſayle, Captaine *Martin* being alwayes very ſickly, and vnſerviceable, and deſirous to inioy the credit of his ſuppoſed Art of finding the golden Mine, was moſt willingly admitted to returne for *England*. For

He hath not fill'd his lapp,
That ſtill doth hold it cap.

From the writings of *Thomas Studley*,
and *Anas Todkill*.

Their

Their Names that were landed in this Supply.

1608. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

Mathew Scrivener appointed to be one of the Councell.

Michaell Phittiplace.	*Francis Perkins.*	Gent.	*Thomas Hope.* Taylers.
William Phittiplace.	*Iohn Harper.*		*William Ward.*
Ralph Morton.	*George Foreſt.*		*Iohn Powell.*
Richard Wyffing.	*Iohn Nichols.*		*William Yong.*
Iohn Taverner.	*William Grinell.*		*William Beckwith.*
William Cantrell.			*Larence Towtales.*
Robert Barnes.	*Raymõd Goodiſon.*		
Richard Fetherſtone.	*William Simons.*		*Thomas Field.* Apothecaries.
George Hill.	*Iohn Spearman.*		*Iohn Harford.*
George Pretty.	*Richard Briſtow.*		
Nathaniell Causy.	*William Perce.*		*Dani: Stallings*, Ieweller.
Peter Pory.	*Iames Watkins.*		*Will: Dawſon*, a refiner.
Robert Cutler.	*Iohn Bouth.*		*Abram Ranſack*, a refiner.
Michaell Sicklemore.	Gent. *Chriſtopher Rods.*		*Wil: Iohnſon*, a Goldſmith.
William Bentley.	*Richard Burket.*		*Peter Keffer*, a gunſmith.
Thomas Coe.	*Iames Burre.*	Labourers.	*Rob: Alberton*, a perfumer.
Doctor *Ruſſell.*	*Nicholas Ven.*		*Richard Belfield*, a Goldſmith.
Ieffrey Abbot.	*Francis Perkins.*		
Edward Gurgana.	*Richard Gradon.*		*Poſt Ginnat*, a Chirurg.
Richard Worley.	*Rawland Nelſtrop.*		*Iohn Lewes*, a Cooper.
Timothy Leeds.	*Richard Savage.*		*Robert Cotton*, a Tobacco-pipe-maker.
Richard Killingbeck.	*Thomas Savage.*		
William Spence.	*Richard Milmer.*		*Richard Dole*, a Blacksmith.
Richard Prodger.	*William May.*		
Richard Pots.	*Vere.*		
Richard Mullinax.	*Michaell.*		And divers others to the number of 120.
William Bayley.	*Biſhop Wiles.*		

Chapter V.

The Accidents that hapned in the Diſcovery of the Bay of Chiſapeack.

THe prodigalitie of the Preſidents ſtate went ſo deepe into our ſmall ſtore, that *Smith* and *Scrivener* tyed him and his Paraſites to the rules of proportion. But now *Smith* being to depart, the Preſidents authoritie ſo overſwayed the diſcretion of Mr *Scrivener*, that our ſtore, our time, our ſtrength and labours were idely conſumed to fulfill his phantaſies. The ſecond of Iune 1608. *Smith* left the Fort to performe his Diſcovery with this Company.

Walter Ruſſell, Doctor of Phyſicke.	Gentlemen.	*Ionas Profit.* Souldiers.
Ralfe Murton.		*Anas Todkill.*
Thomas Momford.		*Robert Small.*
William Cantrill.		*Iames Watkins.*
Richard Fetherſton.		*Iohn Powell.*
Iames Burne.		*Iames Read.*
Michell Sicklemore.		*Richard Keale.*

Theſe being in an open Barge neare three tuns burthen, leaving the *Phœnix* at Cape *Henry*, they croſſed the Bay to the Eaſterne ſhore, and fell with the Iſles called *Smiths Iſles*, after our Captaines name. The firſt people we ſaw were two grim and ſtout Salvages vpon Cape *Charles*, with long poles like Iauelings, headed with bone, they

they boldly demanded what we were, and what we would; but after many circumſtances they ſeemed very kinde, and directed vs to *Accomack*, the habitation of their *Werowance*, where we were kindly intreated. This King was the comlieſt, proper, civill Salvage we incountred. His Country is a pleaſant fertile clay ſoyle, ſome ſmall creekes; good Harbours for ſmall Barks, but not for Ships. He told vs of a ſtrange accident lately happened him, and it was, two children being dead; ſome extreame paſſions, or dreaming viſions, phantaſies, or affection moued their parents againe to reviſit their dead carkaſes, whoſe benummed bodies reflected to the eyes of the beholders ſuch delightfull countenances, as though they had regained their vitall ſpirits. This as a miracle drew many to behold them, all which being a great part of his people, not long after dyed, and but few eſcaped. They ſpake the language of *Powhatan*, wherein they made ſuch deſcriptions of the Bay, Iſles, and rivers, that often did vs exceeding pleaſure. Paſſing along the coaſt, ſearching every inlet, and Bay, fit for harbours and habitations. Seeing many Iſles in the midſt of the Bay we bore vp for them, but ere we could obtaine them, ſuch an extreame guſt of wind, rayne, thunder, and lightening happened, that with great danger we eſcaped the vnmercifull raging of that Ocean-like water. The higheſt land on the mayne, yet it was but low, we called *Keales* hill, and theſe vninhabited Iſles, *Ruſſels* Iſles. The next day ſearching them for freſh water, we could find none, the defect whereof forced vs to follow the next Eaſterne Channell, which brought vs to the river of *Wighcocomoco*. The people at firſt with great fury ſeemed to aſſault vs, yet at laſt with ſongs and daunces and much mirth became very tractable, but ſearching their habitations for water, we could fill but three barricoes, & that ſuch puddle, that never till then we ever knew the want of good water. We digged and ſearched in many places, but before two daies were expired, we would haue refuſed two barricoes of gold for one of that puddle water of *Wighcocomoco*. Being paſt theſe Iſles which are many in number, but all naught for habitation, falling with a high land vpon the mayne, we found a great Pond of freſh water, but ſo exceeding hot wee ſuppoſed it ſome bath; that place we called poynt *Ployer*, in honor of that moſt honourable Houſe of *Mouſay* in *Britaine*, that in an extreame extremitie once relieued our Captaine. From *Wighcocomoco* to this place, all the coaſt is low broken Iſles of Morap, growne a myle or two in breadth, and ten or twelue in length, good to cut for hay in Summer, and to catch fiſh and foule in Winter: but the Land beyond them is all covered over with wood, as is the reſt of the Country.

A ſtrange mortaline of Salvages.

Ruſſels Iſles.

Wighcocomoco.

An extreame want of freſh water.

Being thus refreſhed in croſſing ouer from the maine to other Iſles, we diſcouered the winde and waters ſo much increaſed with thunder, lightning, and raine, that our maſt and ſayle blew ouerbord and ſuch mighty waues ouerracked vs in that ſmall barge that with great labour we kept her frō ſinking by freeing out the water. Two dayes we were inforced to inhabite theſe vninhabited Iſles which for the extremitie of guſts, thunder, raine, ſtormes, and ill wether we called *Limbo*. Repairing our ſaile with our ſhirts, we ſet ſayle for the maine and fell with a pretty convenient riuer on the Eaſt called *Cuſkarawaok*, the people ran as amazed in troups from place to place, and diuers got into the tops of trees, they were not ſparing of their arrowes, nor the greateſt paſſion they could expreſſe of their anger. Long they ſhot, we ſtill ryding at an Anchor without there reatch making all the ſignes of friendſhip we could. The next day they came vnarmed, with euery one a basket, dancing in a ring, to draw vs on ſhore: but ſeeing there was nothing in them but villany, we diſcharged a volly of muskets charged with piſtoll ſhot, whereat they all lay tumbling on the grownd, creeping ſome one way, ſome another into a great cluſter of reedes hard by; where there companies lay in Ambuſcado. Towards the euening we wayed, & approaching the ſhoare, diſcharging fiue or ſix ſhot among the reedes, we landed where there lay a many of baskets and much bloud, but ſaw not a Salvage. A ſmoake appearing on the other ſide the riuer, we rowed thither, where we found two or three little houſes, in each a fire, there we left ſome peeces of copper, beads, bells, and looking glaſſes, and then went into the bay, but when it was darke we came backe againe. Early in

Their Barge neare ſunke in a guſt.

Cuſkarawaok.

the

the morning foure Salvages came to vs in their Canow, whom we vſed with ſuch courteſie, not knowing what we were, nor had done, hauing beene in the bay a fiſhing, bade vs ſtay and ere long they would returne, which they did and ſome twentie more with them; with whom after a little conference, two or three thouſand men women & childrē came cluſtring about vs, euery one preſēting vs with ſomething, which a little bead would ſo well requite, that we became ſuch friends they would contend who ſhould fetch vs water, ſtay with vs for hoſtage, conduct our men any whither, and giue vs the beſt content. Here doth inhabite the people of *Sarapinagh*, *Nauſe*, *Arſeek*, and *Nantaquak* the beſt Marchants of all other Salvages. They much extolled a great nation called *Maſſawomekes*, in ſearch of whom we returned by *Limbo*: this riuer but onely at the entrance is very narrow, and the people of ſmall ſtature as them of *Wighcocomoco*, the Land but low, yet it may proue very commodious, becauſe it is but a ridge of land betwixt the Bay and the maine Ocean. Finding this Eaſterne ſhore, ſhallow broken Iſles, and for moſt part without freſh water, we paſſed by the ſtraites of *Limbo* for the Weſterne ſhore: ſo broad is the bay here, we could ſcarce perceiue the great high clifts on the other ſide: by them we Anchored that night and called them *Riccards Cliftes*. 30. leagues we ſayled more Northwards not finding any inhabitants, leauing all the Eaſterne ſhore, lowe Iſlandes, but ouergrowne with wood, as all the Coaſt beyond them ſo farre as wee could ſee: the Weſterne ſhore by which we ſayled we found all along well watered, but very mountanous and barren, the vallies very fertill, but extreame thicke of ſmall wood ſo well as trees, and much frequented with Wolues, Beares, Deere and other wild beaſts. We paſſed many ſhallow creekes, but the firſt we found Nauigable for a ſhip, we called *Bolus*, for that the clay in many places vnder the clifts by the high water marke, did grow vp in red and white knots as gum out of trees; and in ſome places ſo participated together as though they were all of one nature, excepting the coulour, the reſt of the earth on both ſides being hard ſandy grauell, which made vs thinke it *Bole-Armoniack* and *Terra ſigillata*. When we firſt ſet ſayle ſome of our Gallants doubted nothing but that our Captaine would make too much haſt home, but hauing lien in this ſmall barge not aboue 12. or 14. dayes, oft tyred at the Oares, our bread ſpoyled with wet ſo much that it was rotten (yet ſo good were their ſtomacks that they could diſgeſt it) they did with continuall complaints ſo importune him now to returne, as cauſed him beſpeake them in this manner.

The firſt notice of the *Maſſawomeks*.

Bolus Riuer.

Gentlemen if you would remember the memorable hiſtory of Sir Ralph Layne, *how his company importuned him to proceed in the diſcouery of* Moratico, *alleadging they had yet a dog, that being boyled with Saxafras leaues, would richly feede them in their returnes; then what a ſhame would it be for you (that haue bin ſo ſuſpitious of my tenderneſſe) to force me returne, with ſo much proviſion as we haue, and ſcarce able to ſay where we haue beene, nor yet heard of that we were ſent to ſeeke? You cannot ſay but I haue ſhared with you in the worſt which is paſt; and for what is to come, of lodging, dyet, or whatſoeuer, I am contented you allot the worſt part to my ſelfe. As for your feares that I will loſe my ſelfe in theſe vnknowne large waters, or be ſwallowed vp in ſome ſtormie guſt; abandon theſe childiſh feares, for worſe then is paſt is not likely to happen: and there is as much danger to returne as to proceede. Regaine therefore your old ſpirits for returne I will not (if God pleaſe) till I haue ſeene the* Maſſawomeks, *found* Patawomek, *or the head of this water you conceit to be endleſſe.* Two or 3. dayes we expected winde & wether, whoſe aduerſe extremities added ſuch diſcouragement, that three or foure fell ſicke, whoſe pittifull complaints cauſed vs to to returne, leauing the bay ſome nine miles broad, at nine and ten fadome water.

Smiths ſpeech to his ſouldiers.

The diſcouery of *Patawomek*.

The 16. of *June* we fell with the riuer *Patawomek*: feare being gone, and our men recouered, we were all content to take ſome paines, to know the name of that ſeuen mile broad riuer: for thirtie myles ſayle, we could ſee no inhabitants: then we were conducted by two Savages vp a little bayed creeke, towards *Onawmanient*, where all the woods were layd with ambuſcado's to the number of three or foure thouſand Salvages, ſo ſtrangely paynted, grimed and diſguiſed, ſhouting, yelling and crying

Ambuſcadoes of Salvages.

as ſo many ſpirits from hell could not haue ſhewed more terrible. Many brauado's they made, but to appeaſe their fury, our Captaine prepared with as ſeeming a willingneſſe (as they) to incounter them. But the grazing of our bullets vpon the water (many being ſhot on purpoſe they might ſee them) with the Ecco of the of the woods ſo amazed them, as downe went their bowes and arrowes; (and exchanging hoſtage) *Iames Watkins* was ſent ſix myles vp the woods to their Kings habitation. We were kindly vſed of thoſe Salvages, of whom we vnderſtood, they were commanded to betray vs, by the direction of *Powhatan*, and he ſo directed from the diſcontents at *Iames* towne, becauſe our Captaine did cauſe them ſtay in their country againſt their wills.

A trecherous proiect.

The like incounters we found at *Patowomek*, *Cecocawonee* and diuers other places: but at *Moyaones*, *Nacotchtant* and *Toags* the people did their beſt to content vs. Hauing gone ſo high as we could with the bote, we met diuers Saluages in Canowes, well loaden with the fleſh of Beares, Deere and other beaſts, whereof we had part, here we found mighty Rocks, growing in ſome places aboue the grownd as high as the ſhrubby trees, and diuers other ſolid quarries of diuers tinctures: and diuers places where the waters had falne from the high mountaines they had left a tinctured ſpagled skurfe, that made many bare places ſeeme as guilded. Digging the growne aboue in the higheſt clifts of rocks, we ſaw it was a claie ſand ſo mingled with yeallow ſpangles as it it had beene halfe pin-duſt. In our returne inquiring ſtill for this *Matchqueon*, the king of *Patawomeke* gaue vs guides to conduct vs vp a little riuer called *Quiyough*, vp which we rowed ſo high as we could. Leauing the bote, with ſix ſhot, and diuers Salvages, he marched ſeuen or eight myle before they came to the mine: leading his hoſtages in a ſmall chaine they were to haue for their paines, being proud ſo richly to be adorned. The mine is a great Rocky mountaine like *Antimony*; wherein they digged a great hole with ſhells & hatchets: and hard by it, runneth a fayre brooke of *Chriſtal*-like water, where they waſh away the droſſe and keepe the remainder, which they put in litle baggs and ſell it all ouer the country to paint there bodyes, faces, or Idols; which makes them looke like Blackmores duſted over with ſiluer. With ſo much as we could carry we returned to our bote, kindly requiting this kinde king and all his kinde people. The cauſe of this diſcovery was to ſearch this mine, of which *Newport* did aſſure vs that thoſe ſmall baggs (we had giuen him) in *England* he had tryed to hold halfe ſiluer; but all we got proued of no value: alſo to ſearch what furrs, the beſt whereof is at *Cuſcarawaoke*, where is made ſo much *Rawranoke* or white beads that occaſion as much diſſention among the the Salvages, as gold and ſiluer amongſt Chriſtians; and what other mineralls, riuers, rocks, nations, woods, fiſhings, fruites, victuall, and what other commodities the land afforded: and whether the bay were endleſſe or how farre it extended: of mines we were all ignorant, but a few Beuers, Otters, Beares, Martins and minkes we found, and in diuers places that aboundance of fiſh, lying ſo thicke with their heads aboue the water, as for want of nets (our barge driuing amongſt them) we attempted to catch them with a frying pan: but we found it a bad inſtrument to catch fiſh with: neither better fiſh, more plenty, nor more variety for ſmal fiſh, had any of vs euer ſeene in any place ſo ſwimming in the water, but they are not to be caught with frying pans: ſome ſmall codd alſo we did ſee ſwim cloſe by the ſhore by *Smiths* Iles, and ſome as high as *Riccards* Clifts. And ſome we haue found dead vpon the ſhore.

A myne like *Antimony*.

An aboundant plenty of fiſh.

How to deale with the Salvages.

To expreſt all our quarrels, trecheries and incounters amongſt thoſe Salvages I ſhould be too tedious: but in breefe, at all times we ſo incountred them, and curbed their inſolencies, that they concluded with preſents to purchaſe peace; yet we loſt not a man: at our firſt meeting our Captaine euer obſerued this order to demand their bowes and arrowes, ſwordes, mantells and furrs, with ſome childe or two for hoſtage, whereby we could quickly perceiue, when they intended any villany. Hauing finiſhed this diſcouery (though our victuall was neere ſpent) he intended to ſee his impriſonment-acquaintances vpon the riuer of *Rapahanock*, by

many

many called *Toppahanock*, but our bote by reason of the ebbe, chansing to grownd vpon a many shoules lying in the entrances, we spyed many fishes lurking in the reedes: our Captaine sporting himselfe by nayling them to the grownd with his sword, set vs all a fishing in that manner: thus we tooke more in owne houre then we could eate in a day. But it chanced our Captaine taking a fish from his sword (not knowing her condition) being much of the fashion of a Thornback, but a long tayle like a ryding rodde, whereon the middest is a most poysoned sting, of two or three inches long, bearded like a saw on each side, which she strucke into the wrest of his arme neere an inch and a halfe: no bloud nor wound was seene, but a little blew spot, but the torment was instantly so extreame, that in foure houres had so swolen his hand, arme and shoulder, we all with much sorrow concluded his funerall, and prepared his graue in an Island by, as himselfe directed: yet it pleased God by a precious oyle Doctor *Russell* at the first applyed to it when he sounded it with probe (ere night) his tormenting paine was so well allwaged that he eate of the fish to his supper, which gaue no lesse ioy and content to vs then ease to himselfe, for which we called the Island *Stingray* Isle after the name of the fish.

Captaine *Smith* neare killed with a *stingray*.

Hauing neither Chirurgian, nor Chirurgery, but that preseruatiue oyle we presently set sayles for *Iames* towne, passing the mouthes of the riuers of *Payankatank*, & *Pamaunkee*, the next day we safely arriued at *Kecoughtan*. The simple Salvages seeing our Captaine hurt, and an other bloudy by breaking his shinne, our numbers of bowes, arrowes, swords, mantles, and furrs, would needes imagine we had beene at warres (the truth of these accidents would not satisfie them) but impatiently importuned vs to know with whom. Finding their aptnesse to beleeue we fayled not (as a great secret) to tell them any thing that might affright them, what spoyle we had got and made of the *Massawomeks*. This rumor went faster vp the river then our Barge, that arrived at *Waraskoyack* the 20 of Iuly; where trimming her with painted streamers, and such deuises as we could, we made them at *Iames* towne iealous of a Spanish Frigot, where we all God be thanked safely arrived the 21 of Iuly. There we found the last Supply were all sicke, the rest some lame, some bruised, all vnable to doe any thing but complaine of the pride and vnreasonable needlesse crueltie of the silly President, that had riotously consumed the store: and to fulfill his follies about building him an vnnecessary building for his pleasure in the woods, had brought them all to that misery; that had we not arrived, they had as strangely tormented him with reuenge: but the good newes of our Discovery, and the good hope we had by the Salvages relation, that our Bay had stretched into the South Sea, or somewhat neare it, appeased their fury; but conditionally that *Ratliffe* should be deposed, and that Captaine *Smith* would take vpon him the government, as by course it did belong. Their request being effected, he substituted Mr *Scrivener* his deare friend in the Presidency, equally distributing those private prouisions the other had ingrossed, appointing more honest officers to assist master *Scrivener* (who then lay exceeding sicke of a Callenture) and in regard of the weaknesse of the company, and heate of the yeare, they being vnable to worke, he left them to liue at ease, to recover their healths, but imbarked himselfe to finish his Discovery.

The Salvages affrighted with their owne suspition.

Needlesse misery at *Iames* towne.

Written by Walter Russell, Anas Todkill, *and* Thomas Momford.

Chap. VI.

The Government surrendred to Master Scrivener.

What happened the second Voyage in discovering the Bay.

The 24 of Iuly, Captaine *Smith* set forward to finish the discovery with twelue men: their names were

Nathaniell Powell.
Thomas Momford.
Richard Fetherſton.
Michell Sicklemore.
Iames Bourne.
Anthony Bagnall, Chir. } Gentlemen.

Ionas Profit.
Anas Todkill.
Edward Piſing.
Richard Keale.
Iames Watkins.
William Ward. } Souldiers.

The wind being contrary cauſed our ſtay two or three dayes at *Kecoughtan*: the King feaſted vs with much mirth, his people were perſwaded we went purpoſely to be revenged of the *Maſſawomeks*. In the evening we fired a few rackets, which flying in the ayre ſo terrified the poore Salvages, they ſuppoſed nothing vnpoſſible we attempted; and deſired to aſſiſt vs. The firſt night we anchored at *Stingray* Iſle. The next day croſſed *Patawomeks* river, and haſted to the river *Bolus*. We went not much further before we might ſee the Bay to divide in two heads, and arriving there we found it divided in foure, all which we ſearched ſo farre as we could ſayle them. Two of them we found inhabited, but in croſſing the Bay, we incountred 7 or 8 Canowes full of *Maſſawomeks*, we ſeeing them prepare to aſſault vs, left our Oares and made way with our ſayle to incounter them, yet were we but fiue with our Captaine that could ſtand, for within 2 dayes after we left *Kecoughtan*, the reſt (being all of the laſt ſupply) were ſicke almoſt to death, vntill they were ſeaſoned to the Country. Having ſhut them vnder our Tarpawling, we put their hats vpon ſtickes by the Barges ſide, and betwixt two hats a man with two peeces, to make vs ſeeme many, and ſo we thinke the *Indians* ſuppoſed thoſe hats to be men, for they fled with all poſſible ſpeed to the ſhore, and there ſtayed, ſtaring at the ſayling of our barge till we anchored right againſt them. Long it was ere we could draw them to come vnto vs. At laſt they ſent two of their company vnarmed in a Canow, the reſt all followed to ſecond them if neede required. Theſe two being but each preſented with a bell, brought aboord all their fellowes, preſenting our Captaine with veniſon, beares fleſh, fiſh, bowes, arrowes, clubs, targets, and beares-skinnes. We vnderſtood them nothing at all, but by ſignes, whereby they ſignified vnto vs they had beene at warres with the *Tockwoghes*, the which they confirmed by ſhewing vs their greene wounds, but the night parting vs, we imagined they appointed the next morning to meete, but after that we never ſaw them.

The Salvages admire fire-workes.

An Incounter with the *Maſſawomeks* at the head of the Bay.

Entring the river of *Tockwogh*, the Salvages all armed, in a fleete of boats, after their barbarous manner, round invironed vs; ſo it chanced one of them could ſpeake the language of *Powhatan*, who perſwaded the reſt to a friendly parley. But when they ſaw vs furniſhed with the *Maſſawomeks* weapons, and we fayning the invention of *Kecoughtan*, to haue taken them perforce; they conducted vs to their pallizadoed towne, mantelled with the barkes of trees, with ſcaffolds like mounts, breſted about with breſts very formally. Their men, women, and children with daunces, ſongs, fruits, furres, and what they had, kindly welcommed vs, ſpreading mats for vs to ſit on, ſtretching their beſt abilities to expreſſe their loues.

An Incounter with the *Tockwoghs*.

Many hatchets, kniues, peeces of iron, and braſſe, we ſaw amongſt them, which they reported to haue from the *Saſqueſahanocks*, a mightie people and mortall enemies with the *Maſſawomeks*. The *Saſqueſahanocks* inhabit vpon the chiefe Spring of theſe foure branches of the Bayes head, two dayes iourney higher then our barge could paſſe for rocks, yet we prevailed with the Interpreter to take with him another Interpreter, to perſwade the *Saſqueſahanocks* to come viſit vs, for their language are different. Three or foure dayes we expected their returne, then ſixtie of thoſe gyant-like people came downe, with preſents of Veniſon, Tobacco-pipes three foot in length, Baskets, Targets, Bowes and Arrowes. Fiue of their chiefe *Werowances* came boldly aboord vs to croſſe the Bay for *Tockwhogh*, leaving their men and Canowes; the wind being ſo high they durſt not paſſe.

Hatchets from the *Saſqueſahanocks*.

Our order was daily to haue Prayer, with a Pſalme, at which ſolemnitie the poore Salvages much wondred, our Prayers being done, a while they were buſied with a conſultation till they had contrived their buſineſſe. Then they began in a moſt paſſionate

ſionate manner to hold vp their hands to the Sunne, with a moſt fearefull ſong, then imbracing our Captaine, they began to adore him in like manner: though he rebuked them, yet they proceeded till their ſong was finiſhed: which done with a moſt ſtrange furious action, and a helliſh voyce, began an Oration of their loues; that ended, with a great painted Beares skin they covered him: then one ready with a great chayne of white Beads, weighing at leaſt ſix or ſeaven pound, hung it about his necke, the others had 18 mantels, made of divers ſorts of skinnes ſowed together; all theſe with many other toyes they layd at his feete, ſtroking their ceremonious hands about his necke for his Creation to be their Governour and Protector, promiſing their aydes, victualls, or what they had to be his, if he would ſtay with them, to defend and revenge them of the *Maſſawomeks*. But we left them at *Tockwhogh*, ſorrowing for our departure, yet we promiſed the next yeare againe to viſit them. Many deſcriptions and diſcourſes they made vs, of *Atquanachuck*, *Maſſawomek*, & other people, ſignifying they inhabit vpon a great water beyond the mountaines, which we vnderſtood to be ſome great lake, or the river of *Canada*: and from the French to haue their hatchets and Commodities by trade. Theſe know no more of the territories of *Powhatan*, then his name, and he as little of them, but the *Atquanachuks* are on the Ocean Sea.

The *Saſqueſahanocks* offer to the *Engliſh*.

The higheſt mountaine we ſaw Northward wee called *Perigrines* mount, and a rocky river, where the *Maſſawomeks* went vp, *Willowbyes* river, in honor of the towne our Captaine was borne in, and that honorable houſe the Lord *Willowby*, his moſt honored good friend. The *Saſqueſahanocks* river we called *Smiths* falles; the next poynt to *Tockwhogh*, *Fiſings* poynt; the next it poynt *Bourne*. *Powells* Iſles and *Smals* poynt is by the river *Bolus*; and the little Bay at the head *Profits* poole; *Watkins*, *Reads*, and *Momfords* poynts are on each ſide *Limbo*; *Ward*, *Cantrell*, and *Sickelmore*, betwixt *Patawomek* and *Pamaunkee*, after the names of the diſcoverers. In all thoſe places and the furtheſt we came vp the rivers, we cut in trees ſo many croſſes as we would, and in many places made holes in trees, wherein we writ notes, and in ſome places croſſes of braſſe, to ſignifie to any, Engliſhmen had beene there.

Thus having ſought all the inlets and rivers worth noting, we returned to diſcover the river of *Pawtuxunt*; theſe people we found very tractable, and more civill then any, we promiſed them, as alſo the *Patawomeks* to revenge them of the *Maſſawomeks*, but our purpoſes were croſſed. *Pawtuxunt*, R.

In the diſcovery of this river ſome call *Rapahanock*, we were kindly entertained by the people of *Moraughtacund*; here we incountered our old friend *Moſco*, a luſty Salvage of *Wighcocomoco* vpō the river of *Patawomek*, we ſuppoſed him ſome *French* mans ſonne, becauſe he had a thicke blacke buſh beard, and the Salvages ſeldome haue any at all, of which he was not a little proud, to ſee ſo many of his Countrymen. Wood and water he would fetch vs, guide vs any whether, nay, cauſe divers of his Countrymen helpe vs towe againſt winde or tyde from place to place till we came to *Patawomek*: there he reſted till we returned from the head of the river, and occaſioned our conduct to the mine we ſuppoſed *Antimony*. And in the place he fayled not to doe vs all the good he could, perſwading vs in any caſe not to goe to the *Rapahanocks*, for they would kill vs for being friends with the *Moraughtacunds* that but lately had ſtolne three of the Kings women. This we did thinke was but that his friends might onely haue our trade: ſo we croſſed the river to the *Rapahanocks*. There ſome 12 or 16 ſtanding on the ſhore, directed vs a little Creeke where was good landing, and Commodities for vs in three or foure Canowes we ſaw lie there: but according to our cuſtome, we demanded to exchange a man in ſigne of loue, which after they had a little conſulted, foure or fiue came vp to the middles, to fetch our man, and leaue vs one of them, ſhewing we need not feare them, for they had neither clubs, bowes, nor arrowes. Notwithſtanding, *Anas Todkill*, being ſent on ſhore to ſee if he could diſcover any Ambuſcadoes, or what they had, deſired to goe over the playne to fetch ſome wood, but they were vnwilling, except we would come into the Creeke, where the boat might come cloſe aſhore. *Todkill* by degrees

Rapahanock, R.

The exceeding loue of the Salvage *Moſco*.

Our fight with the *Rapahanocks*.

having got ſome two ſtones throwes vp the playne, perceived two or three hundred men (as he thought) behind the trees, ſo that offering to returne to the Boat, the Salvages aſſayed to carry him away perforce, that he called to vs we were betrayed, and by that he had ſpoke the word, our hoſtage was over-boord, but *Watkins* his keeper ſlew him in the water. Immediatly we let fly amongſt them, ſo that they fled, & *Todkill* eſcaped, yet they ſhot ſo faſt that he fell flat on the ground ere he could recover the boat. Here the *Maſſawomek* Targets ſtood vs in good ſtead, for vpon *Moſco's* words, we had ſet them about the forepart of our Boat like a forecaſtle, from whence we ſecurely beat the Salvages from off the plaine without any hurt: yet they ſhot more then a thouſand Arrowes, and then fled into the woods. Arming our ſelues with theſe light Targets (which are made of little ſmall ſticks woven betwixt ſtrings of their hempe and ſilke graſſe, as is our Cloth, but ſo firmely that no arrow can poſſibly pierce them:) we reſcued *Todkill*, who was all bloudy by ſome of them who were ſhot by vs that held him, but as God pleaſed he had no hurt; and following them vp to the woods, we found ſome ſlaine, and in divers places much bloud. It ſeems all their arrowes were ſpent, for we heard no more of them. Their Canows we tooke; the arrowes we found we broke, ſaue them we kept for *Moſco*, to whom we gaue the Canowes for his kindneſſe, that entertained vs in the beſt trivmphing manner, and warlike order in armes of conqueſt he could procure of the *Morangh-tacunds*.

The Salvages diſguiſed like buſhes fight.

The reſt of the day we ſpent in accomodating our Boat, in ſtead of thoules wee made ſtickes like Bedſtaues, to which we faſtened ſo many of our *Maſſawomek* Targets, that invironed her as waſt clothes. The next morning we went vp the river, and our friend *Moſco* followed vs along the ſhore, and at laſt deſired to goe with vs in our Boat. But as we paſſed by *Piſcacack*, *Matchopeak*, and *Mecuppom*, three Townes ſituated vpon high white clay clifts; the other ſide all a low playne mariſh, and the river there but narrow. Thirtie or fortie of the *Rapahanocks*, had ſo accommodated themſelues with branches, as we tooke them for little buſhes growing among the ſedge, ſtill ſeeing their arrowes ſtrike the Targets, and dropped in the river: whereat *Moſco* fell flat in the Boat on his face, crying the *Rapahanocks*, which preſently we eſpied to be the buſhes, which at our firſt volley fell downe in the ſedge: when wee were neare halfe a myle from them, they ſhewed themſelues dauncing and ſinging very merrily.

The Kings of *Piſſaſack*, *Nandtaughtacund*, and *Cuttatawomen*, vſed vs kindly, and all their people neglected not any thing to *Moſco* to bring vs to them. Betwixt *Secobeck* and *Maſſawteck* is a ſmall Iſle or two, which cauſeth the river to be broader then ordinary; there it pleaſed God to take one of our Company called Mr *Fetherſtone*, that all the time he had beene in this Country, had behaved himſelfe, honeſtly, valiantly, and induſtriouſly, where in a little Bay we called *Fetherſtones* Bay wee buryed him with a volley of ſhot: the reſt notwithſtanding their ill dyet, and bad lodging, crowded in ſo ſmall a Barge, in ſo many dangers never reſting, but alwayes toſſed to and againe, had all well recovered their healths. The next day wee ſayled ſo high as our Boat would float, there ſetting vp croſſes, and graving our names in the trees. Our Sentinell ſaw an arrow fall by him, though we had ranged vp and downe more then an houre in digging in the earth, looking of ſtones, herbs, and ſprings, not ſeeing where a Salvage could well bide himſelfe.

Our fight with the *Manahoacks*.

Vpon the alarum by that we had recovered our armes, there was about an hundred nimble *Indians* skipping from tree to tree, letting fly their arrows ſo faſt as they could: the trees here ſerved vs for Baricadoes as well as they. But *Moſco* did vs more ſervice then we expected, for having ſhot away his quiver of Arrowes, he ran to the Boat for more. The Arrowes of *Moſco* at the firſt made them pauſe vpon the matter, thinking by his bruit and skipping, there were many Salvages. About halfe an houre this continued, then they all vaniſhed as ſuddainly as they approached. *Moſco* followed them ſo farre as he could ſee vs, till they were out of ſight. As we returned there lay a Salvage as dead, ſhot in the knee, but taking him vp we found he had life,

A Salvage ſhot and taken priſoner.

life; which *Moſco* ſeeing, never was Dog more furious againſt a Beare, then *Moſco* was to haue beat out his braines, ſo we had him to our Boat, where our Chirurgian who went with vs to cure our Captaines hurt of the *Stingray*, ſo dreſſed this Salvage that within an houre after he looked ſomewhat chearefully, and did eate and ſpeake. In the meane time we contented *Moſco* in helping him to gather vp their arrowes, which were an armefull, whereof he gloried not a little. Then we deſired *Moſco* to know what he was, and what Countries were beyond the mountaines; the poore Salvage mildly anſwered, he and all with him were of *Haſinninga*, where there are three Kings more, like vnto them, namely the King of *Stegora*, the King of *Tanxuntania*, and the King of *Shakahonea*, that were come to *Mohaskahod*, which is onely a hunting Towne, and the bounds betwixt the Kingdome of the *Mannahocks*, and the *Nandtaughtacunds*, but hard by where we were. We demanded why they came in that manner to betray vs, that came to them in peace, and to ſeeke their loues; he anſwered, they heard we were a people come from vnder the world, to take their world from them. We asked him how many worlds he did know, he replyed, he knew no more but that which was vnder the skie that covered him, which were the *Powhatans*, with the *Monacans*, and the *Maſſawomeks*, that were higher vp in the mountaines. Then we asked him what was beyond the mountaines, he anſwered the Sunne: but of any thing els he knew nothing; * becauſe the woods were not burnt. Theſe and many ſuch queſtions wee demanded, concerning the *Maſſawomeks*, the *Monacans*, their owne Country, and where were the Kings of *Stegora*, *Tanxſintania*, and the reſt. The *Monacans* he ſayd were their neighbours and friends, and did dwell as they in the hilly Countries by ſmall rivers, liuing vpon rootes and fruits, but chiefly by hunting. The *Maſſawomeks* did dwell vpon a great water, and had many boats, & ſo many men that they made warre with all the world. For their Kings, they were gone every one a ſeverall way with their men on hunting: But thoſe with him came thither a fiſhing till they ſaw vs, notwithſtanding they would be altogether at night at *Mahaskahod*. For his relation we gaue him many toyes, with perſwaſions to goe with vs, and he as earneſtly deſired vs to ſtay the comming of thoſe Kings that for his good vſage ſhould be friends with vs, for he was brother to *Haſinninga*. But *Moſco* adviſed vs preſently to be gone, for they were all naught, yet we told him we would not till it was night. All things we made ready to entertain what came, & *Moſco* was as diligent in trimming his arrowes. The night being come we all imbarked, for the riuer was ſo narrow, had it beene light the land on the one ſide was ſo high, they might haue done vs exceeding much miſchiefe. All this while the K. of *Haſinninga* was ſeeking the reſt, and had conſultation a good time what to doe. But by their eſpies ſeeing we were gone, it was not long before we heard their arrowes dropping on every ſide the Boat; we cauſed our Salvages to call vnto them, but ſuch a yelling & hallowing they made that they heard nothing, but now and then a peece, ayming ſo neare as we could where we heard the moſt voyces. More then 12 myles they followed vs in this manner; then the day appearing, we found our ſelues in a broad Bay, out of danger of their ſhot, where wee came to an anchor, and fell to breakfaſt. Not ſo much as ſpeaking to them till the Sunne was riſen; being well refreſhed, we vntyed our Targets that couered vs as a Deck, and all ſhewed our ſelues with thoſe ſhields on our armes, and ſwords in our hands, and alſo our priſoner *Amoroleck*; a long diſcourſe there was betwixt his Countrimen and him, how good wee were, how well wee vſed him, how wee had a *Patawomek* with vs, loued vs as his life, that would haue ſlaine him had we not preſerued him, and that he ſhould haue his libertie would they be but friends; and to doe vs any hurt it was impoſſible. Vpon this they all hung their Bowes and Quivers vpon the trees, and one came ſwimming aboord vs with a Bow tyed on his head, and another with a Quiver of Arrowes, which they deliuered our Captaine as a preſent, the Captaine hauing vſed them ſo kindly as he could, told them the other three Kings ſhould doe the like, and then the great King of our world ſhould be their friend, whoſe men we were. It was no ſooner demanded but performed, ſo

His relation of their countries.

* They cannot trauell but where the woods are burnt.

How we concluded peace with the foure kings of *Mannahoke*.

vpon a low Mooriſh poynt of Land we went to the ſhore, where thoſe foure Kings came and receiued *Amoroleck*: nothing they had but Bowes, Arrowes, Tobacco-bags, and Pipes: what we deſired, none refuſed to giue vs, wondering at every thing we had, and heard we had done: our Piſtols they tooke for pipes, which they much deſired, but we did content them with other Commodities, and ſo we left foure or fiue hundred of our merry *Mannahocks*, ſinging, dauncing, and making merry, and ſet ſayle for *Moraughtacund*.

How we became friends with the *Rapahanocks*.

In our returnes we viſited all our friends, that reioyced much at our Victory againſt the *Mannahocks*, who many times had Warres alſo with them, but now they were friends, and deſired we would be friends with the *Rapahanocks*, as we were with the *Mannahocks*. Our Captaine told them, they had twiſe aſſaulted him that came onely in loue to doe them good, and therefore he would now burne all their houſes, deſtroy their corne, and for euer hold them his enemies, till they made him ſatisfaction; they deſired to know what that ſhould be: he told them they ſhould preſent him the Kings Bow and Arrowes, and not offer to come armed where he was; that they ſhould be friends with the *Moraughtacunds* his friends, and giue him their Kings ſonne in pledge to performe it, and then all King *Iames* his men ſhould be their friends. Vpon this they preſently ſent to the *Rapahanocks* to meete him at the place where they firſt fought, where would be the Kings of *Nantaughtacund* and *Piſſaſſac*: which according to their promiſe were there ſo ſoone as we; where *Rapahanock* preſented his Bow and Arrowes, and confirmed all we deſired, except his ſonne, having no more but him he could not liue without him, but in ſtead of his ſonne he would giue him the three women *Moraughtacund* had ſtolne. This was accepted: and ſo in three or foure Canowes, ſo many as could went with vs to *Moraughtacund*, where *Moſco* made them ſuch relations, and gaue to his friends ſo many Bowes and Arrowes, that they no leſſe loued him then admired vs. The 3 women were brought our Captaine, to each he gaue a chayne of Beads: and then cauſing *Moraughtacund*, *Moſco*, and *Rapahanock* ſtand before him, bid *Rapahanock* take her he loued beſt, and *Moraughtacund* chuſe next, & to *Moſco* he gaue the third. Vpon this away went their Canowes over the water, to fetch their veniſon, and all the proviſion they could, and they that wanted Boats ſwam over the river: the darke commanded vs then to reſt. The next day there was of men, women, and children, as we coniectured, ſix or ſeauen hundred, dauncing, & ſinging, and not a Bow nor Arrow ſeene amongſt them. *Moſco* changed his name *Vttaſantaſough*, which we interpret *Stranger*, for ſo they call vs. All promiſing ever to be our friends, and to plant Corne purpoſely for vs; and we to prouide hatchets, beads, and copper for them, we departed, giuing them a Volley of ſhot, and they vs as loud ſhouts and cryes as their ſtrengths could vtter. That night we anchored in the river of *Payankatank*, and diſcouered it ſo high as it was navigable, but the people were moſt a hunting, ſaue a few old men, women, and children, that were tending their corne, of which they promiſed vs part when we would fetch it, as had done all the Nations where ever we had yet beene.

The diſcovery of *Payankatank*.

In a fayre calme, rowing towards poynt *Comfort*, we anchored in *Goſnolls* Bay, but ſuch a ſuddaine guſt ſurpriſed vs in the night with thunder and rayne, that we never thought more to haue ſeene *Iames* Towne. Yet running before the wind, we ſometimes ſaw the Land by the flaſhes of fire from heaven, by which light onely we kept from the ſplitting ſhore, vntill it pleaſed God in that blacke darkneſſe to preſerue vs by that light to finde poynt *Comfort*: there refreſhing our ſelues, becauſe we had onely but heard of the *Chiſapeacks* & *Nandſamunds*, we thought it as fit to know all our neighbours neare home, as ſo many Nations abroad.

A notable trechery of the *Nandſamunds*.

So ſetting ſayle for the Southerne ſhore, we ſayled vp a narrow river vp the country of *Chiſapeack*; it hath a good channell, but many ſhoules about the entrance. By that we had ſayled ſix or ſeauen myles, we ſaw two or three little garden plots with their houſes, the ſhores overgrowne with the greateſt Pyne and Firre trees wee ever ſaw in the Country. But not ſeeing nor hearing any people, and the riuer very narrow, we returned to the great riuer, to ſee if we could finde any of them. Coaſting

the

the shore towards *Nandsamund*, which is most Oyster-bankes; at the mouth of that riuer, we espied six or seauen Salvages making their wires, who presently fled: a-shore we went, and where they wrought we threw diuers toyes, and so departed. Farre we were not gone ere they came againe, and began to sing, and daunce, and recall vs: and thus we began our first acquaintance. At last one of them desired vs to goe to his house vp that riuer, into our Boat voluntarily he came, the rest ran after vs by the shore with all shew of loue that could be. Seauen or eight myles we sayled vp this narrow riuer: at last on the Westerne shore we saw large Cornefields, in the midst a little Isle, and in it was abundance of Corne; the people he told vs were all a hunting, but in the Isle was his house, to which he inuited vs with much kindnesse: to him, his wife, and children, we gaue such things as they seemed much contented them. The others being come, desired vs also to goe but a little higher to see their houses: here our host left vs, the rest rowed by vs in a Canow, till we were so far past the Isle the riuer became very narrow. Here we desired some of them to come abord vs, wherat pausing a little, they told vs they would but fetch their bows and arrowes and goe all with vs, but being a-shore and thus armed, they perswaded vs to goe forward, but we could neither perswade them into their Canow, nor into our Boat. This gaue vs cause to prouide for the worst. Farre we went not ere seauen or eight Canowes full of men armed appeared following vs, staying to see the conclusion. Presently from each side the riuer came arrowes so fast as two or three hundred could shoot them, whereat we returned to get the open. They in the Canowes let fly also as fast, but amongst them we bestowed so many shot, the most of them leaped ouerboord and swam ashore, but two or three escaped by rowing, being against their playnes: our Muskets they found shot further then their Bowes, for wee made not twentie shot ere they all retyred behind the next trees. Being thus got out of their trap, we seised on all their Canowes, and moored them in the midst of the open. More then an hundred arrowes stucke in our Targets, and about the boat, yet none hurt, onely *Anthony Bagnall* was shot in his Hat, and another in his sleeue. But seeing their multitudes, and suspecting as it was, that both the *Nandsamunds*, and the *Chisapeacks* were together, we thought it best to ryde by their Canowes a while, to bethinke if it were better to burne all in the Isle, or draw them to composition, till we were prouided to take all they had, which was sufficient to feed all our *Colony*: but to burne the Isle at night it was concluded. In the interim we began to cut in peeces their Canowes, and they presently to lay downe their bowes, making signes of peace: peace we told them we would accept it, would they bring vs their Kings bowes and arrowes, with a chayne of pearle; and when we came againe giue vs foure hundred baskets full of Corne, otherwise we would breake all their boats, and burne their houses, and corne, and all they had. To performe all this they alledged onely the want of a Canow; so we put one a drift & bad them swim to fetch her: and till they performed their promise, wee would but onely breake their Canowes. They cryed to vs to doe no more, all should be as we would: which presently they performed, away went their bowes and arrowes, and tagge and ragge came with their baskets: so much as we could carry we tooke, and so departing good friends, we returned to *Iames* Towne, where we safely arrived the 7. of September, 1608. There we found Mr *Scrivener*, and divers others well recovered: many dead; some sicke: the late President prisoner for mutiny: by the honest diligence of Master *Scrivener*, the harueſt gathered, but the prouision in the store much spoyled with rayne. Thus was that summer (when little wanted) consumed and spent, and nothing done (such was the gouernment of Captaine *Ratliffe*) but onely this discovery; wherein to expresse all the dangers, accidents, and incounters this small number passed in that small Barge, by the scale of proportion, about three thousand myles, with such watery dyet in those great waters and barbarous Countries (till then to any Christian vtterly vnknowne) I rather referre their merit to the censure of the courteous and experienced Reader, then I would be tedious or partiall being a partie.

The fight with the *Chisapeacks* and *Nandsamunds*.

How they became friends.

The proceeding at *Iames* Towne.

But to this place to come who will adventure,
with indgements guide and reaſon how to enter:
Finds in this worlds broad ſea, with winde and tyde,
Ther's ſafer ſayle then any where beſide.
But 'cauſe to wanton novices it is
A Province full of fearefulneſſe I wiſs;
Into the great vaſt deepe to venter out:
Thoſe ſhallow rivers let them coaſt about.
And by a ſmall Boat learne there firſt, and marke,
How they may come to make a greater Barke.

Written by *Anthony Bagnall, Nathanaell Powell,* and *Anas Todkill.*

Chapter VII.

The Preſidency ſurrendred to Captaine Smith: *the Arrivall and returne of the ſecond Supply. And what happened.*

THe tenth of September, by the Election of the Councell, and requeſt of the Company, Captaine *Smith* receiued the Letters Patents: which till then by no meanes he would accept, though he was often importuned therevnto. Now the building of *Ratliffes* Pallace ſtayed as a thing needleſſe; the Church was repaired; the Store-houſe recouered; buildings prepared for the Supplyes, we expected; the Fort reduced to a fiue-ſquare forme; the order of the Watch renewed; the ſquadrons (each ſetting of the Watch) trained; the whole Company euery Saturday exerciſed, in the plaine by the weſt Bulwarke, prepared for that purpoſe, we called *Smithfield*: where ſometimes more then an hundred Salvages would ſtand in an amazement to behold, how a ſyle would batter a tree, where he would make them a marke to ſhoot at; the boats trimmed for trade, which being ſent out with Lieutenant *Percy*, in their Iourney incountred the ſecond Supply, that brought them backe to diſcover the Country of *Monacan*. How or why Captaine *Newport* obtained ſuch a private Commiſſion, as not to returne without a lumpe of gold, a certaintie of the South ſea, or one of the loſt company ſent out by Sir *Water Raleigh*, I know not; nor why he brought ſuch a fiue peeced Barge, not to beare vs to that South ſea, till we had borne her over the mountaines, which how farre they extend is yet vnknowne. As for the Coronation of *Powhatan*, and his preſents of Baſon and Ewer, Bed, Bedſtead, Clothes, and ſuch coſtly nouelties, they had beene much better well ſpared then ſo ill ſpent, for wee had his favour much better onely for a playne peece of Copper, till this ſtately kinde of ſoliciting, made him ſo much ouervalue himſelfe, that he reſpected vs as much as nothing at all. As for the hyring of the *Poles* and *Dutch*-men, to make Pitch, Tar, Glaſſe, Milles, and Sope aſhes, when the Country is repleniſhed with people, and neceſſaries, would haue done well, but to ſend them and ſeauentie more without victualls to worke, was not ſo well aduiſed nor conſidered of, as it ſhould haue beene. Yet this could not haue hurt vs had they beene 200. though then we were 130 that wanted for our ſelues. For we had the Salvages in that *decorum* (their harveſt being newly gathered, that we feared not to get victuals for 500. Now was there no way to make vs miſerable, but to neglect that time to make prouiſion whilſt it was to be had, the which was done by the direction from *England* to performe this ſtrange diſcovery, but a more ſtrange Coronation to looſe that time, ſpend that victualls we had, tyre and ſtarue our men, hauing no meanes to carry victuals, munition, the hurt or ſicke, but on their owne backes. How or by whom they were inſluenced I know not: but Captaine *Newport* we onely accounted the Author, who to effect theſe proiects, had ſo guilded mens hopes with great promiſes, that both Company and Councell concluded his reſolu-

Powhatans ſcorne when his courteſie was moſt deſerved.

No better way to ouerthrow the buſines then by our inſtructors.

tion

tion for the moſt part: God doth know they little knew what they did, nor vnderſtood their owne eſtates to conclude his concluſions, againſt all the inconveniences the foreſeeing Preſident alledged. Of this Supply there was added to the Councell, one Captaine *Richard Waldo*, and Captaine *Wynne*, two auncient Souldiers, and valiant Gentlemen, but yet ignorant of the buſines, (being but newly arriued.) *Ratliffe* was alſo permitted to haue his voyce, & Mr *Scrivener*, deſirous to ſee ſtrange Countries: ſo that although *Smith* was Preſident, yet the Maior part of the Councell had the authoritie and ruled it as they liſted. As for clearing *Smiths* obiections, how Pitch and Tarre, Wainſcot, Claybord, Glaſſe, and Sope aſhes, could be provided, to relade the ſhip, or proviſion got to liue withall, when none was in the Country, and that we had, ſpent, before the ſhip departed to effect theſe projects. The anſwer was, Captaine *Newport* vndertooke to fraught the Pinnace of twentie tunnes with Corne in going and returning in his Diſcovery, and to refraught her againe from *Werowocomoco* of *Powhatan*. Alſo promiſing a great proportion of victualls from the Ship; inferring that *Smiths* propoſitions were onely devices to hinder his iourney, to effect it himſelfe; and that the crueltie he had vſed to the Salvages, might well be the occaſion to hinder theſe Deſignes, and ſeeke revenge on him. For which taxation all workes were left, and 120 choſen men were appointed for *Newports* guard in this Diſcovery. But Captaine *Smith* to make cleare all thoſe ſeeming ſuſpitions, that the Salvages were not ſo deſperate as was pretended by Captaine *Newport*, and how willing (ſince by their authoritie they would haue it ſo) he was to aſſiſt them what he could, becauſe the Coronation would conſume much time, he vndertooke himſelfe their meſſage to *Powhatan*, to intreat him to come to *Iames* Towne to receiue his preſents. And where *Newport* durſt not goe with leſſe then 120. he onely tooke with him Captaine *Waldo*, Mr *Andrew Buckler*, *Edward Brinton*, and *Samuel Collier*: with theſe foure he went over land to *Werowocomoco*, ſome 12 myles; there he paſſed the river of *Pamaunkee* in a Salvage Canow. *Powhatan* being 30 myles off, was preſently ſent for: in the meane time, *Pocahontas* and her women entertained Captaine *Smith* in this manner.

A conſultation, where all the Councell was againſt the Preſident.

Capt. *Smith* goeth with 4. to *Powhatan*, when *Newport* feared with 120.

In a fayre plaine field they made a fire, before which, he ſitting vpon a mat, ſuddainly amongſt the woods was heard ſuch a hydeous noiſe and ſhrecking, that the Engliſh betooke themſelues to their armes, and ſeized on two or three old men by them, ſuppoſing *Powhatan* with all his power was come to ſurpriſe them. But preſently *Pocahontas* came, willing him to kill her if any hurt were intended, and the beholders, which were men, women, and children, ſatisfied the Captaine there was no ſuch matter. Then preſently they were preſented with this anticke; thirtie young women came naked out of the woods, onely covered behind and before with a few greene leaues, their bodies all painted, ſome of one colour, ſome of another, but all differing, their leader had a fayre payre of Bucks hornes on her head, and an Otters skinne at her girdle, and another at her arme, a quiver of arrowes at her backe, a bow and arrowes in her hand; the next had in her hand a ſword, another a club, another a pot-ſticke; all horned alike: the reſt every one with their ſeverall deviſes. Theſe fiends with moſt helliſh ſhouts and cryes, ruſhing from among the trees, caſt themſelues in a ring about the fire, ſinging and dauncing with moſt excellent ill varietie, oft falling into their infernall paſſions, and ſolemnly againe to ſing and daunce; having ſpent neare an houre in this Maſcarado, as they entred in like manner they departed.

A *Virginia* Maske.

Having reaccomodated themſelues, they ſolemnly invited him to their lodgings, where he was no ſooner within the houſe, but all theſe Nymphes more tormented him then ever, with crowding, preſſing, and hanging about him, moſt tediouſly crying, Loue you not me? loue you not me? This ſalutation ended, the feaſt was ſet, conſiſting of all the Salvage dainties they could deviſe: ſome attending, others ſinging and dauncing about them; which mirth being ended, with fire-brands in ſtead of Torches they conducted him to his lodging.

The Women entertaine him.

Thus did they ſhew their feats of armes, and others art in dauncing:
Some other vs'd there outen pipe, and others voyces chanting.

The

Captaine *Smiths* meſſage.

The next day came *Powhatan*. *Smith* delivered his meſſage of the preſents ſent him, and redelivered him *Namontack* he had ſent for *England*, deſiring him to come to his Father *Newport*, to accept thoſe preſents, and conclude their revenge againſt the *Monacans*. Wherevnto this ſubtile Savage thus replyed.

Powhatans anſwer.

If your King haue ſent me Preſents, I alſo am a King, and this is my land: eight dayes I will ſtay to receiue them. Your Father is to come to me, not I to him, nor yet to your Fort, neither will I bite at ſuch a bait: as for the Monacans *I can revenge my owne iniuries, and as for* Atquanachuk, *where you ſay your brother was ſlaine, it is a contrary way from thoſe parts you ſuppoſe it; but for any ſalt water beyond the mountaines, the Relations you haue had from my people are falſe.* Wherevpon he began to draw plots vpon the ground (according to his diſcourſe) of all thoſe Regions. Many other diſcourſes they had (yet both content to giue each other content in complementall Courteſies) and ſo Captaine *Smith* returned with this Anſwer.

Powhatans Coronation.

Vpon this the Preſents were ſent by water which is neare an hundred myles, and the Captains went by land with fiftie good ſhot. All being met at *Werowocomoco*, the next day was appointed for his Coronation, then the preſents were brought him, his Baſon and Ewer, Bed and furniture ſet vp, his ſcarlet Cloke and apparell with much adoe put on him, being perſwaded by *Namontack* they would not hurt him: but a foule trouble there was to make him kneele to receiue his Crowne, he neither knowing the maieſty nor meaning of a Crowne, nor bending of the knee, endured ſo many perſwaſions, examples, and inſtructions, as tyred them all; at laſt by leaning hard on his ſhoulders, he a little ſtooped, and three having the crowne in their hands put it on his head, when by the warning of a Piſtoll the Boats were prepared with ſuch a volley of ſhot, that the King ſtart vp in a horrible feare, till he ſaw all was well. Then remembring himſelfe, to congratulate their kindneſſe, he gaue his old ſhooes and his mantell to Captaine *Newport*: but perceiving his purpoſe was to diſcover the *Monacans*, he laboured to divert his reſolution, refuſing to lend him either men or guides more then *Namontack*; and ſo after ſome ſmall complementall kindneſſe on both ſides, in requitall of his preſents he preſented *Newport* with a heape of wheat eares that might containe ſome 7 or 8 Buſhels, and as much more we bought in the Towne, wherewith we returned to the Fort.

The diſcovery of *Monacan*.

The Ship having diſburdened her ſelfe of 70 perſons, with the firſt Gentlewoman and woman-ſeruant that arrived in our *Colony*. Captaine *Newport* with 120 choſen men, led by Captaine *Waldo*, Lieutenant *Percie*, Captaine *Winne*, Mr *Weſt*, and Mr *Scrivener*, ſet forward for the diſcovery of *Monacan*, leaving the Preſident at the Fort with about 80. or 90. (ſuch as they were) to relade the Ship. Arriving at the Falles we marched by land ſome fortie myles in two dayes and a halfe, and ſo returned downe the ſame path we went. Two townes we diſcovered of the *Monacans*, called *Maſſinacak* and *Mowhemenchouch*, the people neither vſed vs well nor ill, yet for our ſecuritie we tooke one of their petty Kings, and led him bound to conduct vs the way. And in our returnes ſearched many places we ſuppoſed Mines, about which we ſpent ſome time in refyning, having one *William Callicus*, a refyner fitted for that purpoſe. From that cruſt of earth we digged, he perſwaded vs to beleeue he extracted ſome ſmall quantitie of ſilver; and (not vnlikely) better ſtuffe might be had for the digging. With this poore tryall, being contented to leaue this fayre, fertile, well watered Country; and comming to the Falles, the Salvages fayned there were divers ſhips come into the Bay, to kill them at *Iames* Towne. Trade they would not, and finde their Corne we could not; for they had hid it in the woods: and being thus deluded, we arrived at *Iames* Towne, halfe ſicke, all complaining, and tyred with toyle, famine, and diſcontent, to haue onely but diſcovered our guilded hopes, and ſuch fruitleſſe certainties, as Captaine *Smith* fortold vs.

How the Salvages deluded Cap. *Newport*.

But thoſe that longer ſeeke to ſlake,
Which thou abounding wealth would rake:
Not all the gemmes of Iſter ſtone,
Nor all the gold of Lydia's ſtore,

Can

Can fill their greedie appetite;
It is a thing ſo infinite.

No ſooner were we landed, but the Preſident diſperſed ſo many as were able, ſome for Glaſſe, others for Tarre, Pitch, and Sope-aſhes, leauing them with the Fort to the Councels overſight, but 30 of vs he conducted downe the river ſome 5 myles from *Iames* towne, to learne to make Clapbord, cut downe trees, and lye in woods. Amongſt the reſt he had choſen *Gabriel Beadle*, and *Iohn Ruſſell*, the onely two gallants of this laſt Supply, and both proper Gentlemen. Strange were theſe pleaſures to their conditions; yet lodging, eating, and drinking, working or playing, they but doing as the Preſident did himſelfe. All theſe things were carried ſo pleaſantly as within a weeke they became Maſters: making it their delight to heare the trees thunder as they fell; but the Axes ſo oft bliſtered their tender fingers, that many times every third blow had a loud othe to drowne the eccho; for remedie of which ſinne, the Preſident deviſed how to haue every mans othes numbred, and at night for every othe to haue a Cann of water powred downe his ſleeue, with which every offender was ſo waſhed (himſelfe and all) that a man ſhould ſcarce heare an othe in a weeke. A puniſhment for ſwearing.

For he who ſcornes and makes but ieſts of curſings, and his othe,
He doth contemne, not man but God, nor God, nor man, but both.

By this, let no man thinke that the Preſident and theſe Gentlemen ſpent their times as common Wood-haggers at felling of trees, or ſuch other like labours, or that they were preſſed to it as hirelings, or common ſlaues; for what they did, after they were but once a little invred, it ſeemed and ſome conceited it, onely as a pleaſure and recreation, yet 30 or 40 of ſuch voluntary Gentlemen would doe more in a day then 100 of the reſt that muſt be preſt to it by compulſion, but twentie good workemen had beene better then them all. 3. Men better then 100.

Maſter *Scrivener*, Captaine *Waldo*, and Captaine *Winne* at the Fort, every one in like manner carefully regarded their charge. The Preſident returning from amongſt the woods, ſeeing the time conſumed and no proviſion gotten, (and the Ship lay idle at a great charge and did nothing) preſently imbarked himſelfe in the diſcovery barge, giving order to the Councell to ſend Lieutenant *Percie* after him with the next barge that arrived at the Fort; two Barges he had himſelfe and 18 men, but arriving at *Chickahamania*, that dogged Nation was too well acquainted with our wants, refuſing to trade, with as much ſcorne and inſolency as they could expreſſe. The Preſident perceiuing it was *Powhatans* policy to ſtarue vs, told them he came not ſo much for their Corne, as to revenge his impriſonment, and the death of his men murthered by them, and ſo landing his men and readie to charge them, they immediately fled: and preſently after ſent their Ambaſſadors with corne, fiſh, foule, and what they had to make their peace, (their Corne being that yeare but bad) they complained extreamely of their owne wants, yet fraughted our Boats with an hundred Buſhels of Corne, and in like manner Lieutenant *Percies*, that not long after arrived, and having done the beſt they could to content vs, we parted good friends, and returned to *Iames* towne. The *chickahamania's* forced to contribution.

Though this much contented the Company, (that feared nothing more then ſtarving) yet ſome ſo envied his good ſucceſſe, that they rather deſired to hazzard a ſtarving, then his paines ſhould proue to much more effectuall then theirs. Some proiects there were invented by *Newport* and *Ratliffe*, not onely to haue depoſed him, but to haue kept him out of the Fort; for that being Preſident, he would leaue his place and the Fort without their conſents, but their hornes were ſo much too ſhort to effect it, as they themſelues more narrowly eſcaped a greater miſchiefe. A bad reward for well-doing.

All this time our old Taverne made as much of all them that had either money or ware as could be deſired: by this time they were become ſo perfect on all ſides (I meane the ſouldiers, ſaylers, and Salvages) as there was tenne times more care to maintaine their damnable and private trade, then to provide for the *Colony* things A good Taverne in *Virginia*.

A bad trade of the maſters and ſaylers.

that were neceſſary. Neither was it a ſmall policy in *Newport* and the Marriners to report in *England* we had ſuch plentie, and bring vs ſo many men without victuals, when they had ſo many private Factors in the Fort, that within ſix or ſeauen weeks, of two or three hundred Axes, Chiſſels, Hows, and Pick-axes, ſcarce twentie could be found: and for Pike-heads, ſhot, Powder, or any thing they could ſteale from their fellowes, was vendible; they knew as well (and as ſecretly) how to convey them to trade with the Salvages for Furres, Baskets, *Muſſaneeks*, young Beaſts, or ſuch like Commodities, as exchange them with the Saylers for Butter, Cheeſe, Beefe, Porke, *Aqua vite*, Beere, Bisket, Oatmeale, and Oyle: and then fayne all was ſent them from their friends. And though *Virginia* affoorded no Furres for the Store, yet one Maſter in one voyage hath got ſo many by this indirect meanes, as he confeſſed to haue ſold in *England* for 30*l*.

Thoſe are the Saint-ſeeming Worthies of *Virginia*, that haue notwithſtanding all this meate, drinke, and wages; but now they begin to grow weary, their trade being both perceived and prevented; none hath beene in *Virginia* that hath obſerved any thing, which knowes not this to be true, and yet the loſſe, the ſcorne, the miſery, and ſhame, was the poore Officers, Gentlemen, and careleſſe Governours, who were all thus bought & ſold; the adventurers couſened, and the action overthrowne by their falſe excuſes, informations, and directions. By this let all men iudge, how this buſineſſe could proſper, being thus abuſed by ſuch pilfring occaſions. And had not Captaine *Newport* cryed *Peecavi*, the Preſident would haue diſcharged the ſhip, and cauſed him to haue ſtayed one yeare in *Virginia*, to learne to ſpeake of his owne experience.

Maſter *Scriveners* voyage to *Werowocomoco*.

Maſter *Scrivener* was ſent with the Barges and Pinnace to *Werowocomoco*, where he found the Salvages more readie to fight then trade; but his vigilancy was ſuch as prevented their proiects, and by the meanes of *Namontack* got three or foure hogsheads of Corne, and as much *Poconey*, which is a red roote, which then was eſteemed an excellent Dye.

Captaine *Newport* being diſpatched, with the tryals of Pitch, Tarre, Glaſſe, Frankincenſe, Sope aſhes; with that Clapboord and Waynſcot that could be provided: met with Mr *Scrivener* at poynt *Comfort*, and ſo returned for *England*. We remaining were about two hundred.

¶ The Copy of a Letter ſent to the Treaſurer and Councell of *Virginia* from Captaine *Smith*, then Preſident in VIRGINIA.

Right Honorable, &c.

I Received your Letter, wherein you write, that our minds are ſo ſet vpon faction, and idle conceits in diuiding the Country without your conſents, and that we feed You *but with ifs & ands, hopes, & ſome few proofes; as if we would keepe the myſtery of the buſineſſe to our ſelues: and that we muſt expreſly follow your inſtructions ſent by Captain* Newport: *the charge of whoſe voyage amounts to neare two thouſand pounds, the which if we cannot defray by the Ships returne, we are like to remain as baniſhed men. To theſe particulars I humbly intreat your Pardons if I offend you with my rude Anſwer.*

For our factions, vnleſſe you would haue me run away and leaue the Country, I cannot prevent them: becauſe I do make many ſtay that would els fly any whether. For the idle Letter ſent to my Lord of Salisbury, *by the Preſident and his confederats, for diuiding the Country &c. What it was I know not, for you ſaw no hand*

of

of mine to it; nor euer dream't I of any ſuch matter. That we feed you with hopes, &c. Though I be no ſcholer, I am paſt a ſchoole-boy; and I deſire but to know, what either you, and theſe here doe know, but that I haue learned to tell you by the continuall hazard of my life. I haue not concealed from you any thing I know; but I feare ſome cauſe you to beleeue much more then is true.

Expreſly to follow your direction by Captaine Newport, *though they be performed, I was directly againſt it; but according to our Commiſſion, I was content to be overruled by the maior part of the Councell, I feare to the hazard of vs all; which now is generally confeſſed when it is too late. Onely Captaine* Winne *and Captaine* Waldo *I haue ſworne of the Councell, and Crowned* Powhatan *according to your inſtructions.*

For the charge of this Voyage of two or three thouſand pounds, we haue not receiued the value of an hundred pounds. And for the quartred Boat to be borne by the Souldiers over the Falles, Newport *had* 120 *of the beſt men he could chuſe. If he had burnt her to aſhes, one might haue carried her in a bag, but as ſhe is, fiue hundred cannot, to a nauigable place aboue the Falles. And for him at that time to find in the South Sea, a Mine of gold; or any of them ſent by Sir* Walter Raleigh: *at our Conſultation I told them was as likely as the reſt. But during this great diſcouery of thirtie myles, (which might as well haue beene done by one man, and much more, for the value of a pound of Copper at a ſeaſonable tyme) they had the Pinnace and all the Boats with them, but one that remained with me to ſerue the Fort. In their abſence I followed the new begun workes of Pitch and Tarre, Glaſſe, Sope-aſhes, and Clapboord, whereof ſome ſmall quantities we haue ſent you. But if you rightly conſider, what an infinite toyle it is in* Ruſſia *and* Swethland, *where the woods are proper for naught els, and though there be the helpe both of man and beaſt in thoſe ancient Common-wealths, which many an hundred yeares haue vſed it, yet thouſands of thoſe poore people can ſcarce get neceſſaries to liue, but from hand to mouth. And though your Factors there can buy as much in a week as will fraught you a ſhip, or as much as you pleaſe; you muſt not expect from vs any ſuch matter, which are but a many of ignorant miſerable ſoules, that are ſcarce able to get wherewith to liue, and defend our ſelues againſt the inconſtant* Salvages: *finding but here and there a tree fit for the purpoſe, and want all things els the* Ruſſians *haue. For the Coronation of* Powhatan, *by whoſe advice you ſent him ſuch preſents, I know not; but this giue me leaue to tell you, I feare they will be the confuſion of vs all ere we heare from you againe. At your Ships arrivall, the* Salvages *harveſt was newly gathered, and we going to buy it, our owne not being halfe ſufficient for ſo great a number. As for the two ſhips loading of Corne* Newport *promiſed to prouide vs from* Powhatan, *he brought vs but foureteene Buſhels; and from the* Monacans *nothing, but the moſt of the men ſicke and neare famiſhed. From your Ship we had not proviſion in victuals worth twenty pound, and we are more then two hundred to liue vpon this: the one halfe ſicke, the other little better. For the Saylers (I confeſſe) they daily make good cheare, but our dyet is a little meale and water, and not ſufficient of that. Though there be fiſh in the Sea, foules in the ayre, and Beaſts in the woods, their bounds are ſo large, they ſo wilde, and we ſo weake and ignorant, we cannot much trouble them. Captaine* Newport *we much ſuſpect to be the Authour of theſe inventions. Now that you ſhould know, I haue made you as great a diſcovery as he, for leſſe charge then he ſpendeth you euery meale; I haue ſent you this Mappe of the Bay and Rivers, with an annexed*

Relation of the Countries and Nations that inhabit them, as you may ſee at large. Alſo two barrels of ſtones, and ſuch as I take to be good Iron ore at the leaſt: ſo devided, as by their notes you may ſee in what places I found them. The Souldiers ſay many of your officers maintaine their families out of that you ſend vs: and that Newport *hath an hundred pounds a yeare for carrying newes. For every maſter you haue yet ſent can find the way as well as he, ſo that an hundred pound might be ſpared, which is more then we haue all, that helps to pay him wages. Cap.* Ratliffe *is now called* Sicklemore, *a poore counterfeited Impoſture. I haue ſent you him home, leaſt the company ſhould cut his throat. What he is, now every one can tell you: if he and* Archer *returne againe, they are ſufficient to keepe vs alwayes in factions. When you ſend againe I intreat you rather ſend but thirty Carpenters, huſbandmen, gardiners, fiſher men, blackſmiths, maſons, and diggers vp of trees, roots, well provided, then a thouſand of ſuch as we haue; for except wee be able both to lodge them, and feed them, the moſt will conſume with want of neceſſaries before they can be made good for any thing. Thus if you pleaſe to conſider this account, and of the vnneceſſary wages to Captaine* Newport, *or his ſhips ſo long lingering and ſtaying here (for notwithſtanding his boaſting to leaue vs victuals for* 12 *moneths, though we had* 89 *by this diſcovery lame and ſicke, and but a pinte of Corne a day for a man, we were conſtrained to giue him three hogſheads of that to victuall him homeward) or yet to ſend into* Germany *or* Poleland *for glaſſe-men & the reſt, till we be able to ſuſtaine our ſelues, and relieue them when they come. It were better to giue fiue hundred pound a tun for thoſe groſſe Commodities in* Denmarke, *then ſend for them hither, till more neceſſary things be provided. For in over-toyling our weake and vnskilfull bodies, to ſatisfie this deſire of preſent profit, we can ſcarce ever recover our ſelues from one Supply to another. And I humbly intreat you hereafter, let vs know what we ſhould receiue, and not ſtand to the Saylers courteſie to leaue vs what they pleaſe, els you may charge vs with what you will, but we not you with any thing. Theſe are the cauſes that haue kept vs in* Virginia, *from laying ſuch a foundation, that ere this might haue given much better content and ſatisfaction; but as yet you muſt not looke for any profitable returnes: ſo I humbly reſt.*

The Names of thoſe in this Supply, were theſe: with their Proceedings and Accidents.

Captaine *Peter Winne*, } were appointed to be of the Councell.
Captaine *Richard Waldo*, }
Maſter *Francis VVeſt*, brother to the Lord *La VVarre*,

Gent.: *Thomas Graues.*, *Raleigh Chroſhaw.*, *Gabriel Beadle.*, *Iohn Beadle.*, *Iohn Ruſſell.*, *William Ruſſell.*, *Iohn Cuderington.*, *William Sambage.*, *Henry Leigh.*, *Henry Philpot.*, *Harmon Harriſon.*, *Daniel Tucker.*, *Henry Collings.*, *Hugh Wolleſton.*, *Iohn Hoult.*, *Thomas Norton.*, *George Tarington.*, *George Burton.*, *Thomas Abbay.*, *William Dowman.*, *Thomas Maxes.*, *Michael Lewick.*

Gent.: Maſter *Hunt.*, *Thomas Forreſt.*, *Iohn Dauxe.*, *Thomas Phelps.*, *Iohn Prat.*, *Iohn Clarke.*, *Ieffrey Shortridge.*

Tradſmen.: *Dionis Oconor.*, *Hugh Winne.*, *Dauid ap Hugh.*, *Thomas Bradley.*

Iohn

Iohn Burras.	*Thomas Mallard.*	Labourers.	*Morley.*
Thomas Levander.	*William Tayler.*		*Roſe.*
Henry Bell.	*Thomas Fox.*		*Scot.*
Maſter *Powell.*	*Nicholas Hancock.*		*Hardwyn.*
David Ellis.	*Walker.*		*Milman.* Boyes.
Thomas Gibſon.	*Williams.*		*Hilliard.* Boyes.
Thomas Dawſe.	*Floud.*		

Miſtreſſe *Forreſt*, and *Anne Burras* her maide; eight *Dutch* men and *Poles*, with ſome others, to the number of ſeaventie perſons, &c.

Nandſamund forced to contribution.

Theſe poore concluſions ſo affrighted vs all with famine, that the Preſident provided for *Nandſamund*, and tooke with him Captaine *Winne*, and Mr *Scrivener*, then returning from Captaine *Newport*. Theſe people alſo long denied him not onely the 400 Baskets of Corne they promiſed, but any trade at all; (excuſing themſelues they had ſpent moſt they had, and were commanded by *Powhatan* to keepe that they had, and not to let vs come into their river) till we were conſtrained to begin with them perforce. Vpon the diſcharging of our Muskets they all fled and ſhot not an Arrow; the firſt houſe we came to we ſet on fire, which when they perceiued, they deſired we would make no more ſpoyle, and they would giue vs halfe they had: how they collected it I know not, but before night they loaded our three Boats; and ſo we returned to our quarter ſome foure myles downe the River, which was onely the open woods vnder the lay of a hill, where all the ground was covered with ſnow, and hard frozen; the ſnow we digged away and made a great fire in the place; when the ground was well dryed, we turned away the fire; and covering the place with a mat, there we lay very warme. To keepe vs from the winde we made a ſhade of another Mat; as the winde turned we turned our ſhade, and when the ground grew cold we remoued the fire. And thus many a cold winter night haue wee laine in this miſerable manner, yet thoſe that moſt commonly went vpon all thoſe occaſions, were alwayes in health, luſty, and fat. For ſparing them this yeare, the next yeare they promiſed to plant purpoſely for vs; and ſo we returned to *Iames* towne.

The firſt marriage in *Virginia*.

About this time there was a marriage betwixt *Iohn Laydon* and *Anne Burras*; which was the firſt marriage we had in *Virginia*.

Apamatuck diſcovered.

Long he ſtayed not, but fitting himſelfe and Captaine *Waldo* with two Barges. From *Chawopoweanock*, and all parts thereabouts, all the people were fled, as being iealous of our intents; till we diſcovered the river and people of *Apamatuck*; where we found not much, that they had we equally divided, but gaue them copper, and ſuch things as contented them in conſideration. Maſter *Scrivener* and Lieutenant *Percie* went alſo abroad, but could find nothing.

The Preſident ſeeing the procraſtinating of time, was no courſe to liue, reſolved with Captaine *Waldo* (whom he knew to be ſure in time of need) to ſurpriſe *Powhatan*, and all his proviſion, but the vnwillingneſſe of Captaine *Winne*, and Maſter *Scrivener*, for ſome private reſpect, plotted in *England* to ruine Captaine *Smith*, did their beſt to hinder their proiect; but the Preſident whom no perſwaſions could perſwade to ſtarue, being invited by *Powhatan* to come vnto him: and if he would ſend him but men to build him a houſe, giue him a gryndſtone, fiftie ſwords, ſome peeces, a cock and a hen, with much copper and beads, he would load his Ship with Corne. The Preſident not ignorant of his deviſes and ſubtiltie, yet vnwilling to neglect any opportunitie, preſently ſent three *Dutch*-men and two *Engliſh*, having ſo ſmall allowance, few were able to doe any thing to purpoſe: knowing there needed no better a Caſtle to effect this proiect, tooke order with Captaine *Waldo* to ſecond him, if need required; *Scrivener* he left his ſubſtitute, and ſet forth with the Pinnace, two Barges, and fortie ſix men, which onely were ſuch as voluntarily offered themſelues for his Iourney, the which by reaſon of Mr *Scriveners* ill ſucceſſe, was cenſured very deſperate, they all knowing *Smith* would not returne emptie, if it were to be had; howſoever, it cauſed many of thoſe that he had appointed, to find excuſes to ſtay behinde.

Chap. VIII.

Captaine Smiths *Iourney to* Pamavnkee.

THe twentie-nine of December he ſet forward for *Werowocomoco*: his Company were theſe;

In the Diſcovery Barge himſelfe.		*In the Pinnace.*		
Robert Behethland.	Gent.	Lieutenant *Percie*, brother to the Earle of Northumberland.		
Nathanael Graues.				
Iohn Ruſſell.		Maſter *Francis Weſt*, brother to the Lord *La Warre.*		
Raleigh Chraſhow.		*William Phittiplace*, Captaine of the Pinnace.		
Michael Sicklemore.		*Michael Phittiplace.*	Gent.	*Ionas Profit*, Maſter.
Richard Worley.		*Ieffrey Abbot*, Serieant.		*Robert Ford*, Clarke of the Councell.
		William Tankard.		
Anas Todkill.	Soul-diers.	*George Tarington.*		
William Loue.				
William Bentley.		*Iames Browne.*	Soul-diers.	*Iohn Dods*, Souldier.
Ieffrey Shortridge.		*Edward Brinton.*		
Edward Piſing.		*George Burton.*		*Henry Powell*, Souldier.
William Ward.		*Thomas Coe.*		

Thomas Gipſon, David Ellis, Nathanael Peacock, Saylers. *Iohn Prat, George Acrig, Iames Read, Nicholas Hancock, Iames Watkins, Thomas Lambert*, foure *Dutch* men, and *Richard Salvage* were ſent by land before to build the houſe for *Powhatan* againſt our Arrivall.

This company being victualled but for three or foure dayes, lodged the firſt night at *Warraskoyack*, where the Preſident tooke ſufficient proviſion. This kind King did his beſt to divert him from ſeeing *Powhatan*, but perceiuing he could not prevaile, he adviſed in this manner. Captaine *Smith*, you ſhall find *Powhatan* to vſe you kindly, but truſt him not, and be ſure he haue no oportunitie to ſeize on your Armes; for he hath ſent for you onely to cut your throats. The Captaine thanking him for his good counſell: yet the better to try his loue, deſired guides to *Chawwonock*; for he would ſend a preſent to that King, to bind him his friend. To performe this iourney was ſent Mr *Sicklemore*, a very valiant, honeſt, and a painefull Souldier: with him two guides, and directions how to ſeeke for the loſt company of Sir *Walter Raleighs*, and ſilke Graſſe. Then we departed thence, the Preſident aſſuring the King perpetuall loue; and left with him *Samuel Collier* his Page to learne the Language.

The good counſell of *Warraskoyack*.

So this Kings deeds by ſacred Oath adiur'd.
More wary proues, and circumſpect by ods:
Fearing at leaſt his double forfeiture;
To offend his friends, and ſin againſt his Gods.

The next night being lodged at *Kecoughtan*; ſix or ſeaven dayes the extreame winde, rayne, froſt and ſnow cauſed vs to keepe Chriſtmas among the Salvages, where we were never more merry, nor fed on more plentie of good Oyſters, Fiſh, Fleſh, Wild-foule, and good bread; nor never had better fires in *England*, then in the dry ſmoaky houſes of *Kecoughtan*: but departing thence, when we found no houſes we were not curious in any weather to lye three or foure nights together vnder the trees by a fire, as formerly is ſayd. An hundred fortie eight foules the Preſident, *Anthony Bagnall*, and Serieant *Piſing* did kill at three ſhoots. At *Kiſkiack* the froſt & contrary winds forced vs three or foure dayes alſo (to ſuppreſſe the inſolency of thoſe proud Salvages) to quarter in their houſes, yet guard our Barge, and cauſe them giue vs what we wanted; though we were but twelue and himſelfe, yet we never wanted ſhelter where we found any houſes. The 12 of Ianuary we arrived at *Werowocomoco*, where the river was frozen neare halfe a myle from the ſhore; but to neg-

Plentie of victualls.

148 Foules killed at three ſhoots.

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left no time, the Preſident with his Barge ſo far had approached by breaking the ice, as the ebbe left him amongſt thoſe oaſie ſhoules, yet rather then to lye there frozē to death, by his owne example he taught them to march neere middle deepe, a flight ſhot through this muddy frozen oaſe. When the Barge floated, he appoynted two or three to returne her aboord the Pinnace. Where for want of water in melting the ice, they made freſh water, for the river there was ſalt. But in this march Mr *Ruſſell*, (whom none could perſwade to ſtay behinde) being ſomewhat ill, and exceeding heauie, ſo overtoyled himſelfe as the reſt had much adoe (ere he got aſhore) to regaine life into his dead benummed ſpirits. Quartering in the next houſes we found, we ſent to *Powhatan* for proviſion, who ſent vs plentie of bread, Turkies, and Veniſon; the next day having feaſted vs after his ordinary manner, he began to aske vs when we would be gone: ſayning he ſent not for vs, neither had he any corne; and his people much leſſe: yet for fortie ſwords he would procure vs fortie Baskets. The Preſident ſhewing him the men there preſent that brought him the meſſage and conditions, asked *Powhatan* how it chanced he became ſo forgetfull; thereat the King concluded the matter with a merry laughter, asking for our Commodities, but none he liked without gunnes and ſwords, valuing a Basket of Corne more precious then a Basket of Copper; ſaying he could rate his Corne, but not the Copper.

Captaine *Smith* ſeeing the intent of this ſubtill Salvage began to deale with him after this manner. *Powhatan, though I had many courſes to haue made my proviſion, yet beleeving your promiſes to ſupply my wants, I neglected all to ſatisfie your deſire: and to teſtifie my loue, I ſent you my men for your building, neglecting mine owne. What your people had you haue ingroſſed, forbidding them our trade: and now you thinke by conſuming the time, we ſhall conſume for want, not having to fulfill your ſtrange demands. As for ſwords and gunnes, I told you long agoe I had none to ſpare; and you muſt know thoſe I haue can keepe me from want: yet ſteale or wrong you I will not, nor diſſolue that friendſhip we haue mutually promiſed, except you conſtraine me by our bad vſage.* Cap. *Smiths* diſcourſe to *Powhatan*.

The King haueing attentiuely liſtned to this Diſcourſe, promiſed that both he and his Country would ſpare him what he could, the which within two dayes they ſhould receiue. *Yet Captaine* Smith, *ſayth the King, ſome doubt I haue of your comming hither, that makes me not ſo kindly ſeeke to relieue you as I would: for many doe informe me, your comming hither is not for trade, but to invade my people, and poſſeſſe my Country, who dare not come to bring you Corne, ſeeing you thus armed with your men. To free vs of this feare, leaue aboord your weapons; for here they are needleſſe, we being all friends, and for ever* Powhatans. *Powhatans* reply and flattery.

With many ſuch diſcourſes they ſpent the day, quartering that night in the Kings houſes. The next day he renewed his building, which hee little intended ſhould procede. For the *Dutch*-men finding his plentie, and knowing our want, and perceiving his preparations to ſurpriſe vs, little thinking we could eſcape both him and famine; (to obtaine his favour) revealed to him ſo much as they knew of our eſtates and proiects, and how to prevent them. One of them being of ſo great a ſpirit, iudgement, and reſolution, and a hireling that was certaine of his wages for his labour, and ever well vſed both he and his Countrymen; that the Preſident knew not whom better to truſt; and not knowing any fitter for that imployment, had ſent him as a ſpy to diſcover *Powhatans* intent, then little doubting his honeſtie, nor could ever be certaine of his villany till neare halfe a yeare after.

Whilſt we expected the comming in of the Country, we wrangled out of the King ten quarters of Corne for a copper Kettell, the which the Preſident perceiving him much to affect, valued it at a much greater rate; but in regard of his ſcarcity he would accept it, provided we ſhould haue as much more the next yeare, or els the Country of *Monacan*. Wherewith each ſeemed well contented, and *Powhatan* began to expoſtulate the difference of Peace and Warre after this manner.

Captaine Smith, *you may underſtand that I having ſeene the death of all my people thrice; and not any one liuing of thoſe three generations but my ſelfe; I know the difference of Peace and Warre better then any in my Country. But now I am old and ere long muſt die, my bre-* *Powhatans* diſcourſe of peace and warre.

thren, namely Opitchapam, Opechancanough, *and* Kekataugh, *my two ſiſters, and their two daughters, are diſtinctly each others ſucceſſors. I wiſh their experience no leſſe then mine, and your loue to them no leſſe then mine to you. But this bruit from* Nandtamund, *that you are come to deſtroy my Country, ſo much affrighteth all my people as they dare not viſit you. What will it availe you to take that by force you may quickly haue by loue, or to deſtroy them that prouide you food. What can you get by warre, when we can hide our proviſions and fly to the woods? whereby you muſt famiſh by wronging vs your friends. And why are you thus iealous of our loues ſeeing vs vnarmed, and both doe, and are willing ſtill to feede you, with that you cannot get but by our labours? Thinke you I am ſo ſimple, not to know it is better to eate good meate, lye well, and ſleepe quietly with my women and children, laugh and be merry with you, haue copper, hatchets, or what I want being your friend: then be forced to flie from all, to lie cold in the woods, feede vpon Acornes, rootes, and ſuch traſh, and be ſo hunted by you, that I can neither reſt, eate, nor ſleepe; but my tyred men muſt watch, and if a twig but breake, every one cryeth there commeth Captaine* Smith: *then muſt I fly I know not whether: and thus with miſerable feare, end my miſerable life, leauing my pleaſures to ſuch youths as you, which through your raſh-vnaduiſedneſſe may quickly as miſerably end, for want of that, you never know where to finde. Let this therefore aſſure you of our loues, and every yeare our friendly trade ſhall furniſh you with Corne; and now alſo, if you would come in friendly manner to ſee vs, and not thus with your guns and ſwords as to inuade your foes.* To this ſubtill diſcourſe, the Preſident thus replyed.

Capt. *Smiths* Reply.

Seeing you will not rightly conceiue of our words, we ſtriue to make you know our thoughts by our deeds; the vow I made you of my loue, both my ſelfe and my men haue kept. As for your promiſe I find it euery day violated by ſome of your ſubiects: yet we finding your loue and kindneſſe, our cuſtome is ſo far from being vngratefull, that for your ſake onely, we haue curbed our thirſting deſire of reuenge; els had they knowne as well the cruelties we vſe to our enemies, as our true loue and courteſie to our friends. And I thinke your iudgement ſufficient to conceiue, as well by the aduentures we haue vndertaken, as by the aduantage we haue (by our Armes) of yours: that had we intended you any hurt, long ere this we could haue effected it. Your people comming to Iames *Towne are entertained with their Bowes and Arrowes without any exceptions; we eſteeming it with you as it is with vs, to weare our armes as our apparell. As for the danger of our enemies, in ſuch warres conſiſt our chiefeſt pleaſure: for your riches we haue no vſe: as for the hiding your proviſion, or by your flying to the woods, we ſhall not ſo vnadviſedly ſtarue as you conclude, your friendly care in that behalfe is needleſſe, for we haue a rule to finde beyond your knowledge.*

Many other diſcourſes they had, till at laſt they began to trade. But the King ſeeing his will would not be admitted as a law, our guard diſperſed, nor our men diſarmed, he (ſighing) breathed his minde once more in this manner.

Powhatans importunity to haue vs vnarmed to betray vs.

Captaine Smith, *I neuer vſe any Werowance ſo kindely as your ſelfe, yet from you I receiue the leaſt kindneſſe of any.* Captaine Newport *gaue me ſwords, copper, cloathes, a bed, towels, or what I deſired; euer taking what I offered him, and would ſend away his gunnes when I intreated him: one doth deny to lye at my feet, or refuſe to doe what I deſire, but onely you; of whom I can haue nothing but what you regard not, and yet you will haue whatſoeuer you demand.* Captaine Newport *you call father, and ſo you call me; but I ſee for all vs both you will doe what you liſt, and we muſt both ſeeke to content you. But if you intend ſo friendly as you ſay, ſend hence your armes, that I may beleeue you; for you ſee the loue I beare you, doth cauſe me thus nakedly to forget my ſelfe.*

Smith ſeeing this Salvage but trifle the time to cut his throat, procured the ſalvages to breake the ice, that his Boate might come to fetch his corne and him: and gaue order for more men to come on ſhore, to ſurpriſe the King, with whom alſo he but trifled the time till his men were landed: and to keepe him from ſuſpicion, entertained the time with this reply.

Cap. *Smiths* diſcourſe to delay time, till he found opportunity to ſurpriſe the King.

Powhatan *you muſt know, as I haue but one God, I honour but one King, and I liue not here as your ſubiect, but as your friend to pleaſure you with what I can. By the gifts you beſtow on me, you gaine more then by trade: yet would you viſit mee as I doe you, you ſhould know it is not our cuſtome, to ſell our curteſies as a vendible commodity. Bring all your*

country

countrey with you for your guard, I will not diſlike it as being ouer iealous. But to content you, to morrow I will leaue my Armes, and truſt to your promiſe. I call you father indeed, and as a father you ſhall ſee I will loue you: but the ſmall care you haue of ſuch a childe cauſed my men perſwade me to looke to my ſelfe.

By this time *Powhatan* hauing knowledge his men were ready whileſt the ice was a breaking, with his luggage women and children, fled. Yet to auoyd ſuſpicion, left two or three of the women talking with the Captaine, whileſt hee ſecretly ran away, and his men that ſecretly beſet the houſe. Which being preſently diſcouered to *Captaine Smith*, with his pittoll, ſword, and target hee made ſuch a paſſage among theſe naked Diuels; that at his firſt ſhoot, they next him tumbled one ouer another, and the reſt quickly fled ſome one way ſome another: ſo that without any hurt, onely accompanied with *Iohn Ruſſell*, hee obtained the *corps du guard*. When they perceiued him ſo well eſcaped, and with his eighteene men (for he had no more with him a ſhore) to the vttermoſt of their skill they ſought excuſes to diſſemble the matter: and *Powhatan* to excuſe his flight and the ſudden comming of this multitude, ſent our Captaine a great braceler and a chaine of pearle, by an ancient Oratour that beſpoke vs to this purpoſe, perceiuing euen then from our Pinnace, a Barge and men departing and comming vnto vs.

Powhatans plot to haue murdered *Smith*.

A chaine of pearle ſent the Captaine for a preſent.

Captaine Smith, *our Werowance is fled, fearing your gunnes, and knowing when the ice was broken there would come more men, ſent theſe numbers but to guard his corne from ſtealing, that might happen without your knowledge: now though ſome bee hurt by your miſpriſion, yet* Powhatan *is your friend and ſo will for euer continue. Now ſince the ice is open, he would haue you ſend away your corne, and if you would haue his company, ſend away alſo your gunnes, which ſo affright his people, that they dare not come to you as hee promiſed they ſhould.*

Then hauing prouided baskets for our men to carry our corne to the boats, they kindly offered their ſeruice to guard our Armes, that none ſhould ſteale them. A great many they were of goodly well proportioned fellowes, as grim as Diuels; yet the very ſight of cocking our matches, and being to let fly, a few wordes cauſed them to leaue their bowes and arrowes to our guard, and beare downe our corne on their backes; wee needed not importune them to make diſpatch. But our Barges being left on the oaſe by the ebbe, cauſed vs ſtay till the next high-water, ſo that wee returned againe to our old quarter. *Powhatan* and his Dutch-men bruſting with deſire to haue the head of Captaine *Smith*, for if they could but kill him, they thought all was theirs, neglected not any oportunity to effect his purpoſe. The Indians with all the merry ſports they could deuiſe, ſpent the time till night: then they all returned to *Powhatan*, who all this time was making ready his forces to ſurpriſe the houſe and him at ſupper. Notwithſtanding the eternall all-ſeeing God did preuent him, and by a ſtrange meanes. For *Pocahontas* his deareſt iewell and daughter, in that darke night came through the irkſome woods, and told our Captaine great cheare ſhould be ſent vs by and by: but *Powhatan* and all the power he could make, would after come kill vs all, if they that brought it could not kill vs with our owne weapons when we were at ſupper. Therefore if we would liue ſhee wiſhed vs preſently to bee gone. Such things as ſhee delighted in, he would haue giuen her: but with the teares running downe her cheekes, ſhee ſaid ſhee durſt not be ſeene to haue any: for if *Powhatan* ſhould know it, ſhe were but dead, and ſo ſhee ranne away by her ſelfe as ſhe came. Within leſſe then an houre came eight or ten luſty fellowes, with great platters of veniſon and other victuall, very importunate to haue vs put out our matches (whoſe ſmoake made them ſicke) and ſit down to our victuall. But the Captaine made them taſte euery diſh, which done hee ſent ſome of them backe to *Powhatan*, to bid him make haſte for hee was prepared for his comming. As for them hee knew they came to betray him at his ſupper: but hee would prevent them and all their other intended villanies: ſo that they might be gone. Not long after came more meſſengers, to ſee what newes; not long after them others. Thus wee ſpent the night as vigilantly as they, till it was high-water, yet ſeemed to the ſaluages

Pretending to kill our men loaded with baskets, we cauſed them do it themſelues.

Pocahontas bewrayes her fathers deceit to kill vs.

as friendly as they to vs: and that wee were ſo deſirous to giue *Powhatan* content, as hee requeſted, wee did leaue him *Edward Brynton* to kill him foule, and the Dutch-men to finiſh his houſe; thinking at our rerurne from *Pamavnkee* the froſt would be gone, and then we might finde a better oportunity if neceſſity did occaſion it, little dreaming yet of the Dutch-mens treachery, whoſe humor well ſuted this verſe:

Is any free, that may not liue as freely as he liſt?
Let vs liue ſo, then w'are as free, and brutiſh as the beſt.

Chap. IX.

How wee eſcaped ſurpriſing at Pamavnkee.

The Dutch men deceiue Cap. *Winne.*

WE had no ſooner ſet ſayle but *Powhatan* returned, and ſent *Adam* and *Francis* (two ſtout Dutch-men) to *Iames* towne: who faining to Captaine *Winne* that all things were well, and that Captaine *Smith* had vſe of their armes, wherefore they requeſted new (the which were giuen them) they told him their comming was for ſome extraordinary tooles, and ſhift of apparell; by which colourable excuſe they obtained ſixe or ſeauen more to their confederacie, ſuch expert theeues, that preſently furniſhed them with a great many ſwords, pike-heads, peeces, ſhot, powder and ſuch like: Saluages they had at hand to carry it away, and the next day they returned vnſuſpected, leauing their confederates to follow, and in the interim to conuay them ſuch things as they could: for which ſeruice they ſhould liue with *Powhatan* as his chiefe affected, free from thoſe miſeries that would happen the Colony. *Samuel* their other conſort *Powhatan* kept for their pledge, whoſe diligence had prouided them three hundred of their kinde of hatchets; the reſt fifty ſwords, eight peeces, and eight pikes. *Brynton* and *Richard Salvage* ſeeing the Dutch-men ſo diligent to accommodate the Saluages with weapons, attempted to haue gotten to *Iames* towne, but they were apprehended, and expected euer when to be put to death.

The Dutch men furniſh the Saluages with Armes.

Within two or three dayes we arriued at *Pamavnkee*, the King as many dayes entertained vs with feaſting and much mirth. And the day appointed to beginne our trade, the Preſident, Lieutenant *Percie*, Mr. *Weſt*, Mr. *Ruſſell*, Mr. *Behethland*, Mr. *Craſhaw*, Mr. *Powell*, Mr. *Ford*, and ſome others to the number of fifteene, went vp to *Opechancanoughs* houſe a quarter of a mile from the riuer) where wee found nothing but a lame fellow and a boy: and all the houſes round about of all things abandoned. Not long wee ſtayed ere the King arriued, and after him came diuerſe of his people loaden with bowes and arrowes: but ſuch pinching commodities, and thoſe eſteemed at ſuch a value, as our Captaine began with the King after this manner.

Smiths Speech to *Opechancanough.*

Opechancanough, the great loue you profeſſe with your tongue, ſeemes meere deceit by your actions. Laſt yeere you kindly fraughted out ſhip: but now you haue inuited mee to ſtarue with hunger: you know my want, and I your plenty; of which by ſome meanes I muſt haue part: remember it is fit for Kings to keepe their promiſe. Here are my commodities, whereof take your choice, the reſt I will proportion fit bargains for your people.

The King ſeemed kindly to accept his offer, and the better to colour his proiect, ſold vs what they had to our owne content, promiſing the next day more company, better prouided. The Barges and Pinnace being committed to the charge of Mr. *Phetiplace*, the Preſident with his old fifteene marched vp to the Kings houſe, where wee found foure or fiue men newly arriued, each with a great basket. Not long after came the King, who with a ſtrained cheerfulneſſe held vs with diſcourſe what paines he had taken to keep his promiſe; till Mr. *Ruſſell* brought vs in newes that we were all betrayed: for at leaſt ſeuen hundred Saluages well armed, had inuironed

700. Saluages beſet the Engliſh being but 36.

the

the houſe, and beſet the fields. The King coniecturing what *Ruſſell* related, wee could well perceiue how the extremity of his feare bewrayed his intent: whereat ſome of our company ſeeming diſmaied with the thought of ſuch a multitude; the Captaine encouraged vs to this effect.

Smiths ſpeech to his Company.

Worthy Countrey-men, were the miſchiefes of my ſeeming friends no more then the danger of theſe enemies, I little cared were they as many more: if you dare doe, but as I. But this is my torment, that if I eſcape them, our malicious Councell with their open mouthed Minions, will make me ſuch a peace breaker (in their opinions in England) as will breake my necke. I could wiſh thoſe here, that make theſe ſeeme Saints, and me an oppreſſor. But this is the worſt of all, wherein I pray you aid mee with your opinions. Should wee beginne with them and ſurpriſe the King, we cannot keepe him and defend well our ſelues. If wee ſhould each kill our man, and ſo proceed with all in the houſe; the reſt will all fly: then ſhall wee get no more then the bodies that are ſlaine, and ſo ſtarue for victuall. As for their fury it is the leaſt danger, for well you know, being alone aſſaulted with two or three hundred of them, I made them by the helpe of God compound to ſaue my life. And wee are ſixteene, and they but ſeauen hundred at the moſt; and aſſure your ſelues, God will ſo aſſiſt vs, that if you dare ſtand but to diſcharge your pieces, the very ſmoake will bee ſufficient to affright them. Yet howſoeuer, let vs fight like men, and not die like ſheepe: for by that meanes you know God hath oft deliuered mee, and ſo I truſt will now. But firſt, I will deale with them, to bring it to paſſe wee may fight for ſomething, and draw them to it by conditions. If you like this motion, promiſe me you will be valiant.

The time not permitting any argument, all vowed to execute whatſoeuer hee attempted, or die: whereupon the Captaine in plaine tearmes told the King this.

Smiths offer to *Opechancanough*.

I ſee Opechancanough *your plot to murder me, but I feare it not. As yet your men and mine haue done no harme, but by our direction. Take therefore your Armes, you ſee mine, my body ſhall bee as naked as yours: the Iſle in your riuer is a fit place, if you be contented: and the conquerour (of vs two) ſhall be Lord and Maſter ouer all our men. If you haue not enough, take time to fetch more, and bring what number you will; ſo euery one bring a basket of corne, againſt all which I will ſtake the value in copper, you ſee I haue but fifteene, and our game ſhall be, the Conquerour take all.*

Opechancanoughs deuice to betray *Smith*.

The King being guarded with forty or fifty of his chiefe men, ſeemed kindly to appeaſe *Smiths* ſuſpicion of vnkindneſſe, by a great preſent at the doore, they intreated him to receiue. This was to draw him out of the doore, where the bait was guarded with at leaſt two hundred men, and thirty lying vnder a great tree (that lay thwart as a barricado) each his arrow nocked ready to ſhoot. The Preſident commanded one to go ſee what what kind of deceit this was, and to receiue the preſent; but hee refuſed to doe it: yet the Gentlemen and all the reſt were importunate to goe, but he would not permit them, being vexed at that Coward: and commanded Lieutenant *Percie*, Maſter *Weſt*, and the reſt to make good the houſe; Maſter *Powell* and Maſter *Behethland* he commanded to guard the doore, and in ſuch a rage ſnatched the King by his long locke in the middeſt of his men, with his Piſtoll readie bent againſt his breſt. Thus he led the trembling King, neare dead with feare amongſt all his people: who delivering the Captaine his Vambrace, Bow, and Arrowes, all his men were eaſily intreated to caſt downe their Armes, little dreaming any durſt in that manner haue vſed their King: who then to eſcape himſelfe beſtowed his preſents in good ſadneſſe, and cauſing a great many of them come before him vnarmed, holding the King by the hayre (as is ſayd) he ſpake to them to this effect.

Smith taketh the King priſoner.

Smiths diſcourſe to the *Pamaunkees*.

I ſee (you Pamaunkees) *the great deſire you haue to kill me, and my long ſuffering your iniuries hath imboldened you to this preſumption. The cauſe I haue forborne your inſolencies, is the promiſe I made you (before the God I ſerue) to be your friend, till you gaue me iuſt cauſe to be your enemy. If I keepe this vow, my God will keepe me, you cannot hurt me, if I breake it, he will deſtroy me. But if you ſhoot but one Arrow to ſhed one drop of blood of any of my men, or ſteale the leaſt of theſe Beads, or Copper, I ſpurne here before you with my foot; you ſhall ſee I will not ceaſe revenge (if once I begin) ſo long as I can heare where to finde one of*

your Nation that will not deny the name of Pamavnk. *I am not now at* Raſſaweak *halfe drowned with myre, where you tooke me priſoner; yet then for keeping your promiſe and your good vſage and ſaving my life, I ſo affect you, that your denyals of your trechery, doe halfe perſwade me to miſtake my ſelfe. But if I be the marke you ayme at, here I ſtand, ſhoot he that dare. You promiſed to fraught my Ship ere I departed, and ſo you ſhall, or I meane to load her with your dead carcaſſes, yet if as friends you will come and trade, I once more promiſe not to trouble you, except you giue me the firſt occaſion, and your King ſhall be free and be my friend, for I am not come to hurt him or any of you.*

The Salvages diſſemble their intent.

Vpon this away went their Bowes and Arrowes, and men, women, and children brought in their Commodities: two or three houres they ſo thronged about the Preſident and ſo overwearied him, as he retyred himſelfe to reſt, leauing Mr *Behethland* and Mr *Powell* to receiue their preſents, but ſome Salvages perceiuing him faſt aſleepe, & the guard ſomewhat careleſly diſperſed, fortie or fifte of their choiſe men each with a club, or an Engliſh ſword in his hand began to enter the houſe with two or three hundred others, that preſſed to ſecond them. The noyſe and haſt they made in, did ſo ſhake the houſe they awoke him from his ſleepe, and being halfe amazed with this ſuddaine ſight, betooke him ſtrait to his ſword and Target; Mr *Chraſhaw* and ſome others charged in like manner; whereat they quickly thronged faſter backe then before forward. The houſe thus cleanſed, the King and ſome of his auncients we kept yet with him, who with a long Oration, excuſed this intruſion. The reſt of the day was ſpent with much kindneſſe, the companie againe renewing their preſents with their beſt proviſions, and whatſoever he gaue them they ſeemed therewith well contented.

Their excuſe and reconcilement.

Now in the meane while ſince our departure, this hapned at our Fort. Maſter *Scrivener* having receiued Letters from *England* to make himſelfe either *Ceſar* or nothing, he began to decline in his affection to Captaine *Smith*, that ever regarded him as himſelfe, and was willing to croſſe the ſurpriſing of *Powhatan*. Some certaine daies after the Preſidents departure, he would needs goe viſit the Iſle of Hogs, and tooke with him Captaine *Waldo* (though the Preſident had appointed him to be ready to ſecond his occaſions) with Mr *Anthony Goſnoll* and eight others; but ſo violent was the wind (that extreame frozen time) that the Boat ſunke, but where or how none doth know. The Skiff was much over-loaden, and would ſcarce haue liued in that extreame tempeſt had ſhe beene empty: but by no perſwaſion he could be diverted, though both *Waldo* and an hundred others doubted as it hapned. The Salvages were the firſt that found their bodies, which ſo much the more encouraged them to effect their proiects. To advertiſe the Preſident of this heavie newes, none could be found would vndertake it, but the Iorney was often refuſed of all in the Fort, vntill Maſter *Richard Wyffin* vndertooke alone the performance thereof.

The loſſe of Mr. *Scrivener* and others with a Skiff.

In this Iourney he was incountred with many dangers and difficulties in all parts as he paſſed. As for that night he lodged with *Powhatan*, perceiuing ſuch preparation for warre, not finding the Preſident there: he did aſſure himſelfe ſome miſchiefe was intended. *Pocahontas* hid him for a time, and ſent them who purſued him the cleane contrary way to ſeeke him; but by her meanes and extraordinry bribes and much trouble in three dayes travell, at length he found vs in the middeſt of theſe turmoyles. This vnhappy newes the Preſident ſwore him to conceale from the company, and ſo diſſembling his ſorrow with the beſt countenances he could, when the night approched went ſafely aboord with all his Souldiers; leauing *Opechancanough* at libertie, according to his promiſe, the better to haue *Powhatan* in his returne.

Maſter *Wyffins* deſperate iourney.

Now ſo extreamely *Powhatan* had threatned the death of his men, if they did not by ſome meanes kill Captaine *Smith*: that the next day they appointed all the countrey ſhould come to trade vnarmed: yet vnwilling to be trecherous, but that they were conſtrained, hating fighting with him almoſt as ill as hanging, ſuch feare they had of bad ſucceſſe. The next morning the Sunne had not long appeared, but the fields appeared covered with people and Baskets, to tempt vs on ſhore: but nothing was to be had without his preſence, nor they would not indure the ſight of a gun.

Powhatan conſtraineth his men to be trecherous.

When

When the Preſident ſaw them begin to depart, being vnwilling to looſe ſuch a booty, he ſo well contrived the Pinnace, and his Barges with Ambuſcadoes, as onely with Lieutenant *Percie*, Mr *Weſt*, and Mr *Ruſſell*, with their Armes went on ſhore; others he appointed vnarmed to receiue what was brought. The Salvages flocked before him in heapes, and the banke ſerving as a trench for a retreat, he drew them fayre open to his Ambuſcado's. For he not being to be perſwaded to goe viſit their King, the King knowing the moſt of them vnarmed, came to viſit him with two or three hundred men, in the forme of two halfe Moones; and with ſome twentie men, and many women loaden with painted Baskets. But when they approached ſomewhat neare vs, their women and children fled. For when they had environed and beſet the fields in this manner, they thought their purpoſe ſure, yet ſo trembled with feare as they were ſcarſe able to nock their Arrowes: *Smith* ſtanding with his three men ready bent, beholding them till they were within danger of our Ambuſcado's; who vpon the word diſcovered themſelues, and he retyred to the Barge. Which the Salvages no ſooner perceived, then away they fled, eſteeming their heeles for their beſt advantage. The third attempt to betray vs.

That night we ſent Mr *Chriſhaw*, and Mr *Ford* to *Iames* towne to Cap. *Winne*. In the way betweene *Werowocomoco* and the Fort they met foure or fiue of the *Dutchmens* Confederates going to *Powhatan*: the which to excuſe thoſe Gentlemens ſuſpition of their running to the Salvages, returned to the Fort and there continued.

The Salvages hearing our Barge goe downe the river in the night, were ſo terribly affrayde, that we ſent for more men (we having ſo much threatned their ruine, and the raſing of their houſes, boats, and wires) that the next day the King ſent our Captaine a chayne of Pearle, to alter his purpoſe and ſtay his men: promiſing though they wanted themſelues, to fraught our ſhip and bring it aboord to avoyd ſuſpition. So that fiue or ſix dayes after, from all parts of the Country within ten or twelue myles in the extreame froſt and ſnow, they brought vs proviſion on their naked backes. A chayne of pearle ſent to obtaine peace.

Yet notwithſtanding this kindneſſe and trade, had their art and poyſon beene ſufficient, the Preſident, with Mr *Weſt*, and ſome others had beene poyſoned; it made them ſicke, but expelled it ſelfe. *Wecuttanow*, a ſtout young fellow, knowing he was ſuſpected for bringing this preſent of poyſon, with fortie or fiftie of his chiefe companions (ſeeing the Preſident but with a few men at *Potaveuk*) ſo proudly braued it, as though he expected to incounter a revenge. Which the Preſident perceiving in the midſt of his company, did not onely beate, but ſpurned him like a dogge, as ſcorning to doe him any worſe miſchiefe. Whereupon all of them fled into the woods, thinking they had done a great matter to haue ſo well eſcaped: and the townſmen remaining preſently fraughted our Barge to be rid of our companies, framing many excuſes to excuſe *Wecuttanow*, (being ſonne to their chiefe King, but *Powhatan*) and told vs if we would ſhew them him that brought the poyſon, they would deliver him to vs to puniſh as we pleaſed. Men may thinke it ſtrange there ſhould be ſuch a ſtirre for a little corne, but had it beene gold with more eaſe wee might haue got it; and had it wanted, the whole *Colony* had ſtarued. Wee may be thought very patient to endure all thoſe iniuries, yet onely with fearing them wee got what they had. Whereas if we had taken revenge, then by their loſſe, we ſhould haue loſt our ſelues. We ſearched alſo the Countries of *Youghtanund* and *Mattapanient*, where the people imparted that little they had with ſuch complaints and teares from the eyes of women and children, as he had beene too cruell to haue beene a Chriſtian, that would not haue beene ſatisfied and moued with compaſſion. But had this hapned in October, November, and December, when that vnhappie diſcovery of *Monacan* was made, we might haue fraughted a ſhip of fortie tuns, and twiſe as much might haue beene had from the Rivers of *Rapahanock*, *Patawomek*, and *Pamaunck*. The Preſident poyſoned: the offender puniſhed. The Salvages want and povertie.

The maine occaſion of our thus temporizing with them was, to part friends as we did, to giue the leſſe cauſe of ſuſpition to *Powhatan* to fly, by whom we now return-

ned with a purpoſe to haue ſurpriſed him and his proviſion. For effecting whereof (when we came againſt the Towne) the Preſident ſent Mr *Wyffin* and Mr *Coe* aſhore to diſcover and make way for his intended proiect. But they found that thoſe damned *Dutch*-men had cauſed *Powhatan* to abandon his new houſe and *Weromocomoco*, and to carry away all his corne and proviſion: and the people they found ſo ill affected, that they were in great doubt how to eſcape with their liues. So the Preſident finding his intent fruſtrated, and that there was nothing now to be had, and therefore an vnfit time to reuenge their abuſes, ſent Maſter *Michael Phittiplace* by Land to *Iames* towne, whether we ſayled with all the ſpeed we could; wee hauing in this Iourney (for 25l. of Copper, and 50l. of Iron & Beads) enough to keepe 46 men ſix weekes, and every man for his reward a moneths proviſion extraordinary (no Trade being allowed but for the ſtore) we got neare 200l waight of deere ſuet, and delivered to the Cape Merchant 479 Buſhels of Corne.

The *Dutch*-men did much hurt.

Thoſe temporizing proceedings to ſome may ſeeme too charitable, to ſuch a daily daring trecherous people: to others not pleaſing, that we waſhed not the ground with their bloods, nor ſhewed ſuch ſtrange inventions in mangling, murdering, ranſacking, and deſtroying (as did the *Spanyards*) the ſimple bodies of ſuch ignorant ſoules; nor delightfull, becauſe not ſtuffed with Relations of heapes and mynes of gold and ſilver, nor ſuch rare commodities, as the *Portugals* and *Spanyards* found in the Eaſt and Weſt *Indies*. The want whereof hath begot vs (that were the firſt vndertakers) no leſſe ſcorne and contempt, then the noble conqueſts and valiant adventures beautified with it, prayſe and honour. Too much I confeſſe the world cannot attribute to their ever memorable merit: and to cleare vs from the blind worlds ignorant cenſure, theſe few words may ſuffice any reaſonable vnderſtanding.

An Apology for the firſt Planters.

It was the *Spanyards* good hap to happen in thoſe parts where were infinite numbers of people, who had manured the ground with that providence, it affoorded victualls at all times. And time had brought them to that perfection, they had the vſe of gold and ſilver, and the moſt of ſuch commodities as thoſe Countries affoorded: ſo that, what the *Spanyard* got was chiefely the ſpoyle and pillage of thoſe Countrey people, and not the labours of their owne hands. But had thoſe fruitfull Countries beene as ſalvage, as barbarous, as ill peopled, as little planted, laboured, and manured, as *Virginia*: their proper labours it is likely would haue produced as ſmall profit as ours. But had *Virginia* beene peopled, planted, manured, and adorned with ſuch ſtore of precious Iewels, and rich commodities as was the *Indies*: then had we not gotten and done as much as by their examples might be expected from vs, the world might then haue traduced vs and our merits, and haue made ſhame and infamy our recompence and reward.

But we chanced in a Land even as God made it, where we found onely an idle, improvident, ſcattered people, ignorant of the knowledge of gold or ſilver, or any commodities, and careleſſe of any thing but from hand to mouth, except bables of no worth; nothing to incourage vs, but what accidentally we found Nature afforded. Which ere we could bring to recompence our paines, defray our charges, and ſatisfie our Adventurers; we were to diſcover the Country, ſubdue the people, bring them to be tractable, civill, and induſtrious, and teach them trades, that the fruits of their labours might make vs ſome recompence, or plant ſuch *Colonies* of our owne, that muſt firſt make prouiſion how to liue of themſelues, ere they can bring to perfection the commodities of the Country: which doubtleſſe will be as commodious for *England* as the weſt *Indies* for *Spaine*, if it be rightly mannaged: notwithſtanding all our home-bred opinions, that will argue the contrary, as formerly ſome haue done againſt the *Spanyards* and *Portugalls*. But to conclude, againſt all rumor of opinion, I onely ſay this, for thoſe that the three firſt yeares began this Plantation; notwithſtanding all their factions, mutinies, and miſeries, ſo gently corrected, and well prevented: pervſe the *Spaniſh Decades*; the Relations of Maſter *Hacklvit*, and tell me how many ever with ſuch ſmall meanes as a Barge of 22 tuns, ſometimes with ſeauen, eight, or nine, or but at moſt, twelue or ſixteene men, did ever diſcover ſo many

many fayre and navigable Rivers, ſubiect ſo many ſeverall Kings, people, and Nations, to obedience, and contribution, with ſo little bloudſhed.

And if in the ſearch of thoſe Countries we had hapned where wealth had beene, we had as ſurely had it as obedience and contribution, but if we haue overskipped it, we will not enuie them that ſhall find it: yet can we not but lament, it was our fortunes to end when we had but onely learned how to begin, and found the right courſe how to proceed.

By *Richard Wyffin, William Phittiplace, Ieffrey Abbot,* and *Anas Todkill.*

CHAP. X.

How the Salvages *became ſubiect to the* Engliſh.

WHen the Ships departed, all the proviſion of the Store (but that the Preſident had gotten) was ſo rotten with the laſt Summers rayne, and eaten with Rats and Wormes, as the Hogges would ſcarcely eate it. Yet it was the Souldiers dyet till our returnes, ſo that we found nothing done, but our victuals ſpent, and the moſt part of our tooles, and a good part of our Armes conveyed to the Salvages. But now caſting vp the Store, and finding ſufficient till the next harveſt, the feare of ſtarving was abandoned, and the company divided into tens, fifteens, or as the buſineſſe requited; ſix houres each day was ſpent in worke, the reſt in Paſtime and merry exerciſes, but the vntowardneſſe of the greateſt number cauſed the Preſident adviſe as followeth.

The Preſidents advice to the Company.

Countrymen, the long experience of our late miſeries, I hope is ſufficient to perſwade every one to a preſent correction of himſelfe, and thinke not that either my pains, nor the Adventurers purſes, will ever maintaine you in idleneſſe and ſloath. I ſpeake not this to you all, for divers of you I know deſerue both honour and reward, better then is yet here to be had: but the greater part muſt be more induſtrious, or ſtarue, how euer you haue beene heretofore tollerated by the authoritie of the Councell, from that I haue often commanded you. You ſee now that power reſteth wholly in my ſelfe: you muſt obey this now for a Law, that he that will not worke ſhall not eate (except by ſickneſſe he be diſabled:) for the labours of thirtie or fortie howeſt and induſtrious men ſhall not be conſumed to maintaine an hundred and fiftie idle lozterers. And though you preſume the authoritie here is but a ſhadow, and that I dare not touch the lines of any but my owne muſt anſwer it: the Letters patents ſhall each weeke be read to you, whoſe Contents will tell you the contrary. I would wiſh you therefore without contempt ſeeke to obſerue theſe orders ſet downe, for there are now no more Counſellers to protect you, nor curbe my endeavours. Therefore he that offendeth, let him aſſuredly expect his due puniſhment.

He made alſo a Table, as a publicke memoriall of every mans deſerts, to incourage the good, and with ſhame to ſpurre on the reſt to amendment. By this many became very induſtrious, yet more by puniſhment performed their buſineſſe, for all were ſo tasked, that there was no excuſe could prevaile to deceiue him: yet the *Dutch*-mens conſorts ſo cloſely convayed them powder, ſhot, ſwords, and tooles, that though we could find the defect, we could not finde by whom, till it was too late.

The *Dutch*-mens plot to murther Cap. *Smith.*

All this time the *Dutch* men remaining with *Powhatan*, (who kindly entertained them to inſtruct the Salvages the vſe of our Armes) and their conſorts not following them as they expected; to know the cauſe, they ſent *Francis* their companion, a ſtout young fellow, diſguiſed like a Salvage, to the Glaſſe-houſe, a place in the woods neare a myle from *Iames* Towne; where was their *Rendezvous* for all their vnſuſpected villany. Fortie men they procured to lie in Ambuſcado for Captaine *Smith*, who no ſooner heard of this *Dutch*-man, but he ſent to apprehend him (but he was gone) yet to croſſe his returne to *Powhatan*, the Captaine preſently diſpatched 20.

ſhot after him, himſelfe returning from the Glaſſe-houſe alone. By the way he incountred the King of *Paſpahegh*, a moſt ſtrong ſtout Salvage, whoſe perſwaſions not being able to perſwade him to his Ambuſh, ſeeing him onely armed but with a faucheon, attempted to haue ſhot him, but the Preſident prevented his ſhoot by grapling with him, and the Salvage as well prevented him for drawing his faucheon, and perforce bore him into the River to haue drowned him. Long they ſtrugled in the water, till the Preſident got ſuch hold on his throat, he had neare ſtrangled the King; but having drawne his faucheon to cut off his head, ſeeing how pittifully he begged his life, he led him priſoner to *Iames* Towne, and put him in chaynes.

Smith taketh the King of *Paſpahegh* priſoner.

The *Dutch*-man ere long was alſo brought in, whoſe villany though all this time it was ſuſpected, yet he fayned ſuch a formall excuſe, that for want of language Captaine *Winne* vnderſtood him not rightly, and for their dealings with *Powhatan*, that to ſaue their liues they were conſtrained to accommodate his armes, of whom he extreamely complained to haue detained them perforce, and that he made this eſcape with the hazard of his life, and meant not to haue returned, but was onely walking in the woods to gather Walnuts. Yet for all this faire tale, there was ſo ſmall appearance of truth, and the plaine confeſſion of *Paſpahegh* of his trechery, he went by the heeles: *Smith* purpoſing to regaine the *Dutch*-men, by the ſaving his life. The poore Salvage did his beſt by his daily meſſengers to *Powhatan*, but all returned that the *Dutch*-men would not returne, neither did *Powhatan* ſtay them; and to bring them fiftie myles on his mens backes they were not able. Daily this Kings wiues, children, and people came to viſit him with preſents, which he liberally beſtowed to make his peace. Much truſt they had in the Preſidents promiſe: but the King finding his guard negligent, though fettered yet eſcaped. Captaine *Winne* thinking to purſue him found ſuch troupes of Salvages to hinder his paſſage, as they exchanged many vollies of ſhot for flights of Arrowes. Captaine *Smith* hearing of this in returning to the Fort, tooke two Salvages priſoners, called *Kemps* and *Tuſſore*, the two moſt exact villaines in all the Country. With theſe he ſent Captaine *Winne* and fiftie choiſe men, and Lieutenant *Percie*, to haue regained the King, and revenged this iniury, and ſo had done, if they had followed his directions, or beene adviſed with thoſe two villaines, that would haue betrayed both King & kindred for a peece of Copper, but he trifling away the night, the Salvages the next morning by the riſing of the Sunne, braved him to come aſhore to fight: a good time both ſides let fly at other, but we heard of no hurt, onely they tooke two Canowes, burnt the Kings houſe, and ſo returned to *Iames* towne.

Cap. *Smith* taketh two Salvages priſoners.

The Preſident fearing thoſe Bravado's would but incourage the Salvages, began againe himſelfe to try his concluſions, whereby ſix or ſeauen were ſlaine, as many made priſoners. He burnt their houſes, tooke their Boats, with all their fiſhing wires, and planted ſome of them at *Iames* towne for his owne vſe, and now reſolved not to ceaſe till he had revenged himſelfe of all them had iniured him. But in his iourney paſſing by *Paſpahegh* towards *Chickahamania*, the Salvages did their beſt to draw him to their Ambuſcadoes; but ſeeing him regardleſly paſſe their Country, all ſhewed themſelues in their braveſt manner. To try their valours he could not but let fly, and ere he could land, they no ſooner knew him, but they threw downe their armes and deſired peace. Their Orator was a luſtie young fellow called *Okaning*, whoſe worthy diſcourſe deſerveth to be remembred. And thus it was:

The Salvages deſire Peace.

Okaning his Oration.

Captaine Smith, *my Maſter is here preſent in the company, thinking it Capt.* Winne, *and not you, (of him he intended to haue beene revenged) having never offended him. If he hath offended you in eſcaping your impriſonment, the fiſhes ſwim, the fowles fly, and the very beaſts ſtriue to eſcape the ſnare and line. Then blame not him being a man. He would intreat you remember, you being a priſoner, what paines he tooke to ſaue your life. If ſince he hath iniured you he was compelled to it: but howſoever, you haue revenged it with our too great loſſe. We perceiue and well know you intend to deſtroy vs, that are here to intreat and deſire your friendſhip, and to enioy our houſes and plant our fields, of whoſe fruit you ſhall participate: otherwiſe you will haue the worſe by our abſence; for we can plant any where, though*

though with more labour, and we know you cannot liue if you want our harueſt, and that releaſe we bring you. If you promiſe vs peace, we will beleeue you; if you proceed in reuenge we will abandon the Country.

Vpon theſe tearmes the Preſident promiſed them peace, till they did vs iniury, vpon condition they ſhould bring in proviſion. Thus all departed goods friends, and ſo continued till *Smith* left the Countrey.

Arriving at *Iames* Towne, complaint was made to the Preſident, that the *Chickahamanians*, who all this while continued trade and ſeemed our friends, by colour thereof were the onely theeues. And amongſt other things a Piſtoll being ſtolne and the theefe fled, there was apprehended two proper young fellowes, that were brothers, knowne to be his confederates. Now to regaine this Piſtoll, the one was impriſoned, the other was ſent to returne the Piſtoll againe within twelue houres, or his brother to be hanged. Yet the Preſident pittying the poore naked Salvage in the dungeon, ſent him victuall and ſome Char-coale for a fire: ere midnight his brother returned with the Piſtoll, but the poore Salvage in the dungeon was ſo ſmoothered with the ſmoake he had made, and ſo pittiouſly burnt, that wee found him dead. The other moſt lamentably bewayed his death, and broke forth into ſuch bitter agonies, that the Preſident to quiet him, told him that if hereafter they would not ſteale, he would make him aliue againe: but he little thought he could be recouered. Yet we doing our beſt with *Aqua vite* and *Vineger*, it pleaſed God to reſtore him againe to life, but ſo drunke & affrighted, that he ſeemed Lunaticke, the which as much tormented and grieued the other, as before to ſee him dead. Of which maladie vpon promiſe of their good behaviour, the Preſident promiſed to recover him: and ſo cauſed him to be layd by a fire to ſleepe, who in the morning having well ſlept, had recovered his perfect ſenſes, and then being dreſſed of his burning, and each a peece of Copper giuen them, they went away ſo well contented, that this was ſpread among all the Salvages for a miracle, that Captaine *Smith* could make a man aliue that was dead.

A Salvage ſmoothered at *Iames* towne, and recouered.

Another ingenuous Salvage of *Powhatans*, having gotten a great bag of Powder, and the backe of an Armour, at *Werowocomoco* amongſt a many of his companions, to ſhew his extraordinary skill, he did dry it on the backe as he had ſeene the Souldiers at *Iames* Towne. But he dryed it ſo long, they peeping over it to ſee his skill, it tooke fire, and blew him to death, and one or two more, and the reſt ſo ſcorched, they had little pleaſure to meddle any more with powder.

Two or three Salvages ſlaine in drying Powder.

Theſe and many other ſuch pretty Accidents, ſo amazed and affrighted both *Powhatan*, and all his people, that from all parts with preſents they deſired peace; returning many ſtolne things which we never demanded nor thought of; and after that, thoſe that were taken ſtealing, both *Powhatan* and his people haue ſent them backe to *Iames* towne, to receiue their puniſhment; and all the Country became abſolute as free for vs, as for themſelues.

Chap. XI.

What was done in three moneths having Victualls. The Store deuoured by Rats, how we liued three moneths of ſuch naturall fruits as the Country affoorded.

Now we ſo quietly followed our buſineſſe, that in three moneths wee made three or foure Laſt of Tarre, Pitch, and Sope aſhes; produced a tryall of Glaſſe; made a Well in the Fort of excellent ſweet water, which till then was wanting; built ſome twentie houſes; recouered our Church, prouided Nets and Wires for fiſhing; and to ſtop the diſorders of our diſorderly theeues, and the Salvages, built a Blockhouſe in the neck of our Iſle, kept by a Garriſon to entertaine

the Saluages trade, and none to paſſe nor repaſſe Saluage nor Chriſtian without the preſidents order. Thirtie or forty Acres of ground we digged and planted. Of three ſowes in eighteene moneths, increaſed 60, and od Piggs. And neere 500. chickings brought vp themſelues without hauing any meat giuen them: but the Hogs were tranſported to Hog. Iſle: where alſo we built a block-houſe with a gariſon to giue vs notice of any ſhipping, and for their exerciſe they made Clapbord and waynſcot, and cut downe trees. We built alſo a fort for a retreat neere a conuenient Riuer vpon a high commanding hill, very hard to be aſſalted and eaſie to be defended, but ere it was finiſhed this defect cauſed a ſtay.

Great extremitie by Rats.

In ſearching our casked corne, we found it halfe rotten, and the reſt ſo conſumed with ſo many thouſands of Rats that increaſed ſo faſt, but there originall was from the ſhips, as we knew not how to keepe that little we had. This did driue vs all to our wits end, for there was nothing in the country but what nature afforded. Vntill this time *Kemps* and *Taſſore* were fettered priſoners, and did double taske and taught vs how to order and plant our fields: whom now for want of victuall we ſet at liberty, but ſo well they liked our companies they did not deſire to goe from vs. And to expreſſe their loues for 16. dayes continuance, the Countrie people brought vs (when leaſt) 100. a day, of Squirrils, Turkyes, Deere and other wilde beaſts: But this want of corne occaſioned the end of all our works, it being worke ſufficient to prouide victuall. 60. or 80. with *Enſigne Laxon* was ſent downe the riuer to liue vpon Oyſters, and 20. with liutenant *Percy* to try for fiſhing at *Poynt Comfort*: but in ſix weekes they would not agree once to caſt out the net, he being ſicke and burnt ſore with Gunpouder. Matter *Weſt* with as many went vp to the falls, but nothing could be found but a few Acornes; of that in ſtore euery man had their equall proportion. Till this preſent, by the hazard and indeuours of ſome thirtie or fortie, this whole Colony had ever beene fed. We had more Sturgeon, then could be deuoured by Dog and Man, of which the induſtrious by drying and pounding, mingled with Caviare, Sorell and other wholeſome hearbes would make bread and good meate: others would gather as much *Tockwhogh* roots, in a day as would make them bread a weeke, ſo that of thoſe wilde fruites, and what we caught, we liued very well in regard of ſuch a diet, But ſuch was the ſtrange condition of ſome 150, that had they not beene forced *nolens, volens*, perforce to gather and prepare their victuall they would all haue ſtarued or haue eaten one another. Of thoſe wild fruits the Salvages often brought vs, and for that, the Preſident would not fullfill the vnreaſonable deſire, of thoſe diſtracted Gluttonous Loyterers, to ſell not only out kettles, hows, tooles, and Iron, nay ſwords, pieces, and the very Ordnance and howſes, might they haue prevayled to haue beene but Idle: for thoſe Saluage fruites, they would haue had imparted all to the Saluages, eſpecially for one basket of Corne they heard of to be at *Powhatàs*, fifty myles from our Fort. Though he bought neere halfe of it to ſatisfie their humors, yet to haue had the other halfe, they would haue ſould their ſoules, though not ſufficient to haue kept them a weeke. Thouſands were there exclamations, ſuggeſtions and deuiſes, to force him to thoſe baſe inventions to haue made it an occation to abandon the Country. Want perforce conſtrained him to indure their exclaiming follies, till he found out the author, one *Dyer* a moſt crafty fellow and his ancient Maligner, whom he worthily puniſhed, and with the reſt he argued the caſe in this maner.

Bread made of dried Sturgeon.

Their deſire to deſtroy themſelues.

The Preſidents order for the drones

Fellow ſouldiers, I did little thinke any ſo falſe to report, or ſo many to be ſo ſimple to be perſwaded, that I either intend to ſtarue you, or that Powhatan *at this preſent hath corne for himſelfe, much leſſe for you; or that I would not haue it, if I knew where it were to be had. Neither did I thinke any ſo malitious as now I ſee a great many; yet it ſhal not ſo paſſionate me, but I will doe my beſt for my moſt maligner. But dreame no longer of this vaine hope from* Powhatan, *nor that I will longer forbeare to force you, from your Idleneſſe, and puniſh you if you rayle. But if I finde any more runners for Newfoundland with the Pinnace, let him aſſuredly looke to arriue at the Gallows. You cannot deny but that by the hazard of my life many a time I haue ſaued yours, when (might your owne wills haue prevailed) you*

would haue ſtarued; and will doe ſtill whether I will or noe; But I proteſt by that God that made me, ſince neceſſitie hath not power to force you to gather for your ſelues thoſe fruites the earth doth yeeld, you ſhall not onely gather for your ſelues, but thoſe that are ſicke. As yet I neuer had more from the ſtore then the worſt of you: and all my Engliſh extraordinary proviſion that I haue, you ſhall ſee me diuide it amongſt the ſick. And this Salvage traſh you ſo ſcornfully repine at, being put in your mouthes your ſtomackes can diſgeſt, if you would haue better you ſhould haue brought it; and therefore I will take a courſe you ſhall prouide what is to be had. The ſick ſhall not ſtarue, but equally ſhare of all our labours; and he that gathereth not every day as much as I doe, the next day ſhall be ſet beyond the riuer, and be baniſhed from the Fort as a drone, till he amend his conditions or ſtarue. But ſome would ſay with *Seneca.*

I know thoſe things thou ſayſt are true good Nurſe,
But fury forceth me to follow worſe.
My minde is hurried headlong vp and downe:
Deſiring better counſell, yet finds none.

This order many murmured was very cruell, but it cauſed the moſt part ſo well beſtirre themſelues, that of 200. (except they were drowned) there died not paſt ſeuenas: for Captaine *Winne* and Maſter *Leigo* they were dead ere this want hapned, and the reſt dyed not for want of ſuch as preſerued the reſt. Many were billetted amongſt the Saluages, whereby we knew all their paſſages, fields and habitations, how to gather and vſe there fruits as well as themſelues; for they did know wee had ſuch a commanding power at *Iames* towne they durſt not wrong vs of a pin. But ſeuen of 200 dyed in nine moneths.

So well thoſe poore Salvages vſed vs that were thus billetted, that diuers of the Souldiers ran away to ſearch *Kemps* & *Taſſore* our old priſoners. Glad were theſe Salvages to haue ſuch an oportunity to teſtifie their loue vnto vs, for in ſtead of entertaining them, and ſuch things as they had ſtollen, with all their great Offers, and promiſes they made them how to reuenge their iniuryes vpon Captaine *Smith*; *Kemps* firſt made himſelfe ſport, in ſhewing his countrie men (by them) how he was vſed, feeding thē with this law, who would not work muſt not eat, till they were neere ſtarued indeede, continually threatning to beate them to death: neither could they get from him, till hee and his conſorts brought them perforce to our Captaine, that ſo well contented him and puniſhed them, as many others that intended alſo to follow them, were rather contented to labour at home, then aduenture to liue idlely amongſt the Salvages; (of whom there was more hope to make better Chriſtians & good ſubiects, then the one halfe of thoſe that counterfeited themſelues both.) For ſo affraide was al thoſe kings and the better ſort of the people to diſpleaſe vs, that ſome of the baſer ſort that we haue extreamly hurt and puniſhed for there villanies would hire vs, we ſhould not tell it to their kings, or countrymen, who would alſo repuniſh them, and yet returne them to *Iames* towne to content the Preſident for a teſtimony of their loues. The Salvages returne our fugitiues.

Maſter *Sicklemore* well returned from *Chawwonoke*; but found little hope and leſſe certaintie of them were left by Sir *Walter Raleigh*. The riuer, he ſaw was not great, the people few, the countrey moſt over growne with pynes, where there did grow here and there ſtraglingly *Pemminaw*, we call ſilke graſſe. But by the riuer the ground was good, and exceeding furtill; Maſter *Sicklemores* Iourney to *Chawwonoke*

Maſter *Nathanael powell* and *Anas Todkill* were alſo by the *Quiyoughquohanocks* conducted to the *Mangoags* to ſearch them there: but nothing could they learne but they were all dead. This honeſt proper good promiſe-keeping king, of all the reſt did euer beſt affect vs, and though to his falſe Gods he was very zealous, yet he would confeſſe our God as much exceeded his as our Gunns did his Bow and Arrowes, often ſending our Preſident may preſents, to pray to his God for raine or his corne would periſh, for his Gods were angry. Three dayes iorney they conducted them Maſter *Powels* iorney to the *Mangoags*.

them through the woods, into a high country towards the Southweſt: where they ſaw here and there a little corne field, by ſome little ſpring or ſmal brooke, but no riuer they could ſee: the people in all reſpects like the reſt, except there language: they liue moſt vpon rootes, fruites and wilde beaſts; and trade with them towards the ſea and the farther countryes for dryed fiſh and corne, for skins.

The *Dutch* mens proiects.

All this time to recouer the *Dutch*-men and one *Bentley* another fugitiue, we imployed one *William Volday*, a *Zwitzar* by birth, with Pardons & promises to regaine them. Little we then ſuſpected this double villaine of any villany; who plainly taught vs, in the moſt truſt was the greateſt treaſon; for this wicked hypocrite, by the ſeeming hate he bore to the lewd conditions of his curſed country men, (hauing this oportunity by his imployment to regaine them) conuayed them euery thing they deſired to effect their proiects, to diſtroy the Colony. With much deuotion they expected the *Spaniard*, to whom they intended good ſeruice, or any other, that would but carry them from vs. But to begin with the firſt oportunity; they ſeeing neceſſitie thus inforced vs to diſperſe our ſelues, importuned *Powhatan* to lend them but his forces, and they would not onely diſtroy our Hoggs, fire our towne, and betray our Pinnace; but bring to his ſeruice and ſubiection the moſt of our company. With this plot they had acquainted many Diſcontents, and many were agreed to their Deuiliſh practiſe. But one *Thomas Douſe*, and *Thomas Mallard* (whoſe chriſtian hearts relented at ſuch an vnchriſtian act) voluntarily reuealed it to Captaine *Smith*, who cauſed them to conceale it, perſwading *Douſe* and *Mallard* to proceed in their confedracie: onely to bring the irreclamable *Dutch* men and the inconſtant Salvages in ſuch a maner amongſt ſuch Ambuſcado's as he had prepared, that not many of thē ſhould returne from our *Peninſula*. But this brute cōming to the eares of the impatiēt multitude they ſo importuned the Preſident to cut off thoſe *Dutch* men, as amongſt many that offred to cut their throats before the face of *Powhatā*, the firſt was Lieutenāt *Percy*, and Mr. *Iohn Cuderington*, two Gentlemen of as bold reſolute ſpirits as could poſſibly be foūd. But the Preſidēt had occaſiō of other imploiment for them, & gaue gaue way to Maſter *Wyffin* and Sarieant *Ieffrey Abbot*, to goe and ſtab them or ſhoot them. But the *Dutch* men made ſuch excuſes, accuſing *Volday* whom they ſuppoſed had reuealed their proiect, as *Abbot* would not, yet *Wyffing* would, perceiuing it but deceit. The King vnderſtanding of this their imployment, ſent preſently his meſſengers to Captaine *Smith* to ſignifie it was not his fault to detaine them, nor hinder his men from executing his command: nor did he nor would he maintaine them, or any to occaſion his diſpleaſure.

Two Gentlemen ſent to the *Germans*.

The firſt arriuall of Captaine *Argall*.

But whilſt this buſineſſe was in hand, Arriued one Captaine *Argall*, and Maſter *Thomas Sedan*, ſent by Maſter *Cornelius* to truck with the *Colony*, and fiſh for Sturgeon, with a ſhip well furniſhed, with wine and much other good proviſion. Though it was not ſent vs, our neceſſities was ſuch as inforced vs to take it. He brought vs newes of a great ſupply and preparation for the Lord *La Warre*, with letters that much taxed our Preſident for his heard dealing with the Salvages, and not returning the ſhippes fraughted. Notwithſtanding we kept this ſhip till the fleete arriued. True it is *Argall* loſt his voyage, but we reuictualled him, and ſent him for England, with a true relation of the cauſes of our defailments, and how impoſible it was to returne that wealth they expected, or obſerue there inſtructions to indure the Salvages inſolencies, or doe any thing to any purpoſe, except they would ſend vs men and meanes that could produce that they ſo much deſired: otherwiſes all they did was loſt, and could not but come to confuſion. The villany of *Volday* we ſtill diſſembled. *Adam* vpon his pardon came home but *Samuell* ſtill ſtayed with *Powhahan* to heare further of their eſtates by this ſupply. Now all their plots *Smith* ſo well vnderſtood, they were his beſt advantages to ſecure vs from any trechery, could be done by them or the Salvages: which with facility he could revenge when he would, becauſe all thoſe countryes more feared him then *Powhatan*, and hee had ſuch parties with all his bordering neighbours: and many of the reſt for loue or feare would haue done any thing he would haue them, vpon any commotion, though

though theſe fugitiues had done all they could to perſwade *Powhatan*, King *Iames* would kill *Smith*, for vſing him and his people ſo vnkindly.

By this you may ſee for all thoſe croſſes, trecheries, and diſſentions, how hee wreſtled and overcame (without bloudſhed) all that happened: alſo what good was done; how few dyed; what food the Countrey naturally affoordeth; what ſmall cauſe there is men ſhould ſtarue, or be murthered by the Salvages, that haue diſcretion to mannage them with courage and induſtrie. The two firſt yeares, though by his adventures, he had oft brought the Salvages to a tractable trade, yet you ſee how the envious authoritie ever croſſed him, and fruſtrated his beſt endevours. But it wrought in him that experience and eſtimation amongſt the Salvages, as otherwiſe it had bin impoſſible, he had ever effected that he did. Notwithſtanding the many miſerable, yet generous and worthy adventures, he had oft and long endured in the wide world, yet in this caſe he was againe to learne his Lecture by experience. Which with thus much adoe having obtained, it was his ill chance to end, when he had but onely learned how to begin. And though he left thoſe vnknowne difficulties (made eaſie and familiar) to his vnlawfull ſucceſſors, (who onely by liuing in *Iames* Towne, preſumed to know more then all the world could direct them:) Now though they had all his Souldiers, with a tripple power, and twice tripple better meanes; by what they haue done in his abſence, the world may ſee what they would haue done in his preſence, had he not prevented their indiſcretions: it doth iuſtly proue, what cauſe he had to ſend them for *England*, and that he was neither factious, mutinous, nor diſhoneſt. But they haue made it more plaine ſince his returne for *England*; having his abſolute authoritie freely in their power, with all the advantages and opportunitie that his labours had effected. As I am ſorry their actions haue made it ſo manifeſt, ſo I am vnwilling to ſay what reaſon doth compell me, but onely to make apparant the truth, leaſt I ſhould ſeeme partiall, reaſonleſſe, and malicious.

Note theſe inconveniences.

Chapter XII.

The Arrivall of the third Supply.

TO redreſſe thoſe jarres and ill proceedings, the Treaſurer, Councell, and Company of *Virginia*, not finding that returne, and profit they expected; and them ingaged there, not having meanes to ſubſiſt of themſelues; made meanes to his Maieſtie, to call in their Commiſſion, and take a new in their owne names, as in their owne publication, 1610. you may reade at large. Having thus annihilated the old by vertue of a Commiſſion made to the right Honourable, Sir *Thomas Weſt*, Lord *de la Warre*, to be Generall of *Virginia*; Sir *Thomas Gates*, his Lieutenant; Sir *George Somers*, Admirall; Sir *Thomas Dale*, high Marſhall; Sir *Fardinando Waiſman*, Generall of the Horſe; and ſo all other offices to many other worthy Gentlemen, for their liues: (though not any of them had ever beene in *Virginia*, except Captaine *Newport*, who was alſo by Patent made vice-Admirall:) thoſe noble Gentlemen drew in ſuch great ſummes of money, that they ſent Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Somers*, and Captaine *Newport* with nine ſhippes, and fiue hundred people, who had each of them a Commiſſion, who firſt arrived to call in the old, without the knowledge or conſent of them, that had endured all thoſe former dangers to bear the path, not any regard had at all of them. All things being ready, becauſe thoſe three Captaines could not agree for place, it was concluded they ſhould goe all in one ſhip, ſo all their three Commiſſions were in that Ship with them called the *Sea-Venture*. They ſet ſayle from *England* in May 1609. A ſmall Catch periſhed at Sea in a Hericano: the Admirall with an hundred and fiftie men, with the two Knights, and their new Commiſſion, their Bils of Loading, with all manner of directions, and the moſt part of their proviſion arrived not. With the o-

The alteration of the government.

1609. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treaſurer.

The loſſe of *Virginia.*

ther ſeaven Ships as Captaines arrived *Ratliffe*, whoſe right name (as is ſayd) was *Sicklemore*, *Martin*, and *Archer*, with Captaine *Wood*, Captaine *Webbe*, Captaine *Moone*, Captaine *King*, Captaine *Davis*, and divers Gentlemen of good meanes, and great parentage. But the firſt as they had beene troubleſome at Sea, began againe to marre all aſhore: for though (as is ſaid) they were formerly ſent for *England*, yet now returning againe, graced by the titles of Captaines of the paſſengers, ſeeing the Admirall wanting, and great probabilitie of her loſſe, ſtrengthened themſelues with thoſe new companies, ſo exclaiming againſt Captaine *Smith*, that they mortally hated him ere ever they ſaw him. Who vnderſtanding by his Scouts the arrivall of ſuch a Fleet, little dreaming of any ſuch ſupply, ſuppoſed them *Spaniards*. But he quickly ſo determined and ordered our affaires, as we little feared their Arrivall, nor the ſucceſſe of our incounter; nor were the Salvages any way negligent for the moſt part, to ayd and aſſiſt vs with their beſt power. Had it ſo beene we had beene happy; for we would not haue truſted them but as our foes, where receiuing them as our Countreymen and friends, they did what they could to murther our Preſident, to ſurpriſe the Store, the Fort, and our lodgings, to vſurpe the government, and make vs all their ſervants and ſlaues, till they could conſume vs and our remembrance; and rather indeed to ſupplant vs then ſupply vs, as maſter *William Box* an honeſt Gentleman in this voyage thus relateth.

The Salvages offer to fight vnder our colours.

In the tayle of a *Hericano* wee were ſeparated from the Admirall, which although it was but the remainder of that Storme, there is ſeldome any ſuch in *England*, or thoſe Northerne parts of *Europe*. Some loſt their Maſts, ſome their Sayles blowne from their Yards; the Seas ſo over-raking our Ships, much of our prouiſion was ſpoyled, our Fleet ſeparated, and our men ſicke, and many dyed, and in this miſerable eſtate we arrived in *Virginia*.

But in this Storme,

When ratling Thunder ran along the Clouds;
Did not the Saylers poore, and Maſters proud
A terror feele as ſtrucke with feare of God?
Did not their trembling ioynts then dread his rod?
Least for foule deeds and black mouth'd blaſphemies,
The rufull time be come that vengeance cryes.

Mutinies.

To a thouſand miſchiefes thoſe lewd Captaines led this lewd company, wherein were many vnruly Gallants, packed thither by their friends to eſcape ill deſtinies, and thoſe would diſpoſe and determine of the government, ſometimes to one, the next day to another; to day the old Commiſſion muſt rule, to morrow the new, the next day neither, in fine they would rule all, or ruine all: yet in charitie we muſt endure them thus to deſtroy vs, or by correcting their follies, haue brought the worlds cenſure vpon vs to be guiltie of their blouds. Happie had we beene had they never arrived, and we for ever abandoned, and as we were left to our fortunes: for on earth for the number was never more confuſion, or miſery, then their factions occaſioned.

The Preſident ſeeing the deſire thoſe Braues had to rule; ſeeing how his authoritie was ſo vnexpectedly changed, would willingly haue left all, and haue returned for *England*. But ſeeing there was ſmall hope this new Commiſſion would arriue, longer he would not ſuffer thoſe factious ſpirits to proceede. It would be too tedious, too ſtrange, and almoſt incredible; ſhould I particularly relate the infinite dangers, plots, and practices, he daily eſcaped amongſt this factious crew; the chiefe whereof he quickly layd by the heeles, till his leaſure better ſerved to doe them iuſtice: and to take away all occaſions of further miſchiefe, Maſter *Percie* had his requeſt granted to returne for *England*, being very ſicke; and Mr *Weſt* with an hundred and twentie of the beſt he could chuſe, he ſent to the Falles, *Martin* with neare as many to *Nandſamund*, with their due proportions of all proviſions according to thir numbers.

The planting *Nandſamund.*

Now

Now the Preſidents yeare being neare expired, he made Captaine *Martin* Preſident to follow the order for the election of a Preſident every yeare: but he knowing his owne inſufficiency, and the companies vntowardneſſe and little regard of him, within three houres after reſigned it againe to Captaine *Smith*, and at *Nanſamund* thus proceeded. The people being contributers vſed him kindly; yet ſuch was his iealous feare, in the midſt of their mirth, he did ſurpriſe this poore naked King, with his Monuments, houſes, and the Iſle he inhabited, and there fortified himſelfe; but ſo apparantly diſtracted with feare, as imboldened the Salvages to aſſault him, kill his men, releaſe their King, gather and carry away a thouſand buſhels of Corne, he not once offering to intercept them; but ſent to the Preſident then at the Falles for thirtie good ſhot; which from *Iames* Towne immediately was ſent him. But he ſo well imployed them they did iuſt nothing, but returned complaining of his tendernеſſe: yet he came away with them to *Iames* Towne, leauing his company to their fortunes.

The breach of peace with the Salvages.

Here I cannot omit the courage of *George Forreſt*, that had ſeauenteene Arrowes ſticking in him, and one ſhot through him, yet liued ſixe or ſeauen dayes, as if he had ſmall hurt, then for want of Chirurgery dyed.

Maſter *Weſt* having ſeated his men by the Falles, preſently returned to reuiſit *Iames* Towne: the Preſident followed him to ſee that company ſeated, met him by the way, wondering at his ſo quicke returne; and found his company planted ſo inconſiderately, in a place not onely ſubiect to the rivers invndation, but round inuironed with many intollerable inconueniences.

For remedie whereof he preſently ſent to *Powhatan* to ſell him the place called *Powhatan*, promiſing to defend him againſt the *Monacans*. And theſe ſhould be his Conditions (with his people) to reſigne him the Fort and houſes, and all that Countrey for a proportion of Copper; that all ſtealing offenders ſhould be ſent him, there to receiue their puniſhment; that every houſe as a Cuſtome ſhould pay him a Buſhell of Corne for an inch ſquare of Copper, and a proportion of *Poconos*, as a yearely tribute to King *Iames* for their protection, as a dutie; what elſe they could ſpare to barter at their beſt diſcretions.

Powhatan bought for Copper.

But both this excellent place and thoſe good Conditions did thoſe furies refuſe, contemning both him, his kinde care and authoritie. So much they depended on the Lord Generals new Commiſſion, as they regarded none: the worſt they could doe to ſhew their ſpights they did; ſuppoſing all the *Monacans* Country, gold; and none ſhould come there but whom they pleaſed. I doe more then wonder to thinke how onely with fiue men, he either durſt or would adventure as he did, (knowing how greedie they were of his bloud) to land amongſt them, and commit to impriſonment all the Chieftaines of thoſe mutinies, till by their multitudes being an hundred and twentie they forced him to retyre: yet in that interim he ſurpriſed one of their Boates, wherewith he returned to their ſhip; where in deed was their prouiſion, which alſo he tooke, and well it chanced he found the Marriners ſo tractable and conſtant, or there had beene ſmall poſſibilitie he had ever eſcaped. There were diuers other of better reaſon and experience, that from their firſt landing, hearing the generall good report of his old Souldiers, and ſeeing with their eyes his actions ſo well mannaged with diſcretion, as Captaine *Wood*, Captaine *Webbe*, Cap. *Moone*, Captaine *Fitz Iames*, Maſter *William Powell*, Maſter *Partridge*, Maſter *White*, and divers others, when they perceiued the malice of *Ratliffe* and *Archer*, and their faction, left their companies, and ever reſted his faithfull friends. But the worſt was that the poore Salvages, that daily brought in their contribution to the Preſident, that diſorderly company ſo tormented thoſe poore ſoules, by ſtealing their corne, robbing their gardens, beating them, breaking their houſes and keeping ſome priſoners; that they daily complained to Captaine *Smith*, he had brought them for Protectors, worſe enemies then the *Monacans* themſelues: which though till then, for his loue they had endured, they deſired pardon if hereafter they defended themſelues; ſince he would not correct them, as they had long expected he would. So much

Mutinies.

Fiue ſuppreſſe an hundred and twenties.

Breach of peace with the Salvages at the Falles.

much they importuned him to puniſh their miſdemeanors, as they offered (if he would leade them) to fight for him againſt them. But having ſpent nine dayes in ſeeking to reclaime them; ſhewing them how much they did abuſe themſelues with theſe great guilded hopes of the South Sea Mines, commodities, or victories, they ſo madly conceived; then ſeeing nothing would prevaile, he ſet ſayle for *Iames* Towne.

Thus oft we ſee from ſmall greene wounds, and from a little griefe,
A greater ſore and ſickneſſe growes, then will admit reliefe:
For thus themſelues they did beguile, and with the reſt play'd theefe.

An aſſalt by the Salvages

Now no ſooner was the Ship vnder ſayle, but the Salvages aſſaulted thoſe hundred and twentie in their Fort, finding ſome ſtragling abroad in the woods: they ſlew many, and ſo affrighted the reſt, as their priſoners eſcaped, and they ſafely retyred, with the ſwords and cloakes of thoſe they had ſlaine. But ere wee had ſayled halfe a league, our ſhip grounding, gaue vs once more libertie to ſummon them to a parley; where we found them all ſo ſtrangely amazed with this poore ſilly aſſault of twelue Saluages, that they ſubmitted themſelues vpon any tearmes to the Preſidents mercy; who preſently put by the heeles ſixe or ſeauen of the chiefe offenders: the reſt he ſeated gallantly at *Powhatan*, in that Salvage Fort, readie built, and prettily fortified with poles and barkes of trees, ſufficient to haue defended them from all the Salvages in *Virginia*, dry houſes for lodgings and neere two hundred acres of ground ready to be planted, and no place we knew ſo ſtrong, ſo pleaſant and delightfull in *Virginia* for which we called it *Non-ſuch*. The Salvages alſo hee preſently appeaſed, redeliuering to either party their former loſſes. Thus all were friends.

The planting of *Non-ſuch*.

The Salvages appeaſed.

New officers appointed to command, and the Preſident againe ready to depart, at that inſtant arriued Captaine *Weſt*, whoſe gentle nature (by the perſwaſions and compaſſion of thoſe mutinous priſoners, alledging they had onely done this for his honor) was ſo much abuſed, that to regaine their old hopes, new turboyles did ariſe. For they a-ſhore being poſſeſſed of all there victuall, munition, and euery thing, grew to that height in their former factions, as the Preſident left them to their fortunes: they returned againe to the open ayre at *Weſts* Fort, abandoning *Non ſuch*, and he to *Iames* towne with his beſt expedition, but this happened him in that Iourney.

Captaine *Smith* blowne vp with powder.

Sleeping in his Boate, (for the ſhip was returned two daies before) accidentallie, one fired his powder-bag, which tore the fleſh from his body and thighes, nine or ten inches ſquare in a moſt pittifull manner; but to quench the tormenting fire, frying him in his cloaths he leaped over-boord into the deepe river, where ere they could recouer him he was neere drowned. In this eſtate without either Chirurgian, or Chirurgery he was to goe neere an hundred myles. Arriving at *Iames* towne, cauſing all things to be prepared for peace or warres to obtaine proviſion, whileſt thoſe things were providing, *Ratliffe*, *Archer*, & the reſt of their Confederates; being to come to their trials; their guiltie conſciences, fearing a iuſt reward for their deſerts, ſeeing the Preſident, vnable to ſtand, and neere bereft of his ſenſes by reaſon of his torment, they had plotted to haue murdered him in his bed. But his heart did faile him that ſhould haue giuen fire to that mercileſſe Piſtoll. So not finding that courſe to be the beſt, they ioyned together to vſurpe the government, thereby to eſcape their puniſhment. The Preſident, had notice of their proiects, the which to withſtand, though his old ſouldiers importuned him but permit them to take their heads that would reſiſt his command, yet he would not ſuffer them, but ſent for the Maſters of the ſhips, and tooke order with them for his returne for England. Seeing there was neither Chirurgian, nor Chirurgery in the Fort to cure his hurt, and the ſhips to depart the next day, his Commiſſion to be ſuppreſſed he knew not why, himſelfe and ſouldiers to be rewarded he knew not how, and a

A bloudy intent.

new

new commiſſion granted they knew not to whom(the which diſabled that authority he had, as made them preſume ſo oft to thoſe mutinies as they did:) beſides ſo grievous were his wounds,and ſo cruell his torments(few expecting he could liue) nor was hee able to follow his buſines to regaine what they had loſt, ſuppreſſe thoſe factions, and range the countries for proviſion as he intended; and well he knew in thoſe affaires his owne actions and preſence was as requiſit as his directions, which now could not be, he went preſently abroad, reſoluing there to appoint them governours, and to take order for the mutiners, but he could finde none hee thought fit for it would accept it. In the meane time, ſeeing him gone, they perſwaded Maſter *Percy* to ſtay, who was then to goe for England, and be their Preſident. Within leſſe then an houre was this mutation begun and concluded. For when the Company vnderſtood *Smith* would leaue them,& ſaw the reſt in Armes called Preſidents & Councellors, divers began to fawne on thoſe new commanders, that now bent all their wits to get him reſigne them his Commiſſion: who after much adoe and many bitter repulſes; that their confuſion (which he tould them was at their elbowes)ſhould not be attributed to him, for leauing the Colony without a Commiſſion, he was not vnwilling they ſhould ſteale it, but never would he giue it to ſuch as they.

And thus, *Strange violent forces drew vs on vnwilling:*
Reaſon perſwading 'gainſt our loues rebelling.
We ſaw and knew the better, ah curſe accurſt!
That notwithſtanding we imbrace the worſt.

But had that vnhappie blaſt not hapned, he would quickly haue qualified the heate of thoſe humors, and factions, had the ſhips but once left them and vs to our fortunes; and haue made that proviſion from among the Salvages, as we neither feared *Spanyard*, Salvage, nor famine; nor would haue left *Virginia*, nor our lawfull authoritie, but at as deare a price as we had bought it, and payd for it. What ſhall I ſay but thus, we left him, that in all his proceedings, made Iuſtice his firſt guide, and experience his ſecond, even hating baſeneſſe, ſloath, pride, and indignitie, more then any dangers; that neuer allowed more for himſelfe, then his ſouldiers with him; that vpon no danger would ſend them where he would not lead them himſelfe; that would never ſee vs want, what he either had, or could by any meanes get vs; that would rather want then borrow, or ſtarue then not pay; that loued action more then words, and hated falſhood and covetouſneſſe worſe then death; whoſe adventures were our liues, and whoſe loſſe our deaths.

The cauſes why *Smith* left the Countrey and his Commiſſion.

Leaving vs thus with three ſhips, ſeaven boats, commodities readie to trade, the harveſt newly gathered, ten weeks proviſion in the ſtore, foure hundred nintie and od perſons, twentie-foure Peeces of Ordnance, three hundred Muskets, Snaphances, and Firelockes, Shot, Powder, and Match ſufficient, Curats, Pikes, Swords, and Mornos, more then men; the Salvages, their language, and habitations well knowne to an hundred well trayned and expert Souldiers; Nets for fiſhing; Tooles of all ſorts to worke; apparell to ſupply our wants; ſix Mares and a Horſe; fiue or ſixe hundred Swine; as many Hennes and Chickens; ſome Goats; ſome ſheepe; what was brought or bred there remained. But they regarding nothing but from hand to mouth, did conſume that wee had, tooke care for nothing, but to perfect ſome colourable complaints againſt Captaine *Smith*. For effecting whereof three weekes longer they ſtayed the Ships, till they could produce them. That time and charge might much better haue beene ſpent, but it ſuted well with the reſt of their diſcretions.

Beſides *Iames* towne that was ſtrongly Pallizadoed, containing ſome fiftie or ſixtie houſes, he left fiue or ſixe other ſeverall Forts and Plantations: though they were not ſo ſumptuous as our ſucceſſors expected, they were better then they provided any for vs. All this time we had but one Carpenter in the Countrey, and three o-

thers that could doe little, but deſired to be learners: two Blackſmiths; two ſaylers, & thoſe we write labourers were for moſt part footmen, and ſuch as they that were Adventurers brought to attend them, or ſuch as they could perſwade to goe with them, that neuer did know what a dayes worke was, except the *Dutch*-men and *Poles*, and ſome dozen other. For all the reſt were poore Gentlemen, Tradſmen, Serving-men, libertines, and ſuch like, ten times more fit to ſpoyle a Common-wealth, then either begin one, or but helpe to maintaine one. For when neither the feare of God, nor the law, nor ſhame, nor diſpleaſure of their friends could rule them here, there is ſmall hope ever to bring one in twentie of them ever to be good there. Notwithſtanding, I confeſſe divers amongſt them, had better mindes and grew much more induſtrious then was expected: yet ten good workemen would haue done more ſubſtantiall worke in a day, then ten of them in a weeke. Therefore men may rather wonder how we could doe ſo much, then vſe vs ſo badly, becauſe we did no more, but leaue thoſe examples to make others beware, and the fruits of all, we know not for whom.

The ends of the *Dutch*-men.

But to ſee the juſtice of God vpon theſe *Dutch*-men; *Valdo* before ſpoke of, made a ſhift to get for *England*, where perſwading the Merchants what rich Mines he had found, and great ſervice he would doe them, was very well rewarded, and returned with the Lord *La Warre*: but being found a meere Impoſtor, he dyed moſt miſerably. *Adam* and *Francis* his two conſorts were fled againe to *Powhatan*, to whom they promiſed at the arrivall of my Lord, what wonders they would doe, would he ſuffer them but to goe to him. But the King ſeeing they would be gone, replyed; You that would haue betrayed Captaine *Smith* to mee, will certainely betray me to this great Lord for your peace: ſo cauſed his men to beat out their braines.

To conclude, the greateſt honour that ever belonged to the greateſt Monarkes, was the inlarging their Dominions, and erecting Common-weales. Yet howſoever any of them haue attributed to themſelues, the Conquerors of the world: there is more of the world never heard of them, then ever any of them all had in ſubiection: for the *Medes*, *Perſians*, and *Aſſyrians*, never Conquered all *Aſia*, nor the *Grecians* but part of *Europe* and *Aſia*. The *Romans* indeed had a great part of both, as well as *Affrica*: but as for all the Northerne parts of *Europe* and *Aſia*, the interior Southern and Weſterne parts of *Affrica*, all *America* & *Terra incognita*, they were all ignorant: nor is our knowledge yet but ſuperficiall. That their beginnings, ending, and limitations were proportioned by the Almightie is moſt evident: but to conſider of what ſmall meanes many of them haue begun is wonderfull. For ſome write that even *Rome* her ſelfe, during the Raigne of *Romulus*, exceeded not the number of a thouſand houſes. And *Carthage* grew ſo great a Potentate, that at firſt was but incirculed in the thongs of a Bulls skinne, as to fight with *Rome* for the Empire of the world. Yea *Venice* at this time the admiration of the earth, was at firſt but a Mariſh, inhabited by poore Fiſhermen. And likewiſe *Niniuie*, *Thebes*, *Babylon*, *Delus*, *Troy*, *Athens*, *Mycena* and *Sparta*, grew from ſmall beginnings to be moſt famous States, though now they retaine little more then a naked name. Now this our yong Common-wealth in *Virginia*, as you haue read once conſiſted but of 38 perſons, and in two yeares increaſed but to 200. yet by this ſmall meanes ſo highly was approved the Plantation in *Virginia*, as how many Lords, with worthy Knights, and braue Gentlemen pretended to ſee it, and ſome did, and now after the expence of fifteene yeares more, and ſuch maſſie ſummes of men and money, grow they diſanimated? If we truely conſider our Proceedings with the *Spanyards*, and the reſt, we haue no reaſon to deſpayre, for with ſo ſmall charge, they never had either greater Diſcoveries, with ſuch certaine tryals of more ſeverall Commodities, then in this ſhort time hath beene returned from *Virginia*, and by much leſſe meanes. *New England* was brought out of obſcuritie, and affoorded fraught for neare 200 ſayle of ſhips, where there is now erected a braue Plantation. For the happines of *Sommer Iſles*, they are no leſſe then either, and yet thoſe haue had a far leſſe, and a more difficult beginning, then either *Rome*, *Carthage*, or *Venice*.

Written by *Richard Pots*, Clarke of the Councell, *William Tankard*, and *G. P.*

Now seeing there is thus much Paper here to spare, that you should not be altogether cloyed with Prose; such Verses as my worthy Friends bestowed upon New England, *I here present you, because with honestie I can neither reiect, nor omit their courtesies.*

In the deserued Honour of the Author, Captaine *Iohn Smith*, and his Worke.

DAmn'd Envie *is a spirite, that ever haunts*
Beasts, mis-nam'd Men; Cowards, or Ignorants.
But, onely such shee followes, whose deare WORTH
(Maugre her malice) sets their glory forth.
If this faire Overture, then, take not; It
Is Envie's *spight (deare friend) in men of wit;*
Or Feare, *lest morsels, which our mouths possesse,*
Might fall from thence; or else, tis Sottishnesse.
If either; (I hope neither) thee they raise;
Thy Letters are as Letters in thy praise;*
Who, by their vice, improue *(when they* reprooue*)*
Thy vertue; so, in hate, procure thee Loue.
Then, On firm: Worth: this Monument I frame;
Scorning for any Smith to forge *such* fame. Iohn Davies, *Heref:*

* Hinderers.

To his worthy Captaine the Author.

THat which wee call the subiect of all Storie,
Is Truth: which in this Worke of thine giues glorie
To all that thou hast done. Then, scorne the spight
Of Envie; *which doth no mans Merits right.*
My sword may helpe the rest: my Pen no more
Can doe, but this; I'aue said enough before.

Your sometime Souldier, *I. Codrington*, now Templer.

To my Worthy Friend and Cosen, Captaine *Iohn Smith.*

IT ouer-ioyes my heart, when as thy Words
Of these designes, with deeds I doe compare.
Here is a Booke, such worthy truth affords,
None should the due desert thereof impare:
Sith thou, the man, deserving of these Ages,
Much paine hast ta'en for this our Kingdomes good,
In Climes vnknowne, Mongst Turks *and Salvages,*
T'inlarge our bounds; though with thy losse of blood.
Hence damn'd Detraction: stand not in our way.
Envie, it selfe, will not the Truth gainesay. N. Smith.

In the deserved Honour of my honest and worthy Captaine, *Iohn Smith*, and his Worke.

CAptaine and friend; when I peruse thy Booke
(With Iudgements *eyes) into my* heart *I looke:*
And there I finde (what sometimes Albion *knew)*
A Souldier, *to his* Countries-honour, *true.*
Some fight for wealth; *and some for* emptie praise,
But thou alone thy Countries Fame *to raise.*

With due discretion, *and* vndanted heart,
I (*oft*) *so well haue seene thee act thy Part*
In deepest plunge of hard extreamitie,
As forc't the troops of prondest foes to flie.
Though men of greater Ranke *and lesse* desert
Would Pish-*away thy* Praise, *it can not start*
From the true Owner: *for, all good mens tongues*
Shall keepe the same. To them that Part belongs.
If, then, Wit, Courage, *and* Successe *should get*
Thee Fame; *the Muse for* that *is in thy* debt:
A part whereof (*least able though I be*)
This here I doe disburse, to honor Thee. Raleigh Crashaw.

Michael Phettiplace, Wil: Phettiplace, and *Richard Wiffing,* Gentlemen, and Souldiers vnder Captaine *Smiths* command: In his deserved honour for his Worke, and Worth.

WHy may not wee in this Worke haue our Mite,
That had our share in each black day and night,
When thou Virginia *foild'st, yet kept'st vnstaind;*
And held'st the King of Paspeheh *enchaind.*
Thou all alone this Salvage *sterne didst take.*
Pamavnkees *King wee saw thee captiue make*
Among seauen hundred of his stoutest men,
To murther thee and vs resolved; when
Fast by the hayre thou ledst this Salvage grim,
Thy Pistoll at his breast to governe him:
Which did infuse such awe in all the rest
(*Sith their drad Soveraigne thou had'st so distrest*)
That thou and wee (*poore sixteene*) *safe retir'd*
Vnto our helpelesse Ships. *Then* (*thus admir'd*)
Didst make proud Powhatan, *his subiects send*
To Iames *his Towne, thy censure to attend:*
And all Virginia's *Lords, and pettie Kings,*
Aw'd by thy vertue, crouch, and Presents brings
To gaine thy grace; so dreaded thou hast beene:
And yet a heart more milde is seldome seene;
So, making Valour Vertue, really;
Who hast nought in thee counterfeit, or slie;
If in the sleight be not the truest Art,
That makes men famoused for faire desert.
Who saith of thee, this sauors of vaine-glorie,
Mistakes both thee and vs, and this true Storie.
If it be ill in Thee, so well to doe;
Then, is ill in Vs, to praise thee too.
But, if the first be well done; it is well,
To say it doth (*if so it doth*) *excell.*
Praise is the guerdon of each deare desert
Making the praised act the praised part
With more alacritie: Honours *Spurre is* Praise;
Without which, it (*regardlesse*) *seeme deuises.*
And for this paines of thine wee praise thee rather,
That future Times may know who was the father
Of that rare Worke (New England) *which may bring,*
Praise to thy God, *and profit to thy* King.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE.

TO MAKE PLAINE THE TRVE PROCEEdings of the Historie for 1609. we must follow the examinations of Doctor *Simons*, and two learned Orations published by the Companie; with the relation of the Right Honourable the Lord *De la Ware*.

What happened in the first gouernment after the alteration in the time of Captaine George Piercie *their Gouernour.*

THE day before Captaine *Smith* returned for *England* with the ships, Captaine *Dauis* arriued in a small Pinace, with some sixteene proper men more: To these were added a company from *Iames* towne, vnder the command of Captaine *Iohn Sickelmore* alias *Ratliffe*, to inhabit *Point Comfort*. Captaine *Martin* and Captaine *West*, hauing lost their boats and neere halfe their men among the Saluages, were returned to *Iames* towne; for the Saluages so sooner vnderstood *Smith* was gone, but they all reuolted, and did spoile and murther all they incountered. Now wee were all constrained to liue onely on that *Smith* had onely for his owne Companie, for the rest had consumed their proportions, and now they had twentie Presidents with all their appurtenances: Master *Piercie* our new President, was so sicke hee could neither goe nor stand. But ere all was consumed, Captaine *West* and Captaine *Sickelmore*, each with a small ship and thirtie or fortie men well appointed, sought abroad to trade. *Sickelmore* vpon the confidence of *Powhatan*, with about thirtie others as carelesse as himselfe, were all slaine, onely *Ieffrey Shortridge* escaped, and *Pokahontas* the Kings daughter saued a boy called *Henry Spilman*, that liued many yeeres after, by her meanes, amongst the *Patawomekes*. *Powhatan* still as he found meanes, cut off their Boats, denied them trade, so that Captaine *West* set saile for *England*. Now we all found the losse of Captaine *Smith*, yea his greatest maligners could now curse his losse: as for corne, prouision and contribution from the Saluages, we had nothing but mortall wounds, with clubs and arrowes; as for our Hogs, Hens, Goats, Sheepe, Horse, or what liued, our commanders, officers & Saluages daily consumed them, some small proportions sometimes we tasted, till all was deuoured; then words, armes, pieces, or any thing, wee traded with the Saluages, whose cruell fingers were so oft imbrewed in our blouds, that what by their crueltie, our Gouernours indiscretion, and the losse of our ships, of fiue hundred within sixmoneths after Captaine *Smiths* departure, there remained not past sixtie men, women and children, most miserable and poore creatures; and those were preserued for the most part, by roots, herbes, acornes, walnuts, berries, now and then a little fish: they that had starued in these extremities, made no small vse of it; yea, euen the very skinnes of our horses. Nay, so great was our famine, that a Saluage we slew, and buried, the poorer sort tooke him vp againe and eat him, and so did diuers

The planting *Point Comfort.*

1609.

one another boyled and ſtewed with roots and herbs: And one amongſt the reſt did kill his wife, powdered her, and had eaten part of her before it was knowne, for which hee was executed, as hee well deſerued; now whether ſhee was better roaſted, boyled or carbonado'd, I know not, but of ſuch a diſh as powdered wife I neuer heard of. This was that time, which ſtill to this day we called the ſtaruing time; it were too vile to ſay, and ſcarce to be beleeued, what we endured: but the occaſion was our owne, for want of prouidence, induſtrie and gouernment, and not the barrennesſe and defect of the Countrie, as is generally ſuppoſed; for till then in three yeeres, for the numbers were landed vs, we had neuer from *England* prouiſion ſufficient for ſix moneths, though it ſeemed by the bils of loading ſufficient was ſent vs, ſuch a glutton is the Sea, and ſuch good fellowes the Mariners; we as little taſted of the great proportion ſent vs, as they of our want and miſeries, yet notwithſtanding they euer ouer-ſwayed and ruled the buſineſſe, though we endured all that is ſaid, and chiefly liued on what this good Countrie naturally afforded; yet had wee beene euen in Paradice it ſelfe with theſe Gouernours, it would not haue beene much better with vs; yet there was amongſt vs, who had they had the gouernment as Captaine *Smith* appointed, but that they could not maintaine it, would ſurely haue kept vs from thoſe extremities of miſeries. This in ten daies more, would haue ſupplanted vs all with death.

The arriuall of Sir *Thomas Gates.*

But God that would not this Countrie ſhould be vnplanted, ſent Sir *Thomas Gates*, and Sir *George Sommers* with one hundred and fiftie people moſt happily preſerued by the *Bermudas* to preſerue vs: ſtrange it is to ſay how miraculouſly they were preſerued in a leaking ſhip, as at large you may reade in the inſuing Hiſtorie of thoſe Ilands.

The gouernment reſigned to Sir Thomas Gates, 1610.

1610. WHen theſe two Noble Knights did ſee our miſeries, being but ſtrangers in that Countrie, and could vnderſtand no more of the cauſe, but by coniecture of our clamours and complaints, of accuſing and excuſing one another: They embarked vs with themſelues, with the beſt meanes they could, and abandoning *Iames* towne, ſet ſaile for *England*, whereby you may ſee the euent of the gouernment of the former Commanders left to themſelues; although they had liued there many yeeres as formerly hath beene ſpoken (who hindred now their proceedings, Captaine *Smith* being gone.)

Iames towne abandoned.

At noone they fell to the Ile of *Hogs*, and the next morning to *Mulbery point*, at what time they deſcried the Long-boat of the Lord *la Ware*, for God would not haue it ſo abandoned. For this honourable Lord, then Gouernour of the Countrie, met them with three ſhips exceedingly well furniſhed with all neceſſaries fitting, who againe returned them to the abandoned *Iames* towne. *Out of the obſeruations of* William Simmons *Doctor of Diuinitie.*

The gouernment deuolued to the Lord la Ware.

The arriuall of the Lord *la Ware.*

HIs Lordſhip arriued the ninth of Iune 1610. accompanied with Sir *Ferdinando Wayman*, Captaine *Houlcroft*, Captaine *Lawſon*, and diuers other Gentlemen of ſort; the tenth he came vp with his fleet, went on ſhore, heard a Sermon, read his Commiſſion, and entred into conſultation for the good of the Colonie, in which ſecret counſell we will a little leaue them, that we may duly obſerue the reuealed counſell of God. Hee that ſhall but turne vp his eie, and behold the ſpangled canopie of heauen, or ſhall but caſt downe his eie, and conſider the embroydered carpet of the earth, and withall ſhall marke how the heauens heare the earth, and the earth the Corne and Oile, and they relieue the neceſſities of man, that man will acknowledge Gods infinite prouidence:

prouidence : But hee that ſhall further obſerue, how God inclineth all caſuall euents to worke the neceſſary helpe of his Saints, muſt needs adore the Lords infinite goodneſſe ; neuer had any people more iuſt cauſe, to eaſt themſelues at the very foot-ſtoole of God, and to reuerence his mercie, than this diſtreſſed Colonie; for if God had not ſent Sir *Thomas Gates* from the *Bermudas*, within foure daies they had almoſt beene famiſhed ; if God had not directed the heart of that noble Knight to ſaue the Fort from fiering at their ſhipping, for many were very importunate to haue burnt it, they had beene deſtitute of a preſent harbour and ſuccour ; if they had abandoned the Fort any longer time, and had not ſo ſoone returned, queſtionleſſe the Indians would haue deſtroied the Fort, which had beene the meanes of our ſafeties amongſt them and a terror. If they had ſet ſaile ſooner, and had lanched into the vaſt Ocean, who would haue promiſed they ſhould haue incountered the Fleet of the Lord *la Ware*, eſpecially when they made for *New found land*, as they intended, a courſe contrarie to our Nauie approaching. If the Lord *la Ware* had not brought with him a yeeres prouiſion, what comfort would thoſe poore ſoules haue receiued, to haue beene relanded to a ſecond diſtruction? This was the arme of the Lord of Hoſts, who would haue his people paſſe the red Sea and Wilderneſſe, and then to poſſeſſe the land of *Canaan* : It was diuinely ſpoken of Heathen *Socrates*, If God for man be carefull, why ſhould man bee ouer-diſtruſtfull ? for he hath ſo tempered the contrary qualities of the Elements,

That neither cold things want heat, nor moiſt things dry,
Nor ſad things ſpirits, to quicken them thereby,
Yet make they muſicall content of contrarietie,
Which conquer'd, knits them in ſuch links together,
They doe produce euen all this whatſoeuer.

The Lord Gouernour, after mature deliberation, deliuered ſome few words to the Companie, laying iuſt blame vpon them, for their haughtie vanities and ſluggiſh idleneſſe, earneſtly intreating them to amend thoſe deſperate follies, leſt hee ſhould be compelled to draw the ſword of Iuſtice, and to cut off ſuch delinquents, which he had rather draw, to the ſhedding of his vitall bloud, to protect them from iniuries ; heartning them with relation of that ſtore hee had brought with him, conſtituting officers of all conditions, to rule ouer them, allotting euery man his particular place, to watch vigilantly, and worke painfully : This Oration and direction being receiued with a generall applauſe, you might ſhortly behold the idle and reſtie diſeaſes of a diuided multitude, by the vnitie and authoritie of this gouernment to be ſubſtantially cured. Thoſe that knew not the way to goodneſſe before, but cheriſhed ſingularitie and faction, can now chalke out the path of all reſpectiue dutie and ſeruice : euery man endeuoureth to outſtrip other in diligence : the *French* preparing to plant the Vines, the *Engliſh* labouring in the Woods and grounds ; euery man knoweth his charge, and diſchargeth the ſame with alacritie. Neither let any man be diſcouraged, by the relation of their daily labour (as though the ſap of their bodies ſhould bee ſpent for other mens profit) the ſetled times of working, to effect all themſelues, or as the Aduenturers need deſire, required no more paines than from ſix of the clocke in the morning, vntill ten, and from two in the afternoone, till foure, at both which times they are prouided of ſpirituall and corporall reliefe. Firſt, they enter into the Church, and make their praiers vnto God, next they returne to their houſes and receiue their proportion of food. Nor ſhould it bee conceiued that this buſineſſe excludeth Gentlemen, whoſe breeding neuer knew what a daies labour meant, for though they cannot digge, vſe the Spade, nor practice the Axe, yet may the ſtaied ſpirits of any condition, finde how to imploy the force of their beſt breeding and qualities. The houſes which are built, are as warme and defenſiue againſt wind and

weather, as if they were tiled and slated, being couered aboue with strong boards, and some matted round with Indian mats. Our forces are now such as are able to tame the furie and trecherie of the Saluages: Our Forts assure the Inhabitants, and frustrate all assaylants. And to leaue no discouragement in the heart of any, who personally shall enter into this great action, I will communicate a double comfort; first, Sir *George Sommers*, that worthy Admirall hath vndertaken a dangerous aduenture for the good of the Colonie.

Sir *George Sommers* returne to the *Bermudas*.

Vpon the 15. of Iune, accompanied with Captaine *Samuel Argall*, hee returned in two Pinaces vnto the *Bermudas*, promising (if by any meanes God will open a way to that Iland of Rocks) that he would soone returne with six moneths prouision of flesh; with much crosse weather at last hee there safely arriued, but Captaine *Argall* was forced backe againe to *Iames* towne, whom the Lord *De la Ware* not long after sent to the Riuer of *Patawomeke*, to trade for Corne; where finding an *English* boy, one *Henry Spilman*, a young Gentleman well descended, by those people preserued from the furie of *Powhatan*, by his acquaintance had such good vsage of those kinde Saluages, that they fraughted his ship with Corne, wherewith he returned to *Iames* towne.

The building Fort *Henry* and Fort *Charles*.

The other comfort is, that the Lord *la Ware* hath built two new Forts, the one called Fort *Henry*, the other Fort *Charles*, in honour of our most noble Prince, and his hopefull brother, vpon a pleasant plaine, and neare a little Riuiler they call *Southampton* Riuer; they stand in a wholsome aire, hauing plentie of Springs of sweet water, they command a great circuit of ground, containing Wood, Pasture and Marsh, with apt places for Vines, Corne and Gardens; in which Forts it is resolued, that all those that come out of *England*, shall be at their first landing quartered, that the wearisomnesse of the Sea, may bee refreshed in this pleasing part of the Countrie, and Sir *Thomas Gates* hee sent for *England*. But to correct some iniuries of the *Paspahegs*, he sent Captaine *Pearcie*, Master *Stacy*, and fiftie or threescore shot, where the Saluages flying, they burnt their houses, tooke the Queene and her children prisoners, whom not long after they slew.

The fertilitie of the soile, the temperature of the climate, the forme of gouernment, the condition of our people, their daily inuocating of the Name of God being thus expressed; why should the successe, by the rules of mortall iudgement, bee disparaged? why should not the rich harueſt of our hopes be seasonably expected? I dare say, that the resolution of *Cæsar* in *France*, the designes of *Alexander*, the discoueries of *Hernando Cortes* in the West, and of *Emanuel* King of *Portugal* in the East, were not encouraged vpon so firme grounds of state and possibilitie.

But his Lordship being at the fales, the Saluages assaulted his troopes and slew three or foure of his men. Not long after, his Honour growing very sicke, he returned for *England* the 28. of March; in the ship were about fiue and fiftie men, but ere we arriued at *Fyall*, fortie of vs were neare sicke to death, of the Scuruie, Callenture, and other diseases: the Gouernour being an *English-man*, kindly vsed vs, but small reliefe we could get, but Oranges, of which we had plenty, whereby within eight daies wee recouered, and all were well and strong by that they came into *England*. *Written by* William Box.

The Counsell of *Virginia* finding the smalnesse of that returne which they hoped should haue defrayed the charge of a new supply, entred into a deep consultation, whether it were fit to enter into a new Contribution, or in time to send for them home, and giue ouer the action, and therefore they adiured Sir *Thomas Gates* to deale plainly with them, who with a solemne and a sacred oath replyed, That all things before reported were true, and that all men know that wee stand at the deuotion of politicke Princes and States, who for their proper vtilitie, deuise all courses to grind our Merchants, and by all pretences to confiscate their goods, and to draw from vs all manner of gaine by their inquisitiue inuentions, when in *Virginia*, a few yeeres labour by planting and husbandry, will furnish all

our

our defects with honour and ſecuritie. *Out of a Declaration publiſhed by the Counſell, 1610.*

The gouernment left againe to Captaine George Piercie, *and the returne of the Lord* la Ware, *with his Relation to the Councell.*

1611.

MY Lords, now by accident returned from my charge at *Virginia*, contrary either to my owne deſire, or other mens expectations, who ſpare not to cenſure me, in point of dutie, and to diſcourſe and queſtion the reaſon, though they apprehend not the true cauſe of my returne, I am forced out of a willingneſſe to ſatisfie euery man, to deliuer vnto your Lordſhips and the reſt of this aſſemblie, in what ſtate I haue liued euer ſince my arriuall to the Colonie, what hath beene the iuſt cauſe of my ſudden departure, and on what tearmes I haue left the ſame, the rather becauſe I perceiue, that ſince my comming into *England*, ſuch a coldneſſe and irreſolution is bred in many of the Aduenturers, that ſome of them ſeeke to withdraw their payments, by which the action muſt be ſupported, making this my returne colour of their needleſſe backwardneſſe and vniuſt protraction: which that you may the better vnderſtand, I was welcomed to *Iames* towne by a violent ague; being cured of it, within three weekes after I began to be diſtempered with other grieuous ſickneſſes which ſucceſſiuely and ſeuerally aſſailed me, for beſides a relapſe into the former diſeaſe, which with much more violence held me more than a moneth, and brought me to greater weakneſſe; the flux ſurpriſed mee, and kept me many daies, then the crampe aſſaulted my weake body with ſtrong paines, and after, the gout; all thoſe drew me to that weakneſſe, being vnable to ſtirre, brought vpon me the ſcuruie, which though in others it be a ſickneſſe of ſlothfulneſſe, yet was it in me an effect of weakneſſe, which neuer left me, till I was ready to leaue the world.

Sir *Thomas Smith* Treaſurer.

The Relation of the Lord *la Ware.*

In theſe extremities I reſolued to conſult with my friends, who finding nature ſpent in me, and my body almoſt conſumed, my paines likewiſe daily increaſing, gaue me aduice to preferre a hopefull recouerie, before an aſſured ruine, which muſt neceſſarily haue enſued, had I liued but twentie daies longer in *Virginia*, wanting at that inſtant both food and Phyſicke, fit to remedie ſuch extraordinary diſeaſes; wherefore I ſhipped my ſelfe with Doctor *Bohun* and Captaine *Argall*, for *Mevis* in the Weſt *Indies*, but being croſſed with Southerly winds, I was forced to ſhape my courſe for the Weſterne Iles, where I found helpe for my health, and my ſickneſſe aſſwaged, by the meanes of freſh dyet, eſpecially Oranges and Limons, and vndoubted remedie for that diſeaſe: then I intended to haue returned backe againe to *Virginia*, but I was aduiſed not to hazard my ſelfe, before I had perfectly recouered my ſtrength: ſo I came for *England*; in which accident, I doubt not but men of iudgement will imagine, there would more preiudice haue happened by my death there, than I hope can doe by my returne.

For the Colony I left it to the charge of Captaine *George Piercie*, a Gentleman of honour and reſolution, vntill the comming of Sir *Thomas Dale*, whoſe Commiſſion was likewiſe to bee determined vpon the arriuall of Sir *Thomas Gates*, according to the order your Lordſhips appointed: the number I left were about two hundred, the moſt in health, and prouided of at leaſt ten moneths victuall, and the Countrie people tractable and friendly. What other defects they had, I found by Sir *Thomas Gates* at the Cowes; his Fleet was ſufficiently furniſhed with ſupplies, but when it ſhall pleaſe God that Sir *Thomas Dale*, and Sir *Thomas Gates* ſhall arriue in *Virginia* with the extraordinarie ſupply of 100. Kine, and 200. Swine, beſides ſtore of other prouiſion, for the maintenance of the Colonie, there will appeare that ſucceſſe in the action, as ſhall giue no man cauſe of diſtruſt, that hath already aduentured, but incourage euery good minde to further ſo good a worke, as will redound both to the glory of God, to the credit of our nation,

100. Kine and 200. Swine ſent to *Virginia.*

nation, and the comfort of all thoſe that haue beene inſtruments in the furthering of it. *Out of the Lord* la Ware *diſcourſe, publiſhed by Authoritie,* 1611.

The gouernment ſurrendred to Sir Thomas Dale, *who arriued in* Virginia *the tenth of May,* 1611. *out of Maſter* Hamors *Booke.*

1611. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treaſurer. The arriuall of Sir *Thomas Dale.*

BEfore the Lord *la Ware* arriued in *England*, the Councell and Companie had diſpatched away Sir *Thomas Dale* with three ſhips, men and cattell, and all other prouiſions neceſſarie for a yeere; all which arriued well the tenth of May 1611. where he found them growing againe to their former eſtate of penurie, being ſo improuident as not to put Corne in the ground for their bread, but truſted to the ſtore, then furniſhed but with three moneths prouiſion; his firſt care therefore was to imploy all hands about ſetting of Corne, at the two Forts at *Kecoughtan*, *Henry* and *Charles*, whereby, the ſeaſon then not fully paſt, though about the end of May, wee had an indifferent crop of good Corne.

His preparation to build a new towne.

This buſineſſe taken order for, and the care and truſt of it committed to his vnder-Officers, to *Iames* towne he haſtened, where moſt of the companie were at their daily and vſuall works, bowling in the ſtreets; theſe hee imployed about neceſſarie workes, as felling of Timber, repayring their houſes ready to fall on their heads, and prouiding pales, poſts and railes, to impale his purpoſed new towne, which by reaſon of his ignorance, being but newly arriued, hee had not reſolued where to ſeat; therefore to better his knowledge, with one hundred men he ſpent ſome time in viewing the Riuer of *Nanſamund*, in deſpight of the *Indians* then our enemies; then our owne Riuer to the Fales, where vpon a high land, inuironed with the maine Riuer, ſome twelue miles from the Fales, by *Arſahattock*, he reſolued to plant his new towne.

It was no ſmall trouble to reduce his people ſo timely to good order, being of ſo ill a condition, as may well witneſſe his ſeueritie and ſtrict imprinted booke of Articles, then needfull with all extremitie to be executed; now much mitigated; ſo as if his Lawes had not beene ſo ſtrictly executed, I ſee not how the vtter ſubuerſion of the Colonie ſhould haue beene preuented, witneſſe *Webbes* and *Prices* deſigne the firſt yeere, ſince that of *Abbots*, and others, more dangerous than the former. Here I entreat your patience for an Apologie, though not a pardon. This *Ieffrey Abbots*, how euer this Author cenſures him, and the Gouernour executes him, I know he had long ſerued both in *Ireland* and *Netherlands*, here hee was a Sargeant of my Companie, and I neuer ſaw in *Virginia* a more ſufficient Souldier, leſſe turbulent, a better wit, more hardy or induſtrious, nor any more forward to cut off them that ſought to abandon the Countrie, or wrong the Colonie; how ingratefully thoſe deſerts might bee rewarded, enuied or neglected, or his farre inferiors preferred to ouer-top him, I know not, but ſuch occaſions might moue a Saint, much more a man, to an vnaduiſed paſſionate impatience, but how euer, it ſeemes he hath beene puniſhed for his offences, that was neuer rewarded for his deſerts. And euen this Summer *Cole* and *Kitchins* plot with three more, bending their courſe to *Ocanahowan*, fiue daies iourney from vs, where they report are *Spaniards* inhabiting. Theſe were cut off by the Saluages, hired by vs to hunt them home to receiue their deſerts: So as Sir *Thomas Dale* hath not beene ſo tyrannous nor ſeuere by the halfe, as there was occaſion, and iuſt cauſe for it, and though the manner was not vſuall, wee were rather to haue regard to thoſe, whom we would haue terrified and made fearefull to commit the like offences, than to the offenders iuſtly condemned, for amongſt them ſo hardned in euill, the feare of a cruell, painfull and vnuſuall death more reſtraines them, than death it ſelfe. Thus much I haue proceeded of his endeuours, vntill the comming of Sir *Thomas Gates*, in preparing himſelfe to proceed as he intended.

Diuers mutinie ſuppreſſed.

Now

Now in *England* againe to ſecond this noble Knight, the Counſell and Companie with all poſſible expedition prepared for Sir *Thomas Gates* ſix tall ſhips, with three hundred men, and one hundred Kine and other Cattell, with munition and all other manner of prouiſion that could be thought needfull; and about the firſt or ſecond of Auguſt, 1611. arriued ſafely at *Iames* towne.

The gouernment returned againe to Sir Thomas Gates, 1611.

THeſe worthy Knights being met, after their welcoming ſalutations, Sir *Thomas Dale* acquainted him what he had done, and what he intended, which deſigne Sir *Thomas Gates* well approuing, furniſhed him with three hundred and fiftie men, ſuch as himſelfe made choice of. In the beginning of September, 1611. hee ſet ſaile, and arriued where hee intended to build his new towne: within ten or twelue daies he had inuironed it with a pale, and in honour of our noble Prince *Henry*, called it *Henrico*. The next worke he did, was building at each corner of the Towne, a high commanding Watch-houſe, a Church, and Store-houſes; which finiſhed, hee began to thinke vpon conuenient houſes for himſelfe and men, which with all poſſible ſpeed hee could he effected, to the great content of his companie, and all the Colonie. The ſecond arriuall of Sir Thomas Gates.

This towne is ſituated vpon a necke of a plaine riſing land, three parts inuironed with the maine Riuer, the necke of land well impaled, makes it like an Ile; it hath three ſtreets of well framed houſes, a handſome Church, and the foundation of a better laid, to bee built of Bricke, beſides Store-houſes, Watch-houſes, and ſuch like: Vpon the verge of the Riuer there are fiue houſes, wherein liue the honeſter ſort of people, as Farmers in *England*, and they keepe continuall centinell for the townes ſecuritie. About two miles from the towne, into the Maine, is another pale, neere two miles in length, from Riuer to Riuer, guarded with ſeuerall Commanders, with a good quantitie of Corne-ground impailed, ſufficiently ſecured to maintaine more than I ſuppoſe will come this three yeeres. The building of *Henrico*.

On the other ſide of the Riuer, for the ſecuritie of the towne, is intended to be impaled for the ſecuritie of our Hogs, about two miles and a halfe, by the name of *Hope in Faith*, and *Coxendale*, ſecured by fiue of our manner of Forts, which are but Paliſadoes, called *Charitie* Fort, *Mount Malado*, a gueſt houſe for ſicke people, a high ſeat and wholſome aire, *Eliſabeth* Fort, and Fort *Patience*: And here hath Maſter *Whitaker* choſen his Parſonage, impaled a faire framed Parſonage, and one hundred acres called *Rocke hall*, but theſe are not halfe finiſhed.

About Chriſtmas following, in this ſame yeere 1611. in regard of the iniurie done vs by them of *Apamatuck*, Sir *Thomas Dale*, without the loſſe of any, except ſome few Saluages, tooke it and their Corne, being but fiue miles by land from *Henrico*, and conſidering how commodious it might be for vs, reſolued to poſſeſſe and plant it, and at the inſtant called it the new *Bermudas*, whereunto hee hath laid out and annexed to the belonging freedome and corporation for euer, many miles of Champian and Woodland ground in ſeuerall hundreds, as the vpper and nether hundreds, *Rochdale* hundred, Weſt *Sherly* hundred, and *Digs* his hundred. In the nether hundred he firſt began to plant, for there is the moſt Corne-ground, and with a pale of two miles, cut ouer from Riuer to Riuer, whereby we haue ſecured eight *Engliſh* miles in compaſſe; vpon which circuit, within halfe a mile of each other, are many faire houſes already built, beſides particular mens houſes neere to the number of fiftie. *Rochdale*, by a croſſe pale welnigh foure miles long, is alſo planted with houſes along the pale, in which hundred our Hogs and Cattell haue twentie miles circuit to graze in ſecurely. The building of the Citie is referred till our harueſt be in, which he intends to make a retreat againſt any forraigne enemie. The building the *Bermudas*.

About fiftie miles from theſe is *Iames* towne, vpon a fertill *peninſula*, which although

thought ſometimes ſcandaled for an vnhealthfull aire, wee finde it as healthfull as any other part of the Countrie; it hath two rowes of houſes of framed timber, and ſome of them two ſtories, and a garret higher, three large Store-houſes ioined together in length, and hee hath newly ſtrongly impaled the towne. This Ile, and much ground about it, is much inhabited: To *Kecoughtan* we accounted it fortie miles, where they liue well with halfe that allowance the reſt haue from the ſtore, becauſe of the extraordinarie quantitie of Fiſh, Fowle and Deere; as you may reade at large in the Diſcoueries of Captaine *Smith*. And thus I haue truly related vnto you the preſent eſtate of that ſmall part of *Virginia* wee frequent and poſſeſſe.

1612. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treaſurer. Captaine *Argals* arriuall.

Since there was a ſhip fraughted with prouiſion, and fortie men; and another ſince then with the like number and prouiſion, to ſtay twelue moneths in the Countrie, with Captaine *Argall*, which was ſent not long after. After hee had recreated and refreſhed his Companie, hee was ſent to the Riuer *Patawomeke*, to trade for Corne, the Saluages about vs hauing ſmall quarter, but friends and foes as they found aduantage and opportunitie: But to conclude our peace, thus it happened. Captaine *Argall*, hauing entred into a great acquaintance with *Iapazaws*, an old friend of Captaine *Smiths*, and ſo to all our Nation, euer ſince hee diſcouered the Countrie: hard by him there was *Pocahontas*, whom Captaine *Smiths* Relations intituleth the Numparell of *Virginia*, and though ſhe had beene many times a preſeruer of him and the whole Colonie, yet till this accident ſhee was neuer ſeene at *Iames* towne ſince his departure, being at *Patawomeke*, as it ſeemes, thinking her ſelfe vnknowne, was eaſily by her friend *Iapazaws* perſwaded to goe abroad with him and his wife to ſee the ſhip, for Captaine *Argall* had

How *Pocahontas* was taken priſoner.

promiſed him a Copper Kettle to bring her but to him, promiſing no way to hurt her, but keepe her till they could conclude a peace with her father; the Saluage for this Copper Kettle would haue done any thing, it ſeemed by the Relation; for though ſhe had ſeene and beene in many ſhips, yet hee cauſed his wife to faine how deſirous ſhe was to ſee one, and that hee offered to beat her for her importunitie, till ſhe wept. But at laſt he told her, if *Pocahontas* would goe with her, hee was content: and thus they betraied the poore innocent *Pocahontas* aboord, where they were all kindly feaſted in the Cabbin. *Iapazaws* treading oft on the Captaines foot, to remember he had done his part, the Captaine when he ſaw his time, perſwaded *Pocahontas* to the Gun-roome, faining to haue ſome conference with *Iapazaws*, which was onely that ſhe ſhould not perceiue hee was any way guiltie of her captiuitie: ſo ſending for her againe, hee told her before her friends, ſhe muſt goe with him, and compound peace betwixt her Countrie and vs, before ſhe euer ſhould ſee *Powhatan*, whereat the old Iew and his wife began to howle and crie as faſt as *Pocahontas*, that vpon the Captaines faire perſwaſions, by degrees pacifying her ſelfe, and *Iapazaws* and his wife, with the Kettle and other toies, went merrily on ſhore, and ſhee to *Iames* towne. A meſſenger forthwith was ſent to her father, that his daughter *Pocahontas* he loued ſo dearely, he muſt ranſome with our men, ſwords, peeces, tooles, &c. hee trecherouſly had ſtolne.

This vnwelcome newes much troubled *Powhatan*, becauſe hee loued both his daughter and our commodities well, yet it was three moneths after ere hee returned vs any anſwer: then by the perſwaſion of the Councell, he returned ſeuen of our men, with each of them an vnſeruiceable Musker, and ſent vs word, that

Seuen *Engliſh* returned from *Powhatan* priſoners.

when wee would deliuer his daughter, hee would make vs ſatisfaction for all iniuries done vs, and giue vs fiue hundred buſhels of Corne, and for euer be friends with vs. That he ſent, we receiued in part of payment, and returned him this anſwer: That his daughter ſhould be well vſed, but we could not beleeue the reſt of our armes were either loſt or ſtolne from him, and therefore till hee ſent them, we would keepe his daughter.

This anſwer, it ſeemed much diſpleaſed him, for we heard no more from him a long

long time after, when with Captaine *Argals* ſhip, and ſome other veſſels belonging to the Colonie, Sir *Thomas Dale*, with a hundred and fiftie men well appointed, went vp into his owne Riuer, to his chiefe habitation, with his daughter; with many ſcornfull brauado's they affronted vs, proudly demanding why wee came thither; our reply was, Wee had brought his daughter, and to receiue the ranſome for her that was promiſed, or to haue it perforce. They nothing diſmayed therat, told vs, We were welcome if wee came to fight, for they were prouided for vs, but aduiſed vs, if wee loued our liues to retire; elſe they would vſe vs as they had done Captaine *Ratcliffe*: We told them, wee would preſently haue a better anſwer; but we were no ſooner within ſhot of the ſhore than they let flie their Arrowes among vs in the ſhip.

Sir *Thomas Dale* his voyage to *Panauuke*.

Being thus iuſtly prouoked, wee preſently manned our Boats, went on ſhore, burned all their houſes, and ſpoiled all they had we could finde; and ſo the next day proceeded higher vp the Riuer, where they demanded why wee burnt their houſes, and wee, why they ſhot at vs: They replyed, it was ſome ſtragling Saluage, with many other excuſes, they intended no hurt, but were our friends: We told them, wee came not to hurt them, but viſit them as friends alſo. Vpon this we concluded a peace, and forthwith they diſpatched meſſengers to *Powhatan*, whoſe anſwer, they told vs, wee muſt expect foure and twentie houres ere the meſſengers could returne: Then they told vs, our men were runne away for feare we would hang them, yet *Powhatans* men were runne after them; as for our Swords and Peeces, they ſhould be brought vs the next day, which was only but to delay time; for the next day they came not. Then we went higher, to a houſe of *Powhatans*, called *Matchot*, where we ſaw about foure hundred men well appointed; here they dared vs to come on ſhore, which wee did; no ſhew of feare they made at all, nor offered to reſiſt our landing, but walking boldly vp and downe amongſt vs, demanded to conferre with our Captaine, of his comming in that manner, and to haue truce till they could but once more ſend to their King to know his pleaſure, which if it were not agreeable to their expectation, then they would fight with vs, and defend their owne as they could, which was but onely to deferre the time, to carrie away their prouiſion; yet wee promiſed them truce till the next day at noone, and then if they would fight with vs, they ſhould know when we would begin by our Drums and Trumpets.

A man ſhot in the forehead.

Vpon this promiſe, two of *Powhatans* ſonnes came vnto vs to ſee their ſiſter, at whoſe ſight, ſeeing her well, though they heard to the contrarie, they much reioiced, promiſing they would perſwade her father to redeeme her, and for euer be friends with vs. And vpon this, the two brethren went aboord with vs, and we ſent Maſter *Iohn Rolfe* and Maſter *Sparkes* to *Powhatan*, to acquaint him with the buſineſſe; kindly they were entertained, but not admitted the preſence of *Powhatan*, but they ſpoke with *Opechancanough*, his brother and ſucceſſor; hee promiſed to doe the beſt he could to *Powhatan*, all might be well. So it being Aprill, and time to prepare our ground and ſet our Corne, we returned to *Iames* Towne, promiſing the forbearance of their performing their promiſe, till the next harueſt.

Two of *Powhatans* ſonnes come to ſee *Pocahontas*.

Long before this, Maſter *Iohn Rolfe*, an honeſt Gentleman, and of good behauiour, had beene in loue with *Pocahontas*, and ſhe with him, which thing at that inſtant I made knowne to Sir *Thomas Dale* by a letter from him, wherein hee intreated his aduice, and ſhe acquainted her brother with it, which reſolution Sir *Thomas Dale* well approued: the brute of this mariage came ſoone to the knowledge of *Powhatan*, a thing acceptable to him, as appeared by his ſudden conſent, for within ten daies he ſent *Opachiſco*, an old Vncle of hers, and two of his ſons, to ſee the manner of the mariage, and to doe in that behalfe what they were requeſted, for the confirmation thereof, as his deputie; which was accordingly done about the firſt of Aprill: And euer ſince wee haue had friendly trade and commerce, as well with *Powhatan* himſelfe, as all his ſubiects.

The mariage of *Pocahontas* to Maſter *Iohn Rolfe*.

1613.

Sir *Thomas Smith* Treaſurer.

The *Chickahamanias* deſire friendſhip.

Beſides this, by the meanes of *Powhatan*, we became in league with our next neighbours, the *Chickahamanias*, a luſtie and a daring people, free of themſelues. Theſe people, ſo ſoone as they heard of our peace with *Powhatan*, ſent two meſſengers with preſents to Sir *Thomas Dale*, and offered him their ſeruice, excuſing all former iniuries, hereafter they would euer be King *Iames* his ſubiects, and relinquiſh the name of *Chickahamania*, to be called *Taſſantaſſus*, as they call vs, and Sir *Thomas Dale* there Gouernour, as the Kings Deputie; onely they deſired to be gouerned by their owne Lawes, which is eight of their Elders as his ſubſtitutes. This offer he kindly accepted, and appointed the day hee would come to viſit them.

When the appointed day came, Sir *Thomas Dale* and Captaine *Argall* with fiftie men well appointed, went to *Chickahamania*, where wee found the people expecting our comming, they vſed vs kindly, and the next morning ſate in counſell, to conclude their peace vpon theſe conditions:

Articles of Peace

Firſt, they ſhould for euer bee called Engliſhmen, *and bee true ſubiects to King* Iames *and his Deputies.*

Secondly, neither to kill nor detaine any of our men, nor cattell, but bring them home.

Thirdly, to bee alwaies ready to furniſh vs with three hundred men, againſt the Spaniards or any.

Fourthly, they ſhall not enter our townes, but ſend word they are new Engliſhmen.

Fifthly, that euery fighting man, at the beginning of harueſt, ſhall bring to our ſtore two buſhels of Corne, for tribute, for which they ſhall receiue ſo many Hatchets.

Laſtly, the eight chiefe men ſhould ſee all this performed, or receiue the puniſhment themſelues: for their diligence they ſhould haue a red coat, a copper chaine, and King Iames *his picture, and be accounted his Noblemen.*

All this they concluded with a generall aſſent, and a great ſhout to confirme it: then one of the old men began an Oration, bending his ſpeech firſt to the old men, then to the young, and then to the women and children, to make them vnderſtand how ſtrictly they were to obſerue theſe conditions, and we would defend them from the furie of *Powhatan*, or any enemie whatſoeuer, and furniſh them with Copper, Beads, and Hatchets; but all this was rather for feare *Powhatan* and we, being ſo linked together, would bring them againe to his ſubiection; the which to preuent, they did rather chuſe to be protected by vs, than tormented by him, whom they held a Tyrant. And thus wee returned againe to *Iames* towne.

The benefit of libertie in the planters.

When our people were fed out of the common ſtore, and laboured iointly together, glad was he could ſlip from his labour, or ſlumber ouer his taske he cared not how, nay, the moſt honeſt among them would hardly take ſo much true paines in a weeke, as now for themſelues they will doe in a day, neither cared they for the increaſe, preſuming that howſoeuer the harueſt proſpered, the generall ſtore muſt maintaine them, ſo that wee reaped not ſo much Corne from the labours of thirtie, as now three or foure doe prouide for themſelues. To preuent which, Sir *Thomas Dale* hath allotted euery man three Acres of cleare ground, in the nature of Farmes, except the *Bermudas*, who are exempted, but for one moneths ſeruice in the yeere, which muſt neither bee in ſeed-time, nor harueſt; for which doing, no other dutie they pay yeerely to the ſtore, but two barrels and a halfe of Corne (from all thoſe Farmers, whereof the firſt was *William Spence*, an honeſt, valiant, and an induſtrious man, and hath continued from 1607 to this preſent) from thoſe is expected ſuch a contribution to the ſtore, as wee ſhall neither want for our ſelues, nor to entertaine our ſupplies; for the reſt, they are to worke eleuen moneths for the ſtore, and hath one moneth onely allowed them to get prouiſion to keepe them for twelue, except two buſhels of Corne they haue out of the ſtore; if thoſe can liue ſo, why ſhould any feare ſtaruing, and it were much better to denie them paſſage, that would not ere they come, bee content to ingage themſelues to thoſe conditions: for onely from the ſlothfull and idle

William Spence the firſt Farmer in *Virginia.*

drones,

drones, and none else, hath sprung the manifold imputations, *Virginia* innocently hath vndergone; and therefore I would deter such from comming here, that cannot well brooke labour, except they will vndergoe much punishment and penurie, if they escape the skuruie: but for the industrious, there is reward sufficient, and if any thinke there is nothing but bread, I referre you to his relations that discouered the Countrie first.

The gouernment left to Sir Thomas Dale *vpon Sir* Thomas Gates *returne for* England.

SIr *Thomas Dale* vnderstanding there was a plantation of *Frenchmen* in the north part of *Virginia*, about the degrees of 45. sent Captaine *Argall* to Port *Royall* and *Santta Crux*, where finding the *Frenchmen* abroad dispersed in the Woods, surprized their Ship and Pinnace, which was but newly comde from *France*, wherein was much good apparel, and other prouision, which he brought to *Iames* towne, but the men escaped, and liued among the Sauages of those Countries. Captaine *Argall* voyage to Port *Royall*.

It pleased Sir *Thomas Dale*, before my returne to *England*, because I would be able to speake somewhat of my owne knowledge, to giue mee leaue to visit *Powhatan* and his Court: being prouided, I had *Thomas Saluage* with mee, for my Interpreter, with him and two Saluages for guides, I went from the *Bermuda* in the morning, and came to *Matchot* the next night, where the King lay vpon the Riuer of *Pamavuke*; his entertainment was strange to me, the boy he knew well, and told him; My child, I gaue you leaue, being my boy, to goe see your friends, and these foure yeeres I haue not seene you, nor heard of my owne man *Namontack* I sent to *England*, though many ships since haue beene returned thence: Hauing done with him, hee began with mee, and demanded for the chaine of pearle he sent his brother Sir *Thomas Dale* at his first arriuall, which was a token betwixt them, when euer hee should send a messenger from himselfe to him, he should weare that chaine about his necke, since the peace was concluded, otherwaies he was to binde him and send him home. 1614. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

It is true Sir *Thomas Dale* had sent him such word, and gaue his Page order to gioe it me, but he forgot it, and till this present I neuer heard of it, yet I replyed I did know there was such an order, but that was when vpon a sudden he should haue occasion to send an *Englishman* without an *Indian* Guide; but if his owne people should conduct his messenger, as two of his did me who knew my message, it was sufficient; with which answer he was contented, and so conducted vs to his house, where was a guard of two hundred Bow-men, that alwaies attend his person. The first thing he did, he offered me a pipe of Tobacco, then asked mee how his brother Sir *Thomas Dale* did, and his daughter, and vnknowne sonne, and how they liued, loued and liked; I told him his brother was well, and his daughter so contented, she would not liue againe with him; whereat he laughed, and demanded the cause of my comming: I told him my message was priuate, and I was to deliuer it onely to himselfe and *Papaschicher*, one of my guides that was acquainted with it; instantly he commanded all out of the house, but onely his two Queenes, that alwaies sit by him, and bade me speake on. Master *Hamars* iourney to *Powhatan*.

I told him, by my Interpreter, Sir *Thomas Dale* hath sent you two pieces of Copper, fiue strings of white and blue Beads, fiue woodden Combes, ten Fish-hookes, a paire of Kniues, and that when you would send for it, hee would giue you a Grind-stone; all this pleased him: but then I told him his brother *Dale*, hearing of the fame of his youngest daughter, desiring in any case he would send her by me vnto him, in testimonie of his loue, as well for that he intended to marry her, as the desire her sister had to see her, because being now one people, and hee desirous for euer to dwell in his Countrie, he conceiued there could not be a truer assurance of peace and friendship, than in such a naturall band of an vnited vnion. His message to *Powhatan*.

I needed not entreat his anſwer by his oft interrupting mee in my ſpeech, and preſently with much grauitie he thus replyed.

Powhatans anſwer. I gladly accept your ſalute of loue and peace, which while I liue, I ſhall exactly keepe, his pledges thereof I receiue with no leſſe thanks, although they are not ſo ample as formerly he had receiued; but for my daughter, I haue ſold herwithin this few daies to a great Werowance, for two buſhels of Rawrenoke, three daies iournie from me. I replyed, I knew his greatneſſe in reſtoring the Rawrenoke, might call her againe to gratifie his brother, and the rather, becauſe ſhe was but twelue yeeres old, aſſuring him, beſides the band of peace, hee ſhould haue for her, three times the worth of the Rawrenoke, in Beads, Copper, Hatchets, &c. His anſwer was, he loued his daughter as his life, and though hee had many children, hee delighted in none ſo much as ſhee, whom if he ſhould not often behold, he could not poſſibly liue, which ſhe liuing with vs he could not do, hauing reſolued vpon no termes to put himſelfe into our hands, or come amongſt vs; therefore deſired me to vrge him no further, but returne his brother this anſwer: That I deſire no former aſſurance of his friendſhip, than the promiſe hee hath made, from me he hath a pledge, one of my daughters, which ſo long as ſhe liues ſhall be ſufficient, when ſhe dies, he ſhall haue another: I hold it not a brotherly part to deſire to bereaue me of my two children at once. Farther, tell him though he had no pledge at all, hee need not diſtruſt any iniurie from me or my people; there haue beene too many of his men and mine ſlaine, and by my occaſion there ſhall neuer be more, (I which haue power to performe it, haue ſaid it) although I ſhould haue iuſt cauſe, for I am now old, & would gladly end my daies in peace; if you offer me iniurie, my countrie is large enough to goe from you: Thus much I hope will ſatisfie my brother. Now becauſe you are wearie, and I ſleepie, wee will thus end. So commanding vs victuall and lodging, we reſted that night, and the next morning he came to viſit vs, and kindly conducted vs to the beſt cheere hee had. *William Parker.*

William Parker recouered. While I here remained, by chance came an *Engliſhman*, whom there had beene ſurprized three yeeres agoe at Fort *Henry*, growne ſo like, both in complexion and habit like a Saluage, I knew him not, but by his tongue: hee deſired mee to procure his libertie, which I intended, and ſo farre vrged *Powhatan*, that he grew diſcontented, and told mee, You haue one of my daughters, and I am content, but you cannot ſee one of your men with mee, but you muſt haue him away, or breake friendſhip; if you muſt needs haue him, you ſhall goe home without guides, and if any euill befall you, thanke your ſelues: I told him I would, but if I returned not well, hee muſt expect a reuenge, and his brother might haue iuſt cauſe to ſuſpect him. So in paſſion he left me till ſupper, and then gaue me ſuch as hee had with a cheerefull countenance: About midnight hee awaked vs, and promiſed in the morning my returne with *Parker*; but I muſt remember his brother to ſend him ten great pieces of Copper, a Shauing-knife, a Frowe, a Grindſtone, a Net, Fiſh-hookes, and ſuch toies; which leſt I ſhould forget, he cauſed me write in a table-booke he had; how euer he got it, it was a faire one, I deſired hee would giue it me; he told me, no, it did him much good in ſhewing to ſtrangers, yet in the morning when we departed, hauing furniſhed vs well with prouiſion, he gaue each of vs a Bucks skin as well dreſſed as could be, and ſent two more to his ſonne and daughter: And ſo we returned to *Iames* towne. *Written by Maſter* Ralph Hamor *and* Iohn Rolph.

From a letter of Sir *Thomas Dale* and Maſter *Whitakers.* I haue read the ſubſtance of this relation, in a Letter written by Sir *Thomas Dale*, another by Maſter *Whitaker*, and a third by Maſter *Iohn Rolfe*; how carefull they were to inſtruct her in Chriſtianity, and how capable and deſirous ſhee was thereof, after ſhe had beene ſome time thus tutored, ſhee neuer had deſire to goe to her father, nor could well endure the ſociety of her owne nation: the true affection ſhe conſtantly bare her husband was much, and the ſtrange apparitions and violent paſſions he endured for her loue, as he deeply proteſted, was wonderfull,

ful, and ſhe openly renounced her countries idolatry, confeſſed the faith of Chriſt, and was baptized, but either the coldneſſe of the aduenturers, or the bad vſage of that was collected, or both, cauſed this worthy Knight to write thus. Oh why ſhould ſo many Princes and Noblemen ingage themſelues, and thereby intermedling herein, haue cauſed a number of ſoules tranſport themſelues, and be tranſported hither? Why ſhould they, I ſay, relinquiſh this ſo glorious an action: for if their ends be to build God a Church, they ought to perſeuere; if otherwiſe, yet their honour ingageth them to be conſtant; howſoeuer they ſtand affected, here is enough to content them. Theſe are the things haue animated me to ſtay a little ſeaſon from them, I am bound in conſcience to returne vnto; leauing all contenting pleaſures and mundall delights, to reſide here with much turmoile, which I will rather doe than ſee Gods glory diminiſhed, my King and Country diſhonoured, and theſe poore ſoules I haue in charge reuiued, which would quickly happen if I ſhould leaue them; ſo few I haue with me fit to command or manage the buſineſſe: Maſter *Whitaker* their Preacher complaineth, and much muſeth, that ſo few of our Engliſh Miniſters, that were ſo hot againſt the ſurplice and ſubſcription come hether, where neither is ſpoken of. Doe they not wilfully hide their talents, or keepe themſelues at home, for feare of loſing a few pleaſures; be there not any among them of *Moſes* his minde, and of the Apoſtles, that forſooke all to follow Chriſt, but I refer them to the Iudge of all hearts, and to the King that ſhall reward euery one according to his talent. *From Virginia, Iune* 18. 1614.

The buſineſſe being brought to this perfection, Captaine *Argall* returned for *England*, in the latter end of *Iune*, 1614. ariuing in *England*, and bringing this good tidings to the Councell and company by the aſſiſtances of Sir *Thomas Gates*, that alſo had returned from *Virginia* but the March before; it was preſently concluded, that to ſupply this good ſucceſſe with all expedition, the ſtanding Lottery ſhould be drawne with all diligent conueniency, and that poſterity may remember vpon occaſion to vſe the like according to the declaration, I thinke it not amiſſe to remember thus much.

The Contents of the declaration of the Lottery publiſhed by the Counſell.

1615. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treaſurer.

IT is apparent to the world, by how many former Proclamations, we manifeſted our intents, to haue drawn out the great ſtanding Lottery long before this, which not falling out as we deſired, and others expected, whoſe monies are aduentured therein, we thought good therefore for the auoiding all vniuſt and ſiniſter conſtructions, to reſolue the doubts of all indifferent minded, in three ſpeciall points for their better ſatisfaction.

But ere I goe any farther, let vs remember there was a running Lottery, vſed a long time in Saint *Pauls* Church-yard, where this ſtood, that brought into the Treaſury good ſummes of mony dayly, though the Lot was but ſmall.

Now for the points, the firſt is, for as much as the Aduenturers came in ſo ſlackly for the yeere paſt, without preiudice to the generality, in loſing the blankes and priſes, we were forced to petition to the honourable Lords, who out of their noble care to further this Plantation, haue recommended their Leſſenters to the Countries, Cities, and good townes in *England*, which we hope by ding in their voluntary Aduenturers, will ſufficiently ſupply vs.

The ſecond for ſatisfaction to all honeſt well affected minds, is, that though this expectation anſwer not our hopes, yet wee haue not failed in our Chriſtian care, the good of that Colony, to whom we haue lately ſent two ſundry ſupplies, and were they but now ſupplied with more hands, wee ſhould ſoone reſolue the diuiſion of the Country by Lot, and ſo leſſen the generall charge.

The third is our conſtant reſolution, that ſeeing our credits are ſo farre ingaged

to

to the honourable Lords and the whole State, for the drawing this great Lottery, which we intend ſhall be without delay, the 26. of Iune next, deſiring all ſuch as haue vndertaken with bookes to ſolicit their friends, that they will not withold their monies till the laſt moneth be expired, leſt we bee vnwillingly forced to proportion a leſſe value and number of our Blankes and Priſes which hereafter followeth.

Welcomes.

	Crownes.
TO him that firſt ſhall be drawne out with a blanke,	100
To the ſecond,	50
To the third,	25
To him that euery day during the drawing of this Lottery, ſhall bee firſt drawne out with a blanke,	10

Prizes.

	Crownes.
1 Great Prize of	4500
2 Great Prizes, each of	2000
4 Great Prizes, each of	1000
6 Great Prizes, each of	500
10 Prizes, each of	300
20 Prizes, each of	200
100 Prizes, each of	100
200 Prizes, each of	50
400 Prizes, each of	20
1000 Prizes, each of	10
1000 Prizes, each of	8
1000 Prizes, each of	6
4000 Prizes, each of	4
1000 Prizes, each of	3
1000 Prizes, each of	2

Rewards.

	Crownes
TO him that ſhall be laſt drawne out with a blanke,	25
To him that putteth in the greateſt Lot, vnder one name,	400
To him that putteth in the ſecond greateſt number,	300
To him that putteth in the third greateſt number,	200
To him that putteth in the fourth greateſt number,	100

If diuers be of equall number, their rewards are to be diuided proportionally.

Addition of new Rewards.

	Crownes.
THe blanke that ſhall bee drawne out next before the great Prize ſhall haue	25
The blanke that ſhall be drawne out next after the ſaid great Prize	25
The blancks that ſhall be drawne out immediatly before the two next great Prizes, ſhall haue each of them	20
The ſeuerall blankes next after them, each ſhall haue	20
The ſeuerall blankes next before the foure great Prizes, each ſhall haue	15
The ſeuerall blankes next after them, each ſhall haue	15
The ſeuerall blankes next before the ſix great Prizes, each ſhall haue.	10
The ſeuerall blankes next after them, each ſhall haue,	10

The

The prizes, welcomes, and rewards, ſhall be payed in ready Mony, Plate, or other goods reaſonably rated; if any diſlike of the plate or goods, he ſhall haue mony, abating only the tenth part, except in ſmall prizes of ten Crownes or vnder.

The mony for the Aduenturers is to be paied to Sir *Thomas Smith*, Knight, and Treaſurer for *Virginia*, or ſuch Officers as he ſhall appoint in City or Country, vnder the common ſeale of the company for the receit thereof.

All prizes, welcomes and rewards drawne where euer they dwell, ſhall of the Treaſurer haue preſent pay, and whoſoeuer vnder one name or poeſie payeth three pound in ready money, ſhall receiue ſix ſhillings and eight pence, or a ſiluer ſpoone of that value at his choice.

About this time it chanced a Spaniſh ſhip, beat too and againe before point *Comfort*, and at laſt ſent a ſhore their boat, as deſirous of a Pilot. Captaine *Iames Dauis* the gouernor, immediatly gaue them one, but he was no ſooner in the boat, but away they went with him, leauing three of their companions behind them; this ſudden accident occaſioned ſome diſtruſt, and a ſtrict examination of thoſe three thus left, yet with as good vſage as our eſtate could afford them. They only confeſſed hauing loſt their Admirall, accident had forced them into thoſe parts, and two of them were Captaines, and in chiefe authority in the fleet: thus they liued till one of them was found to be an Engliſhman, and had been the Spaniards Pilot for *England* in 88. and hauing here induced ſome male-contents, to beleeue his proiects, to run away with a ſmall barke, which was apprehended, ſome executed, and he expecting but the Hangmans curteſie, directly confeſſed that two or three Spaniſh ſhips was at Sea, purpoſely to diſcouer the eſtate of the Colony, but their Commiſſion was not to be opened till they arriued in the Bay, ſo that of any thing more he was vtterly ignorant. One of the Spaniards at laſt dyed, the other was ſent for *England*, but this reprieued, till Sir *Thomas Dale* hanged him at Sea in his voyage homeward; the Engliſh Pilot they carried for Spaine, whom after a long time impriſonment, with much ſute was returned for *England*. A Spaniſh Ship in *Virginia*.

Whilſt thoſe things were effecting, Sir *Thomas Dale*, hauing ſetled to his thinking all things in good order, made choice of one Maſter *George Yearly*, to be Deputy-Gouernour in his abſence, and ſo returned for *England*, accompanied with *Pocahontas* the Kings Daughter, and Maſter *Rolfe* her husband, and arriued at *Plimmoth* the 12. of *Iune*, 1616. 1616. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treaſurer.

The gouernment left to Captaine Yearly.

NOw a little to commentary vpon all theſe proceedings, let me leaue but this as a caueat by the way; if the alteration of gouernment hath ſubuerted great Empires, how dangerous is it then in the infancy of a commonweale? The multiplicity of Gouernors is a great damage to any State, but vncertaine daily changes are burdenſome, becauſe their entertainments are chargeable, and many will make hay whilſt the ſunne doth ſhine, how euer it ſhall fare with the generality. A digreſſion.

This deare bought Land with ſo much bloud and coſt, hath onely made ſome few rich, and all the reſt loſers. But it was intended at the firſt, the firſt vndertakers ſhould be firſt preferred and rewarded, and the firſt aduenturers ſatisfied, and they of all the reſt are the moſt neglected; and thoſe that neuer aduentured a groat, neuer ſee the Country, nor euer did any ſeruice for it, imploied in their places, adorned with their deſerts, and inriched with their ruines; and when they are fed fat, then in commeth others ſo leane as they were, who through their omnipotency doe as much. Thus what one Officer doth, another vndoth, only ayming at their owne ends, thinking all the world derides his dignity, cannot fill his Coffers being in authority with any thing. Euery man hath his minde free, but he can neuer be a true member to that eſtate, that to enrich himſelfe beg-

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gers all the Countrie. Which bad course, there are many yet in this noble plantation, whose true honour and worth as much scornes it, as the others loues it; for the Nobilitie and Gentrie, there is scarce any of them expects any thing but the prosperitie of the action: and there are some Merchants and others, I am confidently perswaded, doe take more care and paines, nay, and at their continuall great charge, than they could be hired to for the loue of money, so honestly regarding the generall good of this great worke, they would hold it worse than sacrilege, to wrong it but a shilling, or extort vpon the common souldier a penny. But to the purpose, and to follow the Historie.

The gouernment of Captaine *Yearley.*

Mr. *George Yearly* now inuested Deputie Gouernour by Sr. *Thomas Dale*, applied himselfe for the most part in planting Tobacco, as the most present commoditie they could deuise for a present gaine, so that euery man betooke himselfe to the best place he could for the purpose: now though Sir *Thomas Dale* had caused such an abundance of corne to be planted, that euery man had sufficient, yet the supplies were sent vs, came so vnfurnished, as quickly eased vs of our superfluitie. To relieue their necessities, he sent to the *Chickahamanias* for the tribute Corne Sir *Thomas Dale* and Captaine *Argall* had conditioned for with them: But such a bad answer they returned him, that hee drew together one hundred of his best shot, with whom he went to *Chickahamania*; the people in some places vsed him indifferently, but in most places with much scorne and contempt, telling him he was but Sir *Thomas Dales* man, and they had payed his Master according to condition, but to giue any to him they had no such order, neither would they obey him as they had done his Master; after he had told them his authoritie, and that he had the same power to enforce them that *Dale* had, they dared him to come on shore to fight, presuming more of his not daring, than their owne valours. *Yearly* seeing their insolencies, made no great difficultie to goe on shore at *Ozinies*, and they as little to incounter him: but marching from thence towards *Mamanahunt*, they put themselues in the same order they see vs, lead by their Captaine *Kissanacomen*, Gouernour of *Ozinies*, & so marched close along by vs, each as threatning other who should first begin. But that night we quartered against *Mamanahunt*, and they passed the Riuer. The next day we followed them; there are few places in *Virginia* had then more plaine ground together, nor more plentie of Corne, which although it was but newly gathered, yet they had hid it in the woods where we could not finde it: a good time we spent thus in arguing the cause, the Saluages without feare standing in troupes amongst vs, seeming as if their countenances had beene sufficient to dant vs: what other practises they had I know not; but to preuent the worst, our Captaine caused vs all to make ready, and vpon the word, to let flie among them, where he appointed: others also he commanded to seize on them they could for prisoners; all which being done according to our direction, the Captaine gaue the word, and wee presently discharged, where twelue lay, some dead, the rest for life sprawling on the ground, twelue more we tooke prisoners, two whereof were brothers, two of their eight Elders, the one tooke by Sergeant *Boothe*, the other by *Robert* a *Polonian*; Neere one hundred bushels of Corne we had for their ransomes, which was promised the Souldiers for a reward, but it was not performed: now *Opechankanough* had agreed with our Captaine for the subiecting of those people, that neither hee nor *Powhatan* could euer bring to their obedience, and that he should make no peace with them without his aduice: in our returne by *Ozinies* with our prisoners wee met *Opechankanough*, who with much adoe, fained with what paines hee had procured their peace, the which to requite, they called him the King of *Ozinies*, and brought him from all parts many presents of Beads, Copper, and such trash as they had; here as at many other times wee were beholding to Captaine *Henry Spilman* our Interpreter, a Gentleman had liued long time in this Countrie, and sometimes a prisoner among the Saluages, and done much good seruice, though but badly rewarded. From hence we marcht towards *Iames* towne, we had three

Twelue Saluages slaine, twelue prisoners taken, and peace concluded.

Boats

Boats loaded with Corne and other luggage, the one of them being more willing to be at *Iames* towne with the newes than the other, was ouerſet, and eleuen men caſt away with the Boat, Corne and all their prouiſion: notwithſtanding this put all the reſt of the Saluages in that feare, eſpecially in regard of the great league we had with *Opechankanough*, that we followed our labours quietly, and in ſuch ſecuritie, that diuers ſaluages of other Nations, daily frequented vs with what prouiſions they could get, and would guide our men on hunting, and oft hunt for vs themſelues. Captaine *Tearly* had a Saluage or two ſo well trained vp to their peeces, they were as expert as any of the *Engliſh*, and one hee kept purpoſely to kill him fowle. There were diuers others had Saluages in like manner for their men. Thus we liued together, as if wee had beene one people, all the time Captaine *Tearley* ſtaied with vs, but ſuch grudges and diſcontents daily increaſed among our ſelues, that vpon the arriuall of Captaine *Argall*, ſent by the Councell and Companie to bee our Gouernour, Captaine *Tearley* returned for *England* in the yeere 1617. *From the writings of Captaine* Nathaniel Powell, William Cantrill, *Sergeant* Boothe, Edward Gurganey.

Eleuen men caſt away.

A bad preſident.

During this time, the Lady *Rebecca*, alias *Pocahontas*, daughter to *Powhatan*, by the diligent care of Maſter *Iohn Rolfe* her husband and his friends, as taught to ſpeake ſuch *Engliſh* as might well bee vnderſtood, well inſtructed in Chriſtianitie, and was become very formall and quill after our *Engliſh* manner; ſhee had alſo by him a childe which ſhe loued moſt dearely, and the Treaſurer and Company tooke order both for the maintenance of her and it, beſides there were diuers perſons of great ranke and qualitie had beene very kinde to her, and before ſhe arriued at London, Captaine *Smith* to deſerue her former courteſies, made her qualities knowne to the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie and her Court, and writ a little booke to this effect to the Queene: An abſtract whereof followeth.

Pocahontas inſtructions.

To the moſt high and vertuous Princeſſe Queene Anne *of Great Brittanie.*

Moſt admired Queene,

THe loue I beare my God, my King and Countrie, hath ſo oft emboldened mee in the worſt of extreme dangers, that now honeſtie doth conſtraine mee preſume thus farre beyond my ſelfe, to preſent your Maieſtie this ſhort diſcourſe: if ingratitude be a deadly poyſon to all honeſt vertues, I muſt bee guiltie of that crime if I ſhould omit any meanes to bee thankfull. So it is,

That ſome ten yeeres agoe being in *Virginia*, and taken priſoner by the power of *Powhatan* their chiefe King, I receiued from this great Saluage exceeding great courteſie, eſpecially from his ſonne *Nantaquaus*, the moſt manlieſt, comelieſt, boldeſt ſpirit, I euer ſaw in a Saluage, and his ſiſter *Pocahontas*, the Kings moſt deare and wel-beloued daughter, being but a childe of twelue or thirteene yeeres of age, whoſe compaſſionate pitifull heart, of my deſperate eſtate, gaue me much cauſe to reſpect her: I being the firſt Chriſtian this proud King and his grim attendants euer ſaw: and thus inthralled in their barbarous power, I cannot ſay I felt the leaſt occaſion of want that was in the power of thoſe my mortall foes to preuent, notwithſtanding al their threats. After ſome ſix weeks faſting amongſt thoſe Saluage Courtiers, at the minute of my execution, ſhe hazarded the beating out of her owne braines to ſaue mine, and not onely that, but ſo preuailed with her father, that I was ſafely conducted to *Iames* towne, where I found about eight and thirtie miſerable poore and ſicke creatures, to keepe poſſeſſion of all thoſe large territories of *Virginia*, ſuch was the weakneſſe of this poore Commonwealth, as had the Saluages not fed vs, we directly had ſtarued.

A relation to Queene *Anne*, of *Pocahontas*.

And this reliefe, moſt gracious Queene, was commonly brought vs by this

Lady *Pocahontas*, notwithſtanding all theſe paſſages when inconſtant Fortune turned our peace to warre, this tender Virgin would ſtill not ſpare to dare to viſit vs, and by her our iarres haue beene oft appeaſed, and our wants ſtill ſupplyed; were it the policie of her father thus to imploy her, or the ordinance of God thus to make her his inſtrument, or her extraordinarie affection to our Nation, I know not: but of this I am ſure; when her father with the vtmoſt of his policie and power, ſought to ſurprize mee, hauing but eighteene with mee, the darke night could not affright her from comming through the irkeſome woods, and with watered eies gaue me intelligence, with her beſt aduice to eſcape his furie; which had hee knowne, hee had ſurely ſlaine her. *Iames* towne with her wild traine ſhe as freely frequented, as her fathers habitation; and during the time of two or three yeeres, the next vnder God, was ſtill the inſtrument to preſerue this Colonie from death, famine and vtter confuſion, which if in thoſe times had once beene diſſolued, *Virginia* might haue line as it was at our firſt arriuall to this day. Since then, this buſineſſe hauing beene turned and varied by many accidents from that I left it at: it is moſt certaine, after a long and troubleſome warre after my departure, betwixt her father and our Colonie, all which time ſhee was not heard of, about two yeeres after ſhee her ſelfe was taken priſoner, being ſo detained neere two yeeres longer, the Colonie by that meanes was relieued, peace concluded, and at laſt reiecting her barbarous condition, was maried to an *Engliſh* Gentleman, with whom at this preſent ſhe is in *England*; the firſt Chriſtian euer of that Nation, the firſt *Virginian* euer ſpake *Engliſh*, or had a childe in mariage by an *Engliſhman*, a matter ſurely, if my meaning bee truly conſidered and well vnderſtood, worthy a Princes vnderſtanding.

Thus moſt gracious Lady, I haue related to your Maieſtie, what at your beſt leaſure our approued Hiſtories will account you at large, and done in the time of your Maieſties life, and howeuer this might bee preſented you from a more worthy pen, it cannot from a more honeſt heart, as yet I neuer begged any thing of the ſtate, or any, and it is my want of abilitie and her exceeding deſert, your birth, meanes and authoritie, hir birth, vertue, want and ſimplicitie, doth make mee thus bold, humbly to beſeech your Maieſtie to take this knowledge of her, though it be from one ſo vnworthy to be the reporter, as my ſelfe, her husbands eſtate not being able to make her fit to attend your Maieſtie: the moſt and leaſt I can doe, is to tell you this, becauſe none ſo oft hath tried it as my ſelfe, and the rather being of ſo great a ſpirit, how euer her ſtature: if ſhe ſhould not be well receiued, ſeeing this Kingdome may rightly haue a Kingdome by her meanes; her preſent loue to vs and Chriſtianitie, might turne to ſuch ſcorne and furie, as to diuert all this good to the worſt of euill, where finding ſo great a Queene ſhould doe her ſome honour more than ſhe can imagine, for being ſo kinde to your ſeruants and ſubiects, would ſo rauiſh her with content, as endeare her deareſt bloud to effect that, your Maieſtie and all the Kings honeſt ſubiects moſt earneſtly deſire: And ſo I humbly kiſſe your gracious hands.

Pocahontas meeting in *England* with Captaine *Smith*.

Being about this time preparing to ſet ſaile for *New-England*, I could not ſtay to doe her that ſeruice I deſired, and ſhe well deſerued; but hearing ſhee was at *Brainford* with diuers of my friends, I went to ſee her: After a modeſt ſalutation, without any word, ſhe turned about, obſcured her face, as not ſeeming well contented; and in that humour her husband, with diuers others, we all left her two or three houres, repenting my ſelfe to haue writ ſhe could ſpeake *Engliſh*. But not long after, ſhe began to talke, and remembred mee well what courteſies ſhee had done: ſaying, You did promiſe *Powhatan* what was yours ſhould bee his, and he the like to you; you called him father being in his land a ſtranger, and by the ſame reaſon ſo muſt I doe you: which though I would haue excuſed, I durſt not allow of that title, becauſe ſhe was a Kings daughter; with a well ſet countenance ſhe ſaid, Were you not afraid to come into my fathers Countrie, and cauſed feare in him and all his people (but mee) and feare you here I ſhould call you father; I

tell

tell you then I will, and you ſhall call mee childe, and ſo I will bee for euer and euer your Countrieman. They did tell vs alwaies you were dead, and I knew no other till I came to *Plimoth*; yet *Powhatan* did command *Vttamatomakkin* to ſeeke you, and know the truth, becauſe your Countriemen will lie much.

Vttamecomack, obſeruations of his vſage.

This Saluage, one of *Powhatans* Councell, being amongſt them held an vnderſtanding fellow; the King purpoſely ſent him, as they ſay, to number the people here, and informe him well what wee were and our ſtate. Arriuing at *Plimoth*, according to his directions, he got a long ſticke, whereon by notches hee did thinke to haue kept the number of all the men hee could ſee, but he was quickly wearie of that taske: Comming to *London*, where by chance I met him, hauing renewed our acquaintance, where many were deſirous to heare and ſee his behauiour, hee told me *Powhatan* did bid him to finde me out, to ſhew him our God, the King, Queene, and Prince, I ſo much had told them of: Concerning God, I told him the beſt I could; the King I heard he had ſeene; and the reſt hee ſhould ſee when he would; he denied euer to haue ſeene the King, till by circumſtances he was ſatisfied he had: Then he replyed very ſadly, You gaue *Powhatan* a white Dog, which *Powhatan* fed as himſelfe, but your King gaue me nothing, and I am better than your white Dog.

Pocahontas her entertainment with the Queene.

The ſmall time I ſtaid in *London*, diuers Courtiers and others, my acquaintances, hath gone with mee to ſee her, that generally concluded, they did thinke God had a great hand in her conuerſion, and they haue ſeene many *Engliſh* Ladies worſe fauoured, proportioned and behauioured, and as ſince I haue heard, it pleaſed both the King and Queenes Maieſtie honourably to eſteeme her, accompanied with that honourable Lady the Lady *De la Ware*, and that honourable Lord her husband, and diuers other perſons of good qualities, both publikely at the maskes and otherwiſe, to her great ſatisfaction and content, which doubtleſſe ſhe would haue deſerued, had ſhe liued to arriue in *Virginia*.

The gouernment deuolued to Captaine Samuel Argall, 1617.

1617. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treaſurer.

THe Treaſurer, Councell and Companie, hauing well furniſhed Captaine *Samuel Argall*, the Lady *Pocahontas* alias *Rebecca*, with her husband and others, in the good ſhip called the *George*, it pleaſed God at *Graues-end* to take this young Lady to his mercie, where ſhee made not more ſorrow for her vnexpected death, than ioy to the beholders, to heare and ſee her make ſo religious and godly an end. Her little childe *Thomas Rolfe* therefore was left at *Plimoth* with Sir *Lewis Stukly*, that deſired the keeping of it. Captaine *Hamar* his vice-Admirall was gone before, but hee found him at *Plimoth*. In March they ſet ſaile 1617. and in May he arriued at *Iames* towne, where hee was kindly entertained by Captaine *Yearley* and his Compánie in a martiall order, whoſe right hand file was led by an *Indian*. In *Iames* towne he found but fiue or ſix houſes, the Church downe, the Palizado's broken, the Bridge in pieces, the Well of freſh water ſpoiled; the Store-houſe they vſed for the Church, the market-place, and ſtreets, and all other ſpare places planted with Tobacco, the Saluages as frequent in their houſes as themſelues, whereby they were become expert in our armes, and had a great many in their cuſtodie and poſſeſſion, the Colonie diſperſed all about, planting *Tobacco*. Captaine *Argall* not liking thoſe proceedings, altered them agreeable to his owne minde, taking the beſt order he could for repairing thoſe defects which did exceedingly trouble vs; we were conſtrained euery yeere to build and repaire our old Cottages, which were alwaies a decaying in all places of the Countrie, yea, the very Courts of Guard built by Sir *Thomas Dale*, was ready to fall, and the Palizado's not ſufficient to keepe out Hogs. Their number of people were about 400. but not paſt 200. fit for husbandry and tillage: we found there in all one hundred twentie eight cattell, and foureſcore and eight Goats, beſides innumerable numbers of Swine, and good

The death of *Pocahontas*.

1000. bushels of Corne from the Saluages.

plentie of Corne in some places, yet the next yeere the Captaine sent out a Frigat and a Pinnace, that brought vs neere six hundred bushels more, which did greatly relieue the whole Colonie: For from the tenants wee seldome had aboue foure hundred bushels of rent Corne to the store, and there was not remaining of the Companies companie, past foure and fiftie men, women and Children.

1618. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

This yeere hauing planted our fields, came a great drought, and such a cruell storme of haile, which did such spoile both to the Corne and Tobacco, that wee reaped but small profit, the Magazine that came in the *George*, being fiue moneths in her passage, proued very badly conditioned, but ere she arriued, we had gathered and made vp our Tobacco, the best at three shillings the pound, the rest at eighteene pence.

To supply vs, the Councell and Company with all possible care and diligence, furnished a good ship of some two hundred and fiftie tunne, with two hundred people and the Lord *la Ware*. They set saile in Aprill, and tooke their course by the westerne Iles, where the Gouernour of the Ile of Saint *Michael* receiued the Lord *la Ware*, and honourably feasted him, with all the content hee could giue him. Going from thence, they were long troubled with contrary winds, in which time many of them fell very sicke, thirtie died, one of which number was

The death of the Lord *la Ware*.

that most honourable Lord Gouernour the Lord *la Ware*, whose most noble and generous disposition, is well knowne to his great cost, had beene most forward in this businesse for his Countries good: Yet this tender state of *Virginia* was not growne to that maturitie, to maintaine such state and pleasure as was fit for such a personage, with so braue and great attendance: for some small number of aduentrous Gentlemen to make discoueries, and lie in Garrison, ready vpon any occasion to keepe in feare the inconstant Saluages, nothing were more requisite, but to haue more to wait & play than worke, or more commanders and officers than industrious labourers was not so necessarie: for in *Virginia*, a plaine Souldier that can vse a Pick-axe and spade, is better than fiue Knights, although they were Knights that could breake a Lance; for men of great place, not inured to those incounters; when they finde things not sutable, grow many times so discontented, they forget themselues, & oft become so careless, that a discontented melancholy brings them to much sorrow, and to others much miserie. At last they stood in for the coast of *New-England*, where they met a small Frenchman, rich of Beuers and other Furres. Though wee had here but small knowledge of the coast nor countrie, yet they tooke such an abundance of Fish and Fowle, and

They are relieued in *New-England*.

so well refreshed themselues there with wood and water, as by the helpe of God thereby, hauing beene at Sea sixteene weekes, got to *Virginia*, who without this reliefe had beene in great danger to perish. The French-men made them such a feast, with such an abundance of varietie of Fish, Fowle and Fruits, as they all admired, and little expected that wild wildernesse could affoord such wonderfull abundance of plentie. In this ship came about two hundred men, but very little prouision, and the ship called the *Treasurer* came in againe not long after with fortie passengers; the Lord *la Wares* ship lying in *Virginia* three moneths, wee victualled her with threescore bushels of Corne, and eight Hogsheads of flesh, besides other victuall she spent whilest they tarried there: this ship brought vs aduice that great multitudes were a preparing in *England* to bee sent, and relied much vpon that victuall they should finde here: whereupon our Captaine called a Councell, and writ to the Councell here in *England* the estate of the Colonie, and what a great miserie would insue, if they sent not prouision as well as people; and what they did suffer for want of skilfull husbandmen, and meanes to set their Ploughs on worke, hauing as good ground as any man can desire, and about fortie Bulls and Oxen, but they wanted men to bring them to labour, and Irons for the Ploughs, and harnesse for the Cattell. Some thirtie or fortie acres wee had sowne with one Plough, but it stood so long on the ground before it was reaped, it was most shaken, and the rest spoiled with the Cattell,

Cattell and Rats in the Barne, but no better Corne could bee for the quantitie.

Richard Killingbeck being with the Captaine at *Kekoughtan*, deſired leaue to returne to his wife at *Charles* hundred, hee went to *Iames* towne by water, there he got foure more to goe with him by land, but it proued that he intended to goe trade with the *Indies* of *Chickahamania*, where making ſhew of the great quantitie of trucke they had, which the Saluages perceiuing, partly for their trucke, partly for reuenge of ſome friends they pretended ſhould haue beene ſlaine by Captaine *Yearley*, one of them with an Engliſh peece ſhot *Killingbeck* dead, the other Saluages aſſaulted the reſt and ſlew them, ſtripped them, and tooke what they had: But fearing this murther would come to light, and might cauſe them to ſuffer for it, would now proceed to the perfection of villanie; for preſently they robbed their Machacomocko houſe of the towne, ſtole all the *Indian* treaſure thereout, and fled into the woods, as other *Indians* related. On Sunday following, one *Farfax* that dwelt a mile from the towne, going to Church, left his wife and three ſmall children ſafe at home, as he thought, and a young youth: ſhe ſuppoſing praier to be done, left the children, and went to meet her husband; preſently after came three or foure of thoſe fugitiue Saluages, entred the houſe, and ſlew a boy and three children, and alſo another youth that ſtole out of the Church in praier time, meeting them, was likewiſe murdered. Of this diſaſter the Captaine ſent to *Opechankanough* for ſatisfaction, but he excuſed the matter, as altogether ignorant of it, at the ſame time the Saluages that were robbed were complaining to *Opechankanough*, and much feared the Engliſh would bee reuenged on them, ſo that *Opechankanough* ſent to Captaine *Argall*, to aſſure him the peace ſhould neuer be broken by him, deſiring that he would not reuenge the iniurie of thoſe fugitiues vpon the innocent people of that towne, which towne he ſhould haue, and ſent him a basket of earth, as poſſeſſion giuen of it, and promiſed, ſo ſoone as poſſibly they could catch theſe robbers, to ſend him their heads for ſatisfaction, but he neuer performed it. *Samuel Argall, Iohn Rolfe.*

Richard Killingbeck and foure other murdered by the Saluages.

Their Church and Store-houſe.

Farfax, three children and two boyes alſo murdered.

A relation from Maſter Iohn Rolfe, *Iune* 15. 1618.

COncerning the ſtate of our new Common-wealth, it is ſomewhat bettered, for we haue ſufficient to content our ſelues, though not in ſuch abundance as is vainly reported in *England*. *Powhatan* died this laſt Aprill, yet the *Indians* continue in peace. *Itopatin* his ſecond brother ſucceeds him, and both hee and *Opechankanough* haue confirmed our former league. On the eleuenth of May, about ten of the clocke in the night, happened a moſt feareſull tempeſt, but it continued not paſt halfe an houre, which powred downe haileſtones eight or nine inches about, that none durſt goe out of their doores, and though it tore the barke and leaues of the trees, yet wee finde not they hurt either man or beaſt; it fell onely about *Iames* towne, for but a mile to the Eaſt, and twentie to the Weſt there was no haile at all. Thus in peace euery man followed his building and planting without any accidents worthy of note. Some priuate differences happened betwixt Captaine *Bruſter* and Captaine *Argall*, and Captaine *Argall* and the Companie here in *England*; but of them I am not fully informed, neither are they here for any vſe, and therefore vnfit to be remembred. In December one Captaine *Stallings*, an old planter in thoſe parts, being imployed by them of the Weſt countrie for a fiſhing voyage, in *New-England*, ſell foule of a Frenchman whom hee tooke, leauing his owne ſhip to returne for *England*, himſelfe with a ſmall companie remained in the French barke, ſome ſmall time after vpon the coaſt, and thence returned to winter in *Virginia*.

Powhatans death.

Haile-ſtones eight inches about.

1619.
Sir *Edwin Sands* Treaſurer.
Maſter *Iohn Farer* Deputie.

The

The gouernment surrendred to Sir George Yearley.

FOr to begin with the yeere of our Lord, 1619. there arriued a little Pinnace priuatly from *England* about Easter for Captaine *Argall*, who taking order for his affaires, within foure or fiue daies returned in her, and left for his Deputy, Captaine *Nathaniel Powell*. On the eighteenth of *April*, which was but ten or twelue daies after, arriued Sir *George Yearley*, by whom we vnderstood Sir *Edwin Sands* was chosen Treasurer, and Master *Iohn Farrar* his Deputy, and what great supplies was a preparing to be sent vs, which did rauish vs so much with ioy and content, we thought our selues now fully satisfied, for our long toile and labours, and as happy men as any in the world. Notwithstanding, such an accident hapned Captaine *Stallings*, the next day his ship was cast away, and he not long after slaine in a priuate quarrell. Sir *George Yearly* to beginne his gouernment, added to be of his councell, Captaine *Francis West*, Captaine *Nathaniel Powell*, Master *Iohn Pory*, Master *Iohn Rolfe*, and Master *William Wickam*, and Master *Samuel Macocke*, and propounded to haue a generall assembly with all expedition. Vpon the twelfth of this Moneth, came in a Pinnace of Captaine *Bargraues*, and on the seuenteenth Captaine *Lownes*, and one Master *Euans*, who intended to plant themselues at *Waraskoyack*, but now *Opechankanough* will not come at vs, that causes vs suspect his former promises.

Waraskoyack planted.

In May came in the *Margaret* of *Bristoll*, with foure and thirty men, all well and in health, and also many deuout gifts, and we were much troubled in examining some scandalous letters sent into *England*, to disgrace this Country with barrennesse, to discourage the aduenturers, and so bring it and vs to ruine and confusion; notwithstanding, we finde by them of best experience, an industrious man not other waies imploied, may well tend foure akers of Corne, and 1000. plants of Tobacco, and where they say an aker will yeeld but three or foure barrels, we haue ordinarily foure or fiue, but of new ground six, seuen, and eight, and a barrell of Pease and Beanes, which we esteeme as good as two of Corne, which is after thirty or forty bushels an aker, so that one man may prouide Corne for fiue, and apparell for two by the profit of his Tobacco; they say also English Wheat will yeeld but sixteene bushels an aker, and we haue reaped thirty: besides to manure the Land, no place hath more white and blew Marble than here, had we but Carpenters to build and make Carts and Ploughs, and skilfull men that know how to vse them, and traine vp our cattell to draw them, which though we indeuour to effect, yet our want of experience brings but little to perfection but planting Tobaco, and yet of that many are so couetous to haue much, they make little good; besides there are so many sofisticating Tobaco-mungers in *England*, were it neuer so bad, they would sell it for *Verinas*, and the trash that remaineth should be *Virginia*, such deuilish bad mindes we know some of our owne Country-men doe beare, not onely to the businesse, but also to our mother *England* her selfe; could they or durst they as freely defame her.

A barrell they account foure bushels.

The 25. of *Iune* came in the *Triall* with Corne and Cattell all in safety, which tooke from vs cleerely all feare of famine; then our gouernour and councell caused Burgesses to be chosen in all places, and met at a generall Assembly, where all matters were debated thought expedient for the good of the Colony, and Captaine *Ward* was sent to *Monahigan* in new *England*, to fish in May, and returned the latter end of May, but to small purpose, for they wanted Salt: the *George* also was sent to *New-found-land* with the Cape Merchant, there she bought fish, that defraied her charges, and made a good voyage in seuen weekes. About the last of August came in a dutch man of warre that sold vs twenty Negars, and *Iapazous* King of *Patawomeck*, came to *Iames* towne, to desire two ships to come trade in his Riuer, for a more plentifull yeere of Corne had not beene in a long time, yet very contagious, and by the trechery of one *Poule*, in a manner turned heathen, wee

Their time of Parliament.

were

were very iealous the Saluages would ſurprize vs. The Gouernours haue bounded foure Corporations, which is the Companies, the Vniuerſity, the Gouernours and Glebe land: Enſigne *Wil. Spencer*, & *Thomas Barret* a Sergeant, with ſome others of the ancient Planters being ſet free, we are the firſt farmers that went forth, and haue choſen places to their content, ſo that now knowing their owne land, they ſtriue who ſhould exceed in building and planting. The fourth of Nouember the *Bona noua* came in with all her people luſty and well; not long after one Maſter *Dimmer* ſent out by ſome of *Plimoth* for *New-England*, arriued in a Barke of fiue tunnes, and returned the next Spring; notwithſtanding the ill rumours of the vnwholſomneſſe of *Iames* towne, the new commers that were planted at old *Paſpaheghe*, little more then a mile from it, had their healths better then any in the Country. In December Captaine *Ward* returned from *Patawomeck*, the people there dealt falſly with him, ſo that hee tooke 800. buſhels of Corne from them perforce. Captaine *Waddiſſe* of *Briſtol* came in not long after, with all his people luſty and in health, and we had two particular Gouernors ſent vs, vnder the titles of Deputies to the Company. the one to haue charge of the Colledge Lands, the other of the Companies: Now you are to vnderſtand, that becauſe there haue beene many complaints againſt the Gouernors, Captaines, and Officers in *Virginia*, for buying and ſelling men and boies, or to bee ſet ouer from one to another for a yeerely rent, was held in *England* a thing moſt intolerable, or that the tenants or lawfull ſeruants ſhould be put from their places, or abridged their Couenants, was ſo odious, that the very report thereof brought a great ſcandall to the generall action. The Councell in *England* did ſend many good and worthy inſtructions for the amending thoſe abuſes, and appointed a hundred men ſhould at the Companies charge be allotted and prouided to ſerue and attend the Gouernour during the time of his gouernment, which number he was to make good at his departure, and leaue to his Succeſſor in like manner, fifty to the Deputy-Gouernour of the College land, and fifty to the Deputy of the Companies land, fifty to the Treaſurer, to the Secretary fiue and twenty, and more to the Marſhall and Cape merchants; which they are alſo to leaue to their ſucceſſors, and likewiſe to euery particular Officer ſuch a competency, as he might liue well in his Office, without oppreſſing any vnder their charge, which good law I pray God it be well obſerued, and then we may truly ſay in *Virginia*, we are the moſt happy people in the world. *By me* Iohn Rolfe.

Foure corporations named.

Captaine *Wards* exploit.

There went this yeere by the Companies records, 11. ſhips, and 1216. perſons to be thus diſpoſed on: Tenants for the Gouernors land foureſcore, beſides fifty ſent the former ſpring; for the Companies land a hundred and thirty, for the College a hundred, for the Glebe land fifty, young women to make wiues ninety, ſeruants for publike ſeruice fifty, and fifty more whoſe labours were to bring vp thirty of the infidels children, the reſt were ſent to priuate Plantations.

The number of Ships and men.

Two perſons vnknowne haue giuen faire Plate and Ornaments for two Communion Tables, the one at the College, the other at the Church of Miſtris *Mary Robinſon*, who towards the foundation gaue two hundred pound. And another vnknowne perſon ſent to the Treaſurer fiue hundred and fifty pounds, for the bringing vp of the ſaluage children in Chriſtianity. Maſter *Nicholas Ferrar* deceaſed, hath by his Will giuen three hundred pounds to the College, to be paid when there ſhall be ten young Saluages placed in it, in the meane time foure and twenty pound yeerely to bee diſtributed vnto three diſcreet and godly young men in the Colony, to bring vp three wilde young infidels in ſome good courſe of life, alſo there were granted eleuen Pattents, vpon condition to tranſport people and cattle to increaſe the Plantations.

Gifts giuen.

But few performe them.

A

A desperat Sea-fight betwixt two Spanish men of warre, and a small English ship, at the Ile of *Dominica* going to *Virginia*, by Captaine *Anthony Chester*.

1620. The Earle of Southampton Treasurer, and M. *Iohn Ferrar* Deputy.

HAuing taken our journey towards *Virginia* in the beginning of February, a ship called the *Margaret* and *Iohn*, of one hundred and sixty tuns, eight Iron Peeces and a Falcon, with eightie Passengers besides Sailers; After many tempests and foule weather, about the fourteenth of March we were in thirteene degrees and an halfe of Northerly latitude, where we descried a ship at hull; it being but a faire gale of wind, we edged towards her to see what she was, but she presently set saile, and ran vs quickly out of sight: This made vs keepe our course for *Mettalina*, and the next day passing *Dominica*, we came to an anchor at *Guardalupo*, to take in fresh water. Six French-men there cast away sixteene moneths agoe came aboord vs; they told vs a Spanish man of Warre but seuen daies before was seeking his consort, and this was she we descried at hull. At *Menis* we intended to refresh our selues, hauing beene eleuen weeks pestered in this vnwholsome ship; but there we found two tall ships with the *Hollanders* colours, but necessitie forcing vs on shore, we anchored faire by them, and in friendly manner sent to hale them: but seeing they were *Spaniards*, retiring to our ship, they sent such a volley of shot after vs, that shot the Boat, split the Oares, and some thorow the clothes, yet not a man hurt; and then followed with their great Ordnance, that many times ouer-racked our ship, which being so cumbred with the Passengers prouisions, our Ordnance was not well fitted, nor any thing as it should haue beene. But perceiuing what they were, we fitted our selues the best we could to preuent a mischiefe, seeing them warp themselues to windward, we thought it not good to be boorded on both sides at an anchor, we intended to set saile, but that the Vice-Admirall battered so hard our star-boord side, that we fell to our businesse, and answered their vnkindnesse with such faire shot from a Demiculuering, that shot her betweene wind and water, whereby she was glad to leaue vs and her Admirall together. Comming faire by our quarter, he tooke in his *Holland* flag, and put forth his Spanish colours, and so haled vs.

A French-man cast away at *Guardalupo*.

The *Spaniards* begin.

The Vice-Admirall shot betweene wind and water.

We quietly and quickly answered him, both what wee were, and whither bound, relating the effect of our Commission, and the cause of our comming thither for water, and not to annoy any of the King of *Spaines* Subiects, nor any. She commanded vs amaine for the King of *Spaine*, we replied with inlarging the particulars what friends both the Kings our Masters were, and as we would doe no wrong, we would take none. They commanded vs aboord to shew our Commission, which we refused, but if they would send their Boat to vs willingly they should see it. But for answer they made two great shot at vs, with a volley of small shot, which caused vs to leaue the decks; then with many ill words they laid vs aboord, which caused vs to raise our maine saile, and giue the word to our small shot which lay close and ready, that paid them in such sort, they quickly retired. The fight continued halfe an houre, as if we had beene inuironed with fire and smoke, vntill they discouered the waste of our ship naked, where they brauely boorded vs loose for loose, hasting with pikes and swords to enter, but it pleased God so to direct our Captaine, and encourage our men with valour, that our pikes being formerly placed vnder our halfe deck, and certaine shot lying close for that purpose vnder the Port holes, encountred them so rudely, that their fury was not onely rebated, but their hastinesse intercepted, and their whole company beaten backe, many of our men were hurt, but I am sure they had two for one.

The manner of their fight.

In the end they were violently repulsed, vntill they were reinforced to charge againe

againe by their commands, who ſtanding vpon their honors, thought it a great indignity to be ſo affronted, which cauſed a ſecond charge, and that anſwered with a ſecond beating backe: whereat the Captaine grew inraged, and conſtrained them to come on againe afreſh, which they did ſo effectually, that queſtionleſſe it had wrought an alteration, if the God that toſſeth Monarchies, and teareth Mountaines, had not taught vs to toſſe our Pikes with proſperous euents, and powred out a volley of ſmall ſhot amongſt them, whereby that valiant Commander was ſlaine, and many of his Souldiers dropped downe likewiſe on the top of the hatches. This we ſaw with our eies, and reioyced with it at our hearts, ſo that we might perceiue good ſucceſſe comming on, our Captaine preſently tooke aduantage of their diſcomfiture, though with much comiſeration of that reſolute Captaine, and not onely plied them againe with our Ordnance, but had more ſhot vnder the Pikes, which was beſtowed to good purpoſe, and amazed our enemies with the ſuddennelſe. The Captaine ſlaine.

Amongſt the reſt, one *Lucas*, our Carpenters Mate, muſt not be forgotten, who perceiuing away how to annoy them; As they were thus puzled and in a confuſion, drew out a Minion vnder the halfe decke, and there bent it vpon them in ſuch a manner, that when it was fired, the caſſes of ſtones and peeces of Iron fell vpon them ſo thick, as cleared the decke, and ſlew many, and in ſhort time we ſaw few aſſailants, but ſuch as crept from place to place couertly from the fury of our ſhot, which now was thicker than theirs: for although as far as we may cõmend our enemies, they had done ſomething worthy of commendations; yet either wanting men, or being ouertaken with the vnlooked for valour of our men, they now began to ſhrinke, and giue vs leaue to be wanton with our aduantage. Yet we could onely vſe but foure peece of Ordnances, but they ſerued the turne as well as all the reſt: for ſhe was ſhot ſo oft betweene wind and water, we ſaw they were willing to leaue vs, but by reaſon ſhe was faſt in the latch of our cable, which in haſte of weighing our anchor hung aloofe, ſhe could not cleare her ſelfe as ſhe wrought to doe, till one cut the Cable with an axe, and was ſlaine by freeing vs. Hauing beene aboord vs two houres and an halfe, ſeeing her ſelfe cleere, all the ſhot wee had plied on both ſides, which laſted till we were out of ſhot, then we diſcouered the Vice Admirall comming to her aſſiſtance, who began a farre off to ply vs with their Ordnances, and put vs in minde we had another worke in hand. Whereupon we ſeparated the dead and hurt bodies, and manned the ſhip with the reſt, and were ſo well incouraged wee waiſed them amaine. The *Admirall* ſtood aloofe off, and the other would not come within Falcon ſhot, where ſhe lay battering vs till ſhee receiued another paiment from a Demiculuering, which made her beare with the ſhore for ſmooth water to mend her leakes. The next morning they both came vp againe with vs, as if they had determined to deuour vs at once, but it ſeemed it was but a brauado, though they forſooke not our quarter for a time within Musket ſhot; yet all the night onely they kept vs company, but made not a ſhot. During which time we had leaſure to prouide vs better than before: but God be thanked they made onely but a ſhew of another aſſault, ere ſuddenly the Vice-admirall fell a ſtarne, and the other lay ſhaking in the wind, and ſo they both left vs. A worthy exploit of *Lucas*.

The fight continued ſix houres, and was the more vnwelcome, becauſe we were ſo ill prouided, and had no intent to fight, nor giue occaſion to diſturbe them. As for the loſſe of men, if Religion had not taught vs what by the prouidence of God is brought to paſſe, yet daily experience might informe vs, of the dangers of wars, and perils at ſea, by ſtormes tempeſts, ſhipwracks, encounters with Pirats, meeting with enemies, croſſe winds, long voiages, vnknowne ſhores, barbarous Nations, and an hundred inconueniences, of which humane pollicies are not capable, nor mens coniectures apprehenſiue. We loſt Doctor *Bohun*, a worthy valiant Gentleman, a long time brought vp amongſt the moſt learned Surgeons, and Phyſitions in *Netherlands*, and this his ſecond iourney to *Virginia*: and ſeuen ſlaine out right, two died ſhortly of their wounds; ſixteene was ſhot, whoſe limbs The euent of the fight.

God be thanked was recouered without maime, and now ſeeled in *Virginia*: how many they loſt we know not, but we ſaw a great many lie on the decks, and their skuppers runne with bloud, they were about three hundred tunnes apeece, each ſixteene or twentie Braſſe-peeces. Captaine *Choſter*, who in this fight had behaued himſelfe like a moſt vigilant, reſolute, and a couragious ſouldier, as alſo our honeſt and valiant maſter, did ſtill ſo comfort and incourage vs by all the meanes they could, at laſt to all our great contents we arriued in *Virginia*, and from thence returned ſafely to *England*.

The Names of the Aduenturers for *Virginia*, Alphabetically ſet downe, according to a printed *Booke, ſet out by the Treaſurer and Councell* in this preſent yeere, 1620.

A

Sir William Aliffe.
Sir Roger Aſton.
Sir Anthony Aſhley.
Sir Iohn Akland.
Sir Anthonie Aucher.
Sir Robert Askwith.
Doctor Francis Anthony.
Charles Anthony.
Edward Allen.
Edmund Allen Eſquire.
Iohn Allen.
Thomas Allen.
William Atkinſon, Eſquire.
Richard Aſhcroft.
Nicholas Andrews.
Iohn Andrews the elder.
Iohn Andrews the younger.
Iames Aſcough.
Giles Allington.
Morris Abbot.
Ambroſe Aſten.
Iames Askew.
Anthony Abdey.
Iohn Arundell, Eſquire.

B

Edward, Earle of Bedford
Iames, Lord Biſhop of Bathe and Wells.
Sir Francis Barrington.
Sir Morice Barkley.
Sir Iohn Benet.
Sir Thomas Beamont.
Sir Amias Bamfield.
Sir Iohn Bourcher.
Sir Edmund Bowyer.
Sir Thomas Bludder.
Sir George Bolles.
Sir Iohn Bingley.
Sir Thomas Button.
Sir Henry Beddingfield.
Companie of Barbers-Surgeons.
Companie of Bakers.
Richard Baniſter.
Iohn Bancks.
Miles Bancks.
Thomas Barber.
William Bonham.
Iames Bryerley.
William Barners.
Anthony Barners, Eſquire.
William Brewſter.
Richard Brooke.
Hugh Brooker, Eſquire.
Ambroſe Brewſey.
Iohn Brooke.
Matthew Bromridge.
Chriſtopher Brooke, Eſquire.
Martin Bond.
Gabriel Beadle.
Iohn Beadle.
Dauid Borne.
Edward Barnes.
Iohn Badger.
Edmund Branduell.
Robert Bowyer, Eſquire.
Robert Bateman.
Thomas Britton.
Nicholas Benſon.

Edward

Edward Biſhop.
Peter Burgoney.
Thomas Burgoney.
Robert Burgoney.
Chriſtopher Baron.
Peter Benſon.
Iohn Baker.
Iohn Buſtoridge.
Francis Burley.
William Browne.
Robert Barker.
Samuel Burnham.
Edward Barkley.
William Bennet.
Captaine Edward Brewſter.
Thomas Brocket.
Iohn Bullock.
George Bache.
Thomas Bayly.
William Barkley.
George Butler.
Timothie Bathurſt.
George Burton.
Thomas Bret.
Captaine Iohn Brough.
Thomas Baker.
Iohn Blunt.
Thomas Bayly.
Richard and Edward Blunt.
Mineon Burrell.
Richard Blackmore.
William Beck.
Beniamin Brand.
Iohn Busbridge.
William Burrell.
William Barret.
Francis Baldwin.
Edward Barber.
Humphrey Baſſe.
Robert Bell.
Matthew Bromrick.
Iohn Beaumont.
George Barkley.
Peter Bartle.
Thomas Breiton.
Iohn Blount.
Arthur Bromfeld Eſquire.
William Berbloke.
Charles Beck.

C

George, Lord Archbiſhop of Canterburie.
William Lord Cranborne, now Earle of Salisburie.
William, Lord Compton, now Earle of North-hampton.
William Lord Cauendiſh, now Earle of Deuonſhire.
Richard, Earle of Clauricard.
Sir William Cauendiſh now Lord Cauendiſh.
Gray, Lord Chandos.
Sir Henry Cary.
Sir George Caluert.
Sir Lionell Cranfield.
Sir Edward Cecill.
Sir Robert Cotten.
Sir Oliuer Cromwell.
Sir Anthony Cope.
Sir Walter Cope.
Sir Edward Carr.
Sir Thomas Conisbie.
Sir George Cary.
Sir Edward Conney.
Sir Walter Chute.
Sir Edward Culpeper.
Sir Henry Cary, Captaine.
Sir William Cranen.
Sir Walter Couert.
Sir George Coppin.
Sir George Chute.
Sir Thomas Couentry.
Sir Iohn Cutts.
Lady Cary.
Company of Cloth-workers.
Citie of Chicheſter.
Robert Chamberlaine.
Richard Chamberlaine.
Francis Couill.
William Coyſe, Eſquire.
Abraham Chamberlaine.
Thomas Carpenter.
Anthony Crew.
Richard Cox.
William Croſley.
Iames Chatfeild.
Richard Caſwell.
Iohn Cornelis.
Randall Carter.
Executors of Randall Carter.
William Canning.
Edward Carue, Eſquire.
Thomas Cannon, Eſquire.
Richard Champion.
Rawley Craſhaw.
Henry Collins.
Henry Cromwell.
Iohn Cooper.
Richard Cooper.

Iohn Cassan.
Thomas Colthurst.
Allen Cotten.
Edward Cage.
Abraham Carthwright.
Robert Coppin.
Thomas Conock.
Iohn Clapham.
Thomas Church.
William Carpenter.
Laurence Campe.
Iames Cambell.
Christopher Cletheroe.
Matthew Cooper.
George Chamber.
Captaine Iohn Cooke.
Captaine Thomas Conwey, Esquire.
Edward Culpeper, Esquire.
Master William Crashaw.
Abraham Colmer.
Iohn Culpeper.
Edmund Colbey.
Richard Cooper.
Robert Creswell.
Iohn Cage, Esquire.
Matthew Caue.
William Crowe.
Abraham Carpenter.
Iohn Crowe.
Thomas Cordell.
Richard Connock, Esquire.
William Compton.
William Chester.
Thomas Couel.
Richard Carmarden, Esquire.
William and Paul Canning.
Henry Cromwell, Esquire.
Simon Codrington.
Clement Chichley.
Iames Cullemore.
William Cantrell.

D

Richard Earle of Dorset.
Edward Lord Denny.
Sir Iohn Digbie, now Lord Digbie.
Sir Iohn Doderidge.
Sir Drew Drewry the elder.
Sir Thomas Dennie.
Sir Robert Drewry.
Sir Iohn Danuers.
Sir Dudley Digs.
Sir Marmaduke Dorrel.
Sir Thomas Dale.
Sir Thomas Denton.

Companie of Drapers.
Thomas Bond, Esquire.
Daniel Bent, Esquire.
Comanie of Dyers.
Towne of Doner.
Master Richard Deane, Alderman.
Henry Dawkes.
Edward Dichfield.
William Dunne.
Iohn Danis.
Matthew Dequester.
Philip Durdent.
Abraham Dawes.
Iohn Dike.
Thomas Draper.
Lancelot Danis.
Rowley Dawsey.
William Dobson Esquire.
Anthony Dyot, Esquire.
Auery Dransield.
Roger Dye.
Iohn Downes.
Iohn Drake.
Iohn Delbridge.
Beniamin Decroe.
Thomas Dyke.
Ieffery Duppa.
Daniel Darnelly.
Sara Draper.
Clement and Henry Dawkney.

E

Thomas, Earle of Exeter.
Sir Thomas Euersield.
Sir Francis Egiock.
Sir Robert Edolph.
Iohn Eldred, Esquire.
William Euans.
Richard Euans.
Hugh Euans.
Raph Ewens, Esquire.
Iohn Elkin.
Iohn Elkin.
Robert Euelin.
Nicholas Exton.
Iohn Exton.
George Etheridge.

F

Sir Moyle Finch.
Sir Henry Fanshaw.
Sir Thomas Freake.
Sir Peter Fretchuile.

Sir

Sir William Fleetwood.
Sir Henry Fane.
Company of Fishmongers.
John Fletcher.
John Farmer.
Martin Freeman, Esquire.
Ralph Freeman.
William and Ralph Freeman.
Michael Fetiplace.
William Fettiplace.
Thomas Forrest.
Edward Fleetwood, Esquire.
William Felgate.
William Field.
Nicholas Ferrar.
John Farrar.
Giles Francis.
Edward Fawcet.
Richard Farrington.
John Francklin.
Richard Frith.
John Ferne.
George Farmer.
Thomas Francis.
John Fenner.
Nicholas Fuller, Esquire.
Thomas Foxall.
William Fleet.
Peter Franck, Esquire.
Richard Fishborne.
William Faldoe.
John Fletcher, and Company.
William Ferrars.

G

Lady Elizabeth Gray.
Sir John Gray.
Sir William Godolfine.
Sir Thomas Gates.
Sir William Gee.
Sir Richard Grobham.
Sir William Garaway.
Sir Francis Goodwin.
Sir George Goring.
Sir Thomas Grantham.
Company of Grocers.
Company of Goldsmiths.
Company of Girdlers.
John Geering.
John Gardiner.
Richard Gardiner.
John Gilbert.
Thomas Graue.
John Gray.
Nicholas Griece.
Richard Goddard.
Thomas Gipps.
Peter Gates.
Thomas Gibbs Esquire.
Laurence Greene.
William Greenwell.
Robert Garset.
Robert Gore.
Thomas Gouge.
Francis Glanuile, Esquire.

H

Henry, Earle of Huntington.
Lord Theophilus Haward, L. Walden.
Sir John Harrington, L. Harington.
Sir John Hollis, now Lord Hautein.
Sir Thomas Holecroft.
Sir William Harris.
Sir Thomas Harefleet.
Sir George Haiward.
Sir Warwicke Heale.
Sir Baptist Hicks.
Sir John Hanham.
Sir Thomas Horwell.
Sir Thomas Hewit.
Sir William Herrick.
Sir Eustace Hart.
Sir Pory Huntley.
Sir Arthur Harris.
Sir Edward Heron.
Sir Persuall Hart.
Sir Ferdinando Heiborne.
Sir Lawrence Hide.
Master Hugh Hamersley, Alderman.
Master Richard Heron, Alderman.
Richard Humble, Esquire.
Master Richard Hacklenit.
Edward Harrison.
George Holeman.
Robert Hill.
Griffin Hinton.
John Hawkins.
William Hancocke.
John Harper.
George Hawger.
John Holt.
John Huntley.
Ieremy Heiden.
Ralph Hamer.
Ralph Hamer, Iunior.
John Hodgeson.
John Hanford.
Thomas Harris,

Richard

Richard Howell.
Thomas Henſhaw.
Leonard Harwood
Triſtram Hill.
Francis Haſelridge.
Tobias Himſon.
Peter Heightley.
George Hawkenſon.
Thomas Hackshaw.
Charles Hawkens.
Iohn Hodgis.
William Holland.
Robert Hartley.
Gregory Herſt.
Thomas Hodgis.
William Hodgis.
Roger Harris.
Iohn Harris.
M. Iohn Haiward.
Iames Haiward.
Nicholas Hide, Eſquire.
Iohn Hare, Eſquire.
William Hackwell, Eſquire.
Greſſam Hoogan.
Humfrey Hanford.
William Haſelden.
Nicholas Hooker.
Doctor Anthony Hunton.
Iohn Hodſale.
George Hooker.
Anthony Hinton.
Iohn Hogsell.
Thomas Hampton.
William Hicks.
William Holiland.
Ralph Hariſon.
Harman Hariſon.

I

Sir Thomas Iermyn.
Sir Robert Iohnſon.
Sir Arthur Ingram.
Sir Francis Iones.
Company of Ironmongers.
Company of Inholders.
Company of Imbroyderers.
Bailiffes of Ipſwich.
Henry Iackſon.
Richard Ironſide.
M. Robert Iohnſon Alderman.
Thomas Iones.
William Iobſon.
Thomas Iohnſon.
Thomas Iadwine.
Iohn Ioſua.
George Iſam.
Philip Iacobſon.
Peter Iacobſon.
Thomas Iuxſon Senior.
Iames Iewell.
Gabriel Iaques.
Walter Iobſon.
Edward Iames.
Zachary Iones, Eſquire.
Anthony Irbye, Eſquire.
William I-anſon.
Humfrey Iobſon.

K

Sir Valentine Knightley.
Sir Robert Killegrew.
Sir Charles Kelke.
Sir Iohn Kaile.
Richard Kirrill.
Iohn Kirrill.
Raph King.
Henry Kent.
Towne of Kingſlynne.
Iohn Kettleby, Eſquire.
Walter Kirkham, Eſquire.

L

Henry Earle of Lixcolne.
Robert, L. Liſle, now Earle of Leiceſter.
Thomas, Lord Lawarre.
Sir Francis Leigh.
Sir Richard Lowlace.
Sir William Litton.
Sir Iohn Lewſon.
Sir william Lower.
Sir Samuel Leonard.
Sir Samſon Leonard.
Company of Letherſellers.
Thomas Laughton.
William Lewſon.
Peter Latham.
Peter Van Lore.
Henry Leigh.
Thomas Lenar.
Chriſtofer Landman.
Morris Lewellin.
Edward Lewis.
Edward Lewkin.
Peter Lodge.
Thomas Layer
Thomas Lawſon.
Francis Lodge.

Iohn Langley.
Dauid Loide.
Iohn Leuitt.
Thomas Fox and Luke Lodge.
Captaine Richard Linley.
Arnold Lulls.
William Lawrence.
Iohn Landman.
Nicholas Lichfield.
Nicholas Leate.
Gedeon de Launc.

M

Philip Earle of Montgomerie.
Doctor George Mountaine, now Lord Biſhop of Lincolne.
William Lord Mounteagle, now Lord Morley.
Sir Thomas Manſell.
Sir Thomas Mildmay.
Sir William Maynard.
Sir Humfrey May.
Sir Peter Manhood.
Sir Iohn Merrick.
Sir George More.
Sir Robert Manſell.
Sir Arthur Mannering.
Sir Dauid Murrey.
Sir Edward Michelborn.
Sir Thomas Middleton.
Sir Robert Miller.
Sir Canaliero Maicott.
Doctor Iames Meddus.
Richard Martin, Eſquire.
Company of Mercers.
Company of Merchant Taylors.
Otho Mowdite.
Captaine Iohn Martin.
Arthur Monſe.
Adrian More.
Thomas Mountford.
Thomas Morris.
Ralph Moorton.
Francis Mapes.
Richard Mapleſden.
Iames Monger.
Peter Monſell.
Robert Middleton.
Thomas Maile.
Iohn Martin.
Ioſias Maude.
Richard Morton.
George Maſon.
Thomas Maddock.
Richard Moore.
Nicholas Moone.
Alfonſius van Medkerk.
Captaine Henry Meoles.
Philip Mutes.
Thomas Mayall.
Humfrey Marret.
Iarvis Mundz.
Robert Mildmay.
William Millet.
Richard Morer.
Iohn Miller.
Thomas Martin.
Iohn Middleton.
Francis Middleton.

N

Dudly, Lord North.
Francis, Lord Norris.
Sir Henry Neuill of Barkſhire.
Thomas Nicols.
Chriſtopher Nicols.
VVilliam Nicols.
George Newce.
Ioſeph Newberow.
Chriſtopher Newgate.
Thomas Norincott.
Ionathan Nuttall.
Thomas Norton.

O

William Oxenbridge, Eſquire.
Robert Offley.
Francis Oliner.

P

VVilliam, Earle of Pembroke.
VVilliam, Lord Paget.
Iohn, Lord Petre.
George Percy, Eſquire.
Sir Chriſtofer Parkins.
Sir Amias Preſton.
Sir Nicholas Parker.
Sir VVilliam Poole.
Sir Stephen Powell.
Sir Henry Peyton.
Sir Iames Perrot.
Sir Iohn Pettus.
Sir Robert Payne.
VVilliam Payne.
Iohn Payne.
Edward Parkins.
Edward Parkins his widow.

Aden-

Aden Perkins.
Thomas Perkin.
Richard Partridge.
William Palmer.
Miles Palmer.
Robert Parkhurſt.
Richard Percinall, Eſquire.
Richard Poyntell.
George Pretty.
George Pit.
Allen Percy.
Abraham Peirce.
Edmund Peirce.
Phenice Pet.
Thomas Philips.
Henry Philpot.
Maſter George Proctor.
Robert Penington.
Peter Peate.
Iohn Prat.
William Powell.
Edmund Peaſhall.
Captaine William Proude.
Henry Price.
Nicholas Pewriſſe.
Thomas Pelham.
Richard Piggot.
Iohn Pawlet, Eſquire.
Robert Pory.
Richard Paulſon.

Q

William Quicke.

R

Sir Robert Rich, now Earle of Warwicke.
Sir Thomas Row.
Sir Henry Rainsford.
Sir William Romney.
Sir Iohn Ratcliffe.
Sir Steuen Ridleſdon.
Sir William Ruſſell.
Maſter Edward Rotheram, Alderman.
Robert Rich.
Tedder Roberts.
Henry Robinſon.
Iohn Ruſſell.
Richard Rogers.
Arthur Robinſon.
Robert Robinſon.
Millicent Ramſden.
Iohn Robinſon.
George Robins.
Nichalas Rainton.
Henry Rolffe.
Iohn Reignolds.
Elias Roberts.
Henry Reignolds, Eſquire.
William Roſcarrocke, Eſquire.
Humfrey Raymell.
Richard Robins.

S

Henry, Earle of Southampton.
Thomas Earle of Suffolke.
Edward Seimer, Earle of Hartford.
Robert, Earle of Salisbury.
Mary, Counteſſe of Shrewsbury.
Edmund, Lord Sheffeld.
Robert, Lord Spencer.
Iohn, Lord Stanhope.
Sir Iohn Saint-Iohn.
Sir Thomas Smith.
Sir Iohn Samms.
Sir Iohn Smith.
Sir Edwin Sandys.
Sir Samuel Sandys.
Sir Steuen Some.
Sir Raph Shelton.
Sir Thomas Stewkley.
Sir William Saint-Iohn.
Sir William Smith.
Sir Richard Smith.
Sir Martin Stutenill.
Sir Nicolas Salter.
Doctor Matthew Sutcliffe of Exeter.
Captaine Iohn Smith.
Thomas Sandys, Eſquire.
Henry Sandys, Eſquire.
George Sandys, Eſquire.
Company of Skinners.
Company of Salters.
Company of Stationers.
Iohn Stokley.
Richard Staper.
Robert Singleton.
Thomas Shipton.
Cleophas Smith.
Richard Strongtharm.
Hildebrand Spruſon.
Matthew Scriuener.
Othowell Smith.
George Scot.
Hewet Stapers.

Iames Swift.
Richard Stratford.
Edmund Smith.
Robert Smith.
Matthias Springham.
Richard Smith.
Edward Smith.
Ionathan Smith.
Humfrey Smith.
Iohn Smith.
George Swinhow.
Ioseph Some.
William Sheckley.
Iohn Southick.
Henry Shelley.
Walter Shelley.
Richard Snarsborow.
George Stone.
Hugh Shepley.
William Strachey.
Vrion Spenser.
Iohn Scarpe.
Thomas Scott.
William Sharpe.
Steuen Sparrow.
Thomas Stokes.
Richard Shepard.
Henry Spranger.
William Stonnard.
Steuen Sad.
Iohn Stockley.
Thomas Steuens.
Matthew Shepard.
Thomas Sherwell.
William Seabright, Esquire.
Nicholas Sherwell.
Augustine Steward.
Thomas Stile.
Abraham Speckhard.
Edmund Scot.
Francis Smalman.
Gregory Sprint, Esquire.
Thomas Stacey.
William Sandbatch.
Augustine Stuard, Esquire.

T

Sir William Twisden.
Sir William Throckmorton.
Sir Nicholas Tufton.
Sir Iohn Trener.
Sir Thomas Tracy.
George Thorpe, Esquire.
Doctor William Turner.
The Trinity house.
Richard Turner.
Iohn Tauerner.
Daniel Tucker.
Charles Towler.
William Tayler.
Leonard Townson.
Richard Tomlins.
Francis Tate, Esquire.
Andrew Troughton.
George Tucker.
Henry Timberlake.
William Tucker.
Lewis Tite.
Robert Thornton.

V

Sir Horatio Vere.
Sir Walter Vaughan.
Henry Vincent.
Richard Venne.
Christopher Vertue.
Iohn Vassell.
Arthur Venne.

W

Henry Bishop of VVorcester.
Francis West, Esquire.
Sir Ralph Winwood.
Sir Iohn Wentworth.
Sir William Waad.
Sir Robert Wroth.
Sir Percival Willoby.
Sir Charles Wilmott.
Sir Iohn Wats.
Sir Hugh Worrell.
Sir Edward Waterhouse.
Sir Thomas Wilsford.
Sir Richard Williamson.
Sir Iohn Wolstenholme.
Sir Thomas Walsingham.
Sir Thomas Watson.
Sir Thomas Wilson.
Sir Iohn Weld.
Mistris Kath. West, now Lady Conway.
Iohn Wroth, Esquire.
Captaine Maria Winckfield, Esquire.
Thomas Webb.
Rice Webb.
Edward Webb.
Sands Webb.
Felix Wilson.
Thomas White.
Richard Wiffen.

William Williamſon.
Humfrey Weſtwood.
Hugh Willeſton.
Thomas Wheatley.
William Wattey.
William Webſter.
Iames White.
Edmund Winne.
Iohn Weſt.
Iohn Wright.
Edward Wooller.
Thomas Walker.
Iohn Wooller.
Iohn Weſtrow.
Edward Welch.
Nathaniel Waad.
Richard Widowes.
Danid Waterhouſe, Eſquire.
Captaine Owen Winne.
Randall Wetwood.
George Wilmer, Eſquire.
Edward Wilkes.
Leonard White.
Andrew Willmer.
Clement Willmer.
George Walker.
William Welbie.
Francis Whiſtler.
Thomas Wells.

Captaine Thomas Winne.
Iohn Whittingham.
Thomas Wheeler.
William Willet.
Deuereux Woogan.
Iohn Walker.
Thomas Wood.
Iohn Willet.
Nicholas Wheeler.
Thomas Wale.
William Wilſton.
Iohn Waller.
William Ward.
William Willeſton.
Iohn Water.
Thomas Warr, Eſquire.
Danid Wiffen.
Garret Weſton.

Y

Sir George Yeardley, now Gouernour of Virginia.
William Yong.
Simon Yeomans.

Z

Edward, Lord Zouch.
Iohn Zouch, Eſquire.

THat moſt generous and moſt honourable Lord, the Earle of South-hampton, being pleaſed to take vpon him the title of Treaſurer, and Maſter *Iohn Farrar* his Deputy, with ſuch inſtructions as were neceſſary, and admonitions to all Officers to take heede of extortion, ingroſing commodities, foreſtalling of markets, eſpecially to haue a vigilant care, the familiarity of the Saluages liuing amongſt them made them not way to betray or ſurprize them, for the building of Gueſt-houſes to relieue the weake in, and that they did wonder in all this time they had made no diſcoueries, nor knew no more then the very place whereon they did inhabit, nor yet could euer ſee any returne for all this continuall charge and trouble, therefore they ſent to be added to the Councell ſeuen Gentlemen, namely M^r. *Thorp*, Captaine *Nuce*, M^r. *Tracy*, Captaine *Middleton*, Captaine *Blount*, M^r. *Iohn Pountas*, and M^r. *Harwood*, with men, munition, and all things thought fitting, but they write from *Virginia*, many of the Ships were ſo peſtred with diſeaſed people, & thronged together in their paſſage, there was much ſickneſſe and a great mortality, wherfore they deſired rather a few able ſufficient men well prouided, then great multitudes, and becauſe there were few accidents of note, but priuate aduertiſements by letters, we will conclude this yeere, and proceed to the next. *Collected out of the Councels letters for Virginia.*

1621. The Earle of South-hampton Treaſurer. Maſter *Iohn Farrar* Deputy.

The inſtructions and aduertiſements for this yeere were both from *England* and *Virginia*, much like the laſt: only whereas before they had euer a ſuſpicion of *Opechankanough*, and all the reſt of the Saluages, they had an eye ouer him more then any, but now they all write ſo confidently of their aſſured peace with the Saluages, there is now no more feare nor danger either of their power or trechery, ſo that euery man planteth himſelfe where he pleaſeth, and followeth his buſineſſe ſecurely. But the time of Sir *George Yearley* being neere expired, the Councel here made

made choiſe of a worthy young Gentleman Sir *Francis Wyat* to ſucceed him, whom they forthwith furniſhed and prouided, as they had done his Predeceſſors, with all the neceſſary inſtructions all theſe times had acquainted them for the conuerſion of the Saluages, the ſuppreſſing of planting Tobacco, and planting of Corne, not depending continually to be ſupplied by the Saluages, but in caſe of neceſſity to trade with them, whom long ere this, it hath beene promiſed and expected ſhould haue beene fed and relieued by the Engliſh, not the Engliſh by them; and carefully to redreſſe all the complaints of the needleſſe mortality of their people, and by all diligence ſeeke to ſend ſomething home to ſatisfie the Aduenturers, that all this time had only liued vpon hopes, grew ſo weary and diſcouraged, that it muſt now be ſubſtance that muſt maintaine their proceedings, & not letters, excuſes and promiſes; ſeeing they could get ſo much and ſuch great eſtates for themſelues, as to ſpend after the rate of 100. pounds, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. nay ſome 2000. or 3000. pounds yearely, that were not worth ſo many pence when they went to *Virginia*, can ſcarce containe themſelues either in diet, apparell, gaming, and all manner of ſuch ſuperfluity, within a leſſe compaſſe than our curious, coſtly, and conſuming Gallants here in *England*, which cannot poſſibly be there ſupported, but either by oppreſſing the Comminalty there, or deceiuing the generality here (or both.) *Extracted out of the Councels Letters for Virginia.*

The election of Sir *Francis Wyat* Gouernour for *Virginia*.

Notes worthy obſeruation.

From *Virginia*, by the relations of the Chieftains there, & many I haue conferred with, that came from thence hither, I haue much admired to heare of the incredible pleaſure, profit and plenty this Plantation doth abound in, and yet could neuer heare of any returne but Tobacco, but it hath oft amazed me to vnderſtand how ſtrangely the Saluages hath beene taught the vſe of our armes, and imploied in hunting and fowling with our fowling peeces, and our men rooting in the ground about Tobacco like Swine; beſides that, the Saluages that doe little but continually exerciſe their bow and arrowes, ſhould dwell and lie ſo familiarly amongſt our men that practiſed little but the Spade, being ſo farre aſunder, and in ſuch ſmall parties diſperſed, and neither Fort, exerciſe of armes vſed, Ordnances mounted, Courts of guard, nor any preparation nor prouiſion to preuent a forraine enemy, much more the Saluages howſoeuer; for the Saluages vncertaine conformity I doe not wonder, but for their conſtancy and conuerſion, I am and euer haue beene of the opinion of Maſter *Ionas Stockam* a Miniſter in *Virginia*, who euen at this time, when all things were ſo proſperous, and the Saluages at the point of conuerſion, againſt all their Gouernours and Councels opinions, writ to the Councell and Company in *England* to this effect.

A degreſſion.

May 28.

Maſter Stockams relation.

VVE that haue left our natiue country to ſoiourne in a ſtrange land, ſome idle ſpectators, who either cowardly dare not, or couetouſly will not aduenture either their purſes or perſons in ſo commendable a worke; others ſupporting *Atlas* of this almoſt vnſupportable burdens as your ſelues, without whoſe aſſiſtance this *Virginia* Firmament (in which ſome) and I hope in ſhort time will ſhine many more glorious Starres, though there be many Italiannated and Spaniolized Engliſhmen enuies our proſperities, and by all their ignominious ſcandals they can deuiſe ſeekes to diſhearten what they can, thoſe that are willing to further this glorious enterprize, to ſuch I wiſh according to the decree of *Darius*, that whoſoeuer is an enemy to our peace, and ſeeketh either by getting monipolicall patens, or by forging vniuſt tales to hinder our welfare, that his houſe were pulled downe, and a paire of gallowes made of the wood, and he hanged on them in the place.

As for thoſe laſie ſeruants, who had rather ſtand all day idle, than worke, though but an houre in this Vineyard, and ſpend their ſubſtance riotouſly, than caſt the ſuperfluity of their wealth into your Treaſury, I leaue them as they are to the eternall Iudge of the world. But you right worthy, that hath aduentured ſo freely, I

will not examine, if it were for the glory of God, or your desire of gaine, which it may be you expect should flow vnto you with a full tide, for the conuersion of the Saluages: I wonder you vse not the meanes, I confesse you say well to haue them conuerted by faire meanes, but they scorne to ackowledge it, as for the gifts bestowed on them they deuoure them, and so they would the giuers if they could, and though many haue endeuoured by all the meanes they could by kindnesse to conuert them, they finde nothing from them but derision and ridiculous answers. We haue sent boies amongst them to learne their Language, but they returne worse than they went; but I am no States-man, nor loue I to meddle with any thing but my Bookes, but I can finde no probability by this course to draw them to goodnesse; I and am perswaded if *Mars* and *Minerua* goe hand in hand, they will effect more good in an houre, then those verball Mercurians in their liues, and till their Priests and Ancients haue their throats cut, there is no hope to bring them to conuersion.

The gouernment of Sir Francis Wyat.

The arriuall of Sir *Francis Wyat.*

ABout October arriued Sir *Francis Wyat*, with Master *George Sands*, appointed Treasurer, Master *Danison* Secretary, Doctor *Pot* the Physician, and Master *Cloyburne* the Surgian, but much prouision was very badly conditioned, nay the Hogs would not eat that Corne they brought, which was a great cause of their sicknesse and mortality, and whatsoeuer is said against the *Virginia* Corne, they finde it doth better nourish than any prouision is sent thither; the Sailers still they complaine are much to blame for imbesling the prouisions sent to priuate men, killing of Swine, and disorderly trucking; for which some order would be taken.

In them nine Ships that went with Sir *Francis Wyat* not one Passenger died, at his arriuall he sent Master *Thorpe* to *Opechancanough*, whom hee found much satisfied with his comming, to confirme their leagues as he had done his Predecessors, and so contented his people should coinhabit amongst them, and hee found more motions of Religion in him than could be imagined: euery man betaking himselfe to his quarter, it was ordered, that for euery head they should plant but 1000. Plants of Tobacco, and vpon each plant nine leaues, which will be about 100. weight, the Corne being appointed but at two shillings & six pence the bushell, required such labour, it caused most men neglect it, and depend vpon trade; where were it rated at ten shillings the bushell, euery man would indeuour to haue plenty to sell to the new commers, or any that wanted, and seldome any is transported from *England*, but it standeth in as much, besides the hazard and other necessaries, the Ships might transport of that burden. The 22. of Nouember arriued Master *Gookin* out of *Ireland*, with fifty men of his owne, and thirty Passengers, exceedingly well furnished with all sorts of prouision and cattle, and planted himselfe at *Nupors-nemise* the Cotten trees in a yeere grew so thicke as ones arme, and so high as a man: there any thing that is planted doth prosper so well as in no place better. For the mortality of the people accuse not the place, for of the old Planters and the families scarce one of twenty miscarries, onely the want of necessaries are the occasions of those diseases. And so wee will conclude this yeere with the shipping and numbers sent. *Out of the Counsels Letters from Virginia.*

Master *Gookins* Plantation.

The number of Ships and men

This yeere was sent one and twenty saile of Ships that imployed more than 400. sailers and 1300. men, women and children of diuers faculties, with foure score cattle; the *Tiger* fell in the Turkes hands, yet safely escaped, and by the returne of their letters from thence, the company is assured there can bee no fitter places of Mines, Wood and Water for Iron than there; and the French men affirme no Country is more proper for Vines, Oliues, Sike, Rice and Salt, &c. of which the next yeere they promise a good quantity.

GIFTS.

GIFTS.

THe Gentlemen and Mariners that came in the *Royall Iames* from the *Eaſt-Indies*, gaue towards the building of a free Schoole 70 pound, eight ſhillings, and ſix pence; and an vnknowne perſon to further it, ſent thirtie pounds; and another in like manner fiue & twentie pounds; another refuſing to be made knowne, gaue fortie ſhillings yeerely for a Sermon before the *Virginia* companie: alſo another that would not be knowne, ſent for the College at *Henrico*, many excellent good religious bookes, worth ten pound, & a moſt curious Map of al that coaſt of *America*. Maſter *Thomas Bargane* their Preacher there deceaſed, gaue a Librarie valued at one hundred Markes: and the Inhabitants hath made a contribution of one thouſand and fiue hundred pounds, to build a houſe for the entertaining of ſtrangers. This yeere alſo there was much ſuing for Patents for Plantations, who promiſed to tranſporte ſuch great multitudes of people: there was much diſputing concerning thoſe diuiſions, as though the whole land had beene too little for them: ſix and twentie obtained their deſires, but as yet not paſt ſix hath ſent thither a man; notwithſtanding many of them would haue more, and are not well contented; whom I would intreat, and all other wranglers, to peruſe this ſaying of honeſt *Claudius*.

Gifts giuen.

Patents granted.

See'ſt not the world of Natures worke, the faireſt well, I wot,
How it, it ſelfe together ties, as in a true-lones knot.
Nor ſeeſt how th' Elements ayre combin'd, maintaine one conſtant plea;
How midſt of heauen contents the Sunne, and ſhore containes the ſea;
And how the aire both compaſſeth, and carrieth ſtill earths frame,
Yet neither preſſing burdens it, nor parting leanes the ſame.

The obſeruations of Maſter Iohn Pory *Secretarie of* Virginia, *in his trauels.*

HAuing but ten men meanly prouided to plant the Secretaries land on the Eaſterne ſhore neere *Acomack*, Captaine *Wilcocks* plantation, the better to ſecure and aſſiſt each other. Sir *George Yearley* intending to viſit *Smiths* Iles, fell ſo ſicke that he could not, ſo that he ſent me with *Eſtinien Moll* a French-man, to finde a conuenient place to make ſalt in. Not long after *Namenacus* the King of *Pawtuxunt*, came to vs to ſeeke for *Thomas Saluage* our Interpreter. Thus inſinuating himſelfe, he led vs into a thicket, where all ſitting downe, he ſhewed vs his naked breſt; asking if we ſaw any deformitie vpon it, we told him, No; No more, ſaid hee, is the inſide, but as ſincere and pure; therefore come freely to my Countrie and welcome: which wee promiſed wee would within ſix weekes after. Hauing taken a muſter of the companies tenants, I went to *Smiths* Iles, where was our Salt-houſe: not farre off wee found a more conuenient place, and ſo returned to *Iames* towne.

My iourney to the Eaſterne ſhore.

A good place to make ſalt in

Being furniſhed the ſecond time, wee arriued at *Aquo hanock*, and conferred with *Kiptopeke* their King. Paſſing *Ruſſels* Ile and *Onancoke*, we arriued at *Pawtuxunt*: the diſcription of thoſe places, you may reade in Captaine *Smiths* diſcoueries, therefore needleſſe to bee writ againe. But here arriuing at *Attoughcomoco* the habitation of *Namenacus* and *Wamanato*, his brother, long wee ſtaied not ere they came aboord vs with a braſſe Kettle, as bright without as within, ful of boyled Oiſters. Strict order was giuen none ſhould offend vs, ſo that the next day I went with the two Kings a hunting, to diſcouer what I could in their confines. *Wamanato* brought mee firſt to his houſe, where hee ſhewed mee his wife and children, and many Corne-fields; and being two miles within the woods a hunting, as the younger conducted me forth, ſo the elder brought me home, and

The King of *Pawtuxunt* entertainment.

vſed

vſed me as kindly as he could, after their manner. The next day he preſented me twelue Beuer skinnes and a Canow, which I requited with ſuch things to his content, that he promiſed to keepe them whilſt hee liued, and burie them with him being dead. Hee much wondered at our Bible, but much more to heare it was the Law of our God, and the firſt Chapter of *Geneſis* expounded of *Adam* and *Eue*, and ſimple mariage; to which he replyed, hee was like *Adam* in one thing, for he neuer had but one wife at once: but he, as all the reſt, ſeemed more willing of other diſcourſes they better vnderſtood. The next day the two Kings with their people, came aboord vs, but brought nothing according to promiſe; ſo that Enſigne *Saluage* challenged *Namenacus* the breach of three promiſes, *viz.* not in giuing him a Boy, nor Corne, though they had plentie, nor *Montapaſſ* a fugitiue, called *Robert Marcum*, that had liued 5. yeeres amongſt thoſe northerly nations, which hee cunningly anſwered by excuſes. *Womanato* it ſeemes, was guiltleſſe of this falſhood, becauſe hee ſtaied alone when the reſt were gone. I asked him if he deſired to bee great and rich; he anſwered, They were things all men aſpired vnto: which I told him he ſhould be, if he would follow my counſell, ſo he gaue me two tokens, which being returned by a meſſenger, ſhould ſuffice to make him confident the meſſenger could not abuſe vs.

Some things being ſtolne from vs, he tooke ſuch order that they were preſently reſtored, then we interchanged preſents: in all things hee much admired our diſcretions, and gaue vs a guide that hee called brother, to conduct vs vp the Riuer: by the way we met with diuers that ſtil could vs of *Marcum*: and though it was in October, we found the Countrie very hot, and their Corne gathered before ours at *Iames* towne. The next day we went to *Paccamaganant*, and they directed vs to *Aſſacomoco*, where their King *Caſſatowap* had an old quarrell with Enſigne *Saluage*, but now ſeeming reconciled, went with vs, with another Werowance towards *Mattapanient*, where they perſwaded vs aſhore vpon the point of a thicket; but ſuppoſing it ſome trecherie, we returned to our boat: farre we had not gone from the ſhore, but a multitude of Saluages ſallied out of the wood, with all the ill words and ſignes of hoſtilitie they could. When wee ſaw plainly their bad intent, wee ſet the two Werowances at libertie, that all this while had line in the Cabbin, as not taking any notice of their villanie, becauſe we would conuert them by courteſie. Leauing them as we found them, very ciuill and ſubtill, wee returned the ſame way wee came, to the laughing Kings on the Eaſterne ſhore, who told vs plainly, *Namanicus* would alſo haue allured him into his Countrie, vnder colour of trade to cut his throat. Hee told vs alſo *Opechancanough* had imployed *Onianimo* to kill *Saluage*, becauſe he brought the trade from him to the Eaſterne ſhore, and ſome diſgrace hee had done his ſonne, and ſome thirteene of his people before one hundred of thoſe Eaſterlings in reſcuing *Thomas Graues* whom they would haue ſlaine, where hee and three more did challenge the thirteene *Pamaunkes* to fight, but they durſt not, ſo that all thoſe Eaſterlings ſo derided them, that they came there no more.

The trecherie of *Namanicus*.

This *Thomas Saluage*, it is ſixteene yeeres ſince he went to *Virginia*, being a boy, hee was left with *Powhatan*, for *Namontacke* to learne the language, and as this Author affirmeth, with much honeſtie and good ſucceſſe hath ſerued the publike without any publike recompence, yet had an arrow ſhot through his body in their ſeruice. This laughing King at *Accomack*, tels vs the land is not two daies iourny ouer in the broadeſt place, but in ſome places a man may goe in halfe a day, betwixt the Bay and the maine Ocean, where inhabit many people, ſo that by the narrowneſſe of the Land there is not many Deere, but moſt abundance of Fiſh and Fowle. *Kiptope* his brother rules as his Lieutenant, who ſeeing his younger brother more affected by the people than himſelfe, freely reſigned him the moitie of his Countrie, applying himſelfe onely to husbandry and hunting, yet nothing neglected in his degree, nor is hee careleſſe of any thing concernes the ſtate, but as a vigilant and faithfull Counceller, as hee is an affectionated brother,

Thomas Saluages good ſeruice.

Brother, bearing the greater burden in gouernment, though the leſſer honour, where cleane contrary they on the Weſterne ſhore, the younger beares the charge, and the elder the dignitie. Thoſe are the beſt husbands of any Saluages we know: for they prouide Corne to ſerue them all the yeare, yet ſpare; and the other not for halfe the yeare, yet want. They are the moſt ciuill and tractable people we haue met with, and by little ſticks will keepe as iuſt an account of their promiſes, as by a tally. In their mariages they obſerue a large diſtance, as well in affinitie as conſanguinitie; nor doe they vſe that deuilliſh cuſtome in making black Boyes. There may be on this ſhore about two thouſand people: they on the Weſt would inuade them, but that they want Boats to croſſe the Bay, and ſo would diuers other Nations, were they not protected by vs. A few of the Weſterly Runnagados had conſpired againſt the laughing King, but fearing their treaſon was diſcouered, fled to *Smiths* Iles, where they made a maſſacre of Deere and Hogges; and thence to *Rickahake*, betwixt *Ciſſapeack* and *Nanſamund*, where they now are ſeated vnder the command of *Itoyatin*, and ſo I returned to *Iames* Towne, where I found the gouernment rendred to Sir *Francis Wyat*. In February alſo he trauelled to the South Riuer *Chawonock*, ſome ſixtie miles ouer land, which he found to be a very fruitfull and pleaſant Country, yeelding two harueſts in a yeare, and found much of the Silke graſſe formerly ſpoken of, was kindly vſed by the people, and ſo returned.

Captaine Each *ſent to build a Fort to ſecure the Countrey.*

1622. The Earle of Southampton Treaſurer, and *Nicolas Farrar* Deputy.

IT was no ſmall content to all the Aduenturers to heare of the ſafe ariuall of all thoſe ſhips and companies, which was thought ſufficient to haue made a Plantation of themſelues: and againe to ſecond them, was ſent Captaine *Each* in the *Abigale*, a ſhip of three or foure hundred tunnes, who hath vndertaken to make a Block-houſe amongſt the Oyſter banks, that ſhall ſecure the Riuer. The furniſhing him with Inſtruments, coſt three hundred pounds; but the whole charge and the ſhips returne, will be neere two thouſand pounds. In her went Captaine *Barwicke* with fiue and twentie men for the building ſhips and Boats, and not other waies to be imploied: and alſo a ſelected number to build the *Eaſt Indie* Schoole, but as yet from *Virginia* little returnes but priuate mens Tobacco, and faire promiſes of plentie of Iron, Silke, Wine, and many other good and rich commodities, beſides the ſpeedy conuerſion of the Saluages, that at firſt were much diſcouraged from liuing amongſt them, when they were debarred the vſe of their peeces; therefore it was diſputed as a matter of State, whether ſuch as would liue amongſt them ſhould vſe them or not, as a bait to allure them; or at leaſt ſuch as ſhould bee called to the knowledge of Chriſt. But becauſe it was a great trouble for all cauſes to be brought to *Iames* Towne for a triall, Courts were appointed in conuenient places to releeue them: but as they can make no Lawes in *Virginia* till they be ratified here; ſo they thinke it but reaſon, none ſhould bee inacted here without their conſents, becauſe they onely feele them, and muſt liue vnder them. Still they complaine for want of Corne, but what muſt be had by Trade, and how vnwilling any Officer when he leaueth his place, is to make good his number of men to his Succeſſor, but many of them during their times to help themſelues, vndoes the Company: for the ſeruants you allow them, or ſuch as they hire, they plant on their priuate Lands, not vpon that belongeth to their office, which crop alwaies exceeds yours, beſides thoſe which are your tenants to halfes, are forced to row them vp and downe, whereby both you and they loſe more then halfe. Nor are thoſe officers the ableſt or beſt deſeruing, but make their experience vpon the companies coſt, and your land lies vnmanured to any purpoſe, and will yeeld as little profit to your next new officers.

Fiue and twentie ſent only to build Barks and Boats.

The

The massacre vpon the two and twentieth of March.

The death of *Nemattanow*, writ by *M. Wimp.*

THe Prologue to this Tragedy, is supposed was occasioned by *Nemattanow*, otherwise called *Iack* of the *Feather*, because hee commonly was most strangely adorned with them; and for his courage and policy, was accounted amongst the Saluages their chiefe Captaine, and immortall from any hurt could bee done him by the *English*. This Captaine comming to one *Morgans* house, knowing he had many commodities that hee desired, perswaded *Morgan* to goe with him to *Pamaunke* to trucke, but the Saluage murdered him by the way; and after two or three daies returned againe to *Morgans* house, where he found two youths his Seruants, who asked for their Master: *Iack* replied directly he was dead; the Boyes suspecting as it was, by seeing him weare his Cap, would haue had him to Master *Thorp*: But *Iack* so moued their patience, they shot him, so he fell to the ground, put him in a Boat to haue him before the Gouernor, then seuen or eight miles from them. But by the way *Iack* finding the pangs of death vpon him, desired of the Boyes two things; the one was, that they would not make it knowne hee was slaine with a bullet; the other, to bury him amongst the *English*. At the losse of this Saluage *Opechankanough* much grieued and repined, with great threats of reuenge; but the *English* returned him such terrible answers, that he cunningly dissembled his intent, with the greatest signes he could of loue and peace, yet within foureteene daies after he acted what followeth.

Security a bad guard.

Sir *Francis Wyat* at his arriuall was aduertised, he found the Countrey setled in such a firme peace, as most men there thought sure and vnuiolable, not onely in regard of their promises, but of a necessitie. The poore weake Saluages being euery way bettered by vs, and safely sheltred and defended, whereby wee might freely follow our businesse: and such was the conceit of this conceited peace, as that there was seldome or neuer a sword, and seldomer a peece, except for a Deere or Fowle, by which assurances the most plantations were placed straglingly and scatteringly, as a choice veine of rich ground inuited them, and further from neighbours the better. Their houses generally open to the Saluages, who were alwaies friendly fed at their tables, and lodged in their bed-chambers, which made the way plaine to effect their intents, and the conuersion of the Saluages as they supposed.

Hauing occasion to send to *Opechankanough* about the middle of March, hee vsed the Messenger well, and told him he held the peace so firme, the sky should fall or he dissolued it; yet such was the treachery of those people, when they had contriued our destruction, euen but two daies before the massacre, they guided our men with much kindnesse thorow the woods, and one *Browne* that liued among them to learne the language, they sent home to his Master; yea, they borrowed our Boats to transport themselues ouer the Riuer, to consult on the deuillish murder that insued, and of our vtter extirpation, which God of his mercy (by the meanes of one of themselues conuerted to Christianitie) preuented, and as well on the Friday morning that fatall day, being the two and twentieth of March, as also in the euening before, as at other times they came vnarmed into our houses, with Deere, Turkies, Fish, Fruits, and other prouisions to sell vs, yea in some places sat downe at breakfast with our people, whom immediatly with their owne tooles they slew most barbarously, not sparing either age or sex, man woman or childe, so sudden in their execution, that few or none discerned the weapon or blow that brought them to destruction: In which manner also they slew many of our people at seuerall works in the fields, well knowing in what places and quarters each of our men were, in regard of their familiaritie with vs, for the effecting that great master-peece of worke their conuersion; and by this meanes fell that fatall morning vnder the bloudy and barbarous hands of that perfidious

The manner of the massacre.

fidious and inhumane people, three hundred forty ſeuen men, women and children, moſt by their owne weapons, and not being content with their liues, they fell againe vpon the dead bodies, making as well as they could a freſh murder, defacing, dragging, and mangling their dead carkaſes into many peeces, and carying ſome parts away in derilion, with baſe and brutiſh triumph.

Their cruelty.

Neither yet did theſe beaſts ſpare thoſe amongſt the reſt well knowne vnto them, from whom they had daily receiued many benefits, but ſpightfully alſo maſſacred them without any remorſe or pitie; being in this more fell then Lions and Dragons, as Hiſtories record, which haue preſerued their Benefactors; ſuch is the force of good deeds, though done to cruell beaſts, to take humanitie vpon them, but theſe miſcreants put on a more vnnaturall brutiſhneſſe then beaſts, as by thoſe inſtances may appeare.

The murder of Maſter *Thorp*.

That worthy religious Gentleman M. *George Thorp*, Deputie to the College lands, ſometimes one of his Maieſties Penſioners, & in command one of the principall in *Virginia*; did ſo truly affect their conuerſion, that whoſoeuer vnder him did them the leaſt diſpleaſure, were puniſhed ſeuerely. He thought nothing too deare for them, he neuer denied them any thing, in ſo much that when they complained that our Maſtiues did feare them, he to content them in all things, cauſed ſome of them to be killed in their preſence, to the great diſpleaſure of the owners, and would haue had all the reſt guelt to make them the milder, might he haue had his will. The King dwelling but in a Cottage, he built him a faire houſe after the Engliſh faſhion, in which he tooke ſuch pleaſure, eſpecially in the locke and key, which he ſo admired, as locking and vnlocking his doore a hundred times a day, he thought no deuice in the world comparable to it.

Thus inſinuating himſelfe into this Kings fauour for his religious purpoſe, he conferred oft with him about Religion, as many other in this former Diſcourſe had done, and this Pagan confeſſed to him as he did to them, our God was better then theirs, and ſeemed to be much pleaſed with that Diſcourſe, and of his company, and to requite all thoſe courteſies; yet this viperous brood did, as the ſequell ſhewed, not onely murder him, but with ſuch ſpight and ſcorne abuſed his dead corps as is vnfitting to be heard with ciuill eares. One thing I cannot omit, that when this good Gentleman vpon his fatall houre, was warned by his man, who perceiuing ſome treachery intended by thoſe hell-hounds, to looke to himſelfe, and withall ran away for feare he ſhould be apprehended, and ſo ſaued his owne life; yet his Maſter out of his good meaning was ſo void of ſuſpition and full of confidence, they had ſlaine him, or he could or would beleeue they would hurt him.

The ſlaughter of Captaine *Powell*.

Captaine *Nathaniel Powell* one of the firſt Planters, a valiant Souldier, and not any in the Countrey better knowne amongſt them; yet ſuch was the error of an ouer-conceited power and proſperitie, and their ſimplicities, they not onely ſlew him and his family, but butcher-like hagled their bodies, and cut off his head, to expreſſe their vttermoſt height of cruelty.

A Saluage ſlaine.

Another of the old company of Captaine *Smith*, called *Nathaniel Cauſie*, being cruelly wounded, and the Saluages about him, with an axe did cleaue one of their heads, whereby the reſt fled and he eſcaped: for they hurt not any that did either fight or ſtand vpon their guard.

M. *Baldwines* eſcape.

In one place where there was but two men that had warning of it, they defended the houſe againſt 60. or more that aſſaulted it. M. *Baldwin* at *Warraskoyack*, his wife being ſo wounded, ſhe lay for dead, yet by his oft diſcharging of his peece, ſaued her, his houſe, himſelfe, & diuers others.

M. *Thomas Hamer* with 23 eſcapeth.

At the ſame time they came to one Maſter *Hariſons* houſe, neere halfe a mile from *Baldwines*, where was Maſter *Thomas Hamer* with ſix men, and eighteene or nineteene women and children. Here the Saluages with many preſents and faire perſwaſions, fained they came for Capt. *Ralfe Hamer* to go to their King, then hunting in the woods, preſently they ſent to him, but he not comming as they expected, ſet fire of a Tobacco-houſe, and then came to tell them in the dwelling houſe of it to quench it; all the men ran towards it, but Maſter *Hamer* not ſuſpecting any thing, whom

the Saluages purſued, ſhot them full of arrowes, then beat out their braines. *Hamer* hauing finiſhed a letter hee was a writing, followed after to ſee what was the matter, but quickly they ſhot an arrow in his back, which cauſed him returne and barricado vp the doores, whereupon the Saluages ſet fire on the houſe. *Hariſons* Boy finding his Maſters peece loaded, diſcharged it at randome, at which bare report the Saluages all fled, *Baldwin* ſtill diſcharging his peece, and Mr *Hamer* with two and twentie perſons thereby got to his houſe, leauing their owne burning. In like manner, they had fired Lieutenant *Baſſe* his houſe, with all the reſt there about, ſlaine the people, and ſo left that Plantation.

Captaine *Ralfe Hamer* with forty eſcapeth.

Captaine *Hamer* all this while not knowing any thing, comming to his Brother that had ſent for him to go hunt with the King, meeting the Saluages chaſing ſome, yet eſcaped, retired to his new houſe then a building, from whence he came; there onely with ſpades, axes, and brickbats, he defended himſelfe and his Company till the Saluages departed. Not long after, the Maſter from the ſhip had ſent ſix Musketiers, with which he recouered their Merchants ſtore-houſe, where he armed ten more, and ſo with thirtie more vnarmed workmen, found his Brother and the reſt at *Baldwins*: Now ſeeing all they had was burnt and conſumed, they repaired to *Iames* Towne with their beſt expedition; yet not far from *Martins* hundred, where ſeuenty three were ſlaine, was a little houſe and a ſmall family, that heard not of any of this till two daies after.

The Saluages attempt to ſurpriſe a ſhip.

All thoſe, and many others whom they haue as maliciouſly murdered, ſought the good of thoſe poore brutes, that thus deſpiſing Gods mercies, muſt needs now as miſcreants be corrected by Iuſtice: to which leauing them, I will knit together the thred of this diſcourſe. At the time of the maſſacre, there were three or foure ſhips in *Iames* Riuer, and one in the next, and daily more to come in, as there did within foureteene daies after, one of which they indeuoured to haue ſurpriſed: yet were the hearts of the Engliſh euer ſtupid, and auerted from beleeuing any thing might weaken their hopes, to win them by kinde vſage to Chriſtianitie. But diuers write from thence, that Almighty God hath his great worke in this Tragedy, and will thereout draw honor and glory to his name, and a more flouriſhing eſtate and ſafetie to themſelues, and with more ſpeed to conuert the Saluage children to himſelfe, ſince he ſo miraculouſly hath preſerued the Engliſh; there being yet, God be praiſed, eleuen parts of twelue remaining, whoſe careleſſe neglect of their owne ſafeties, ſeemes to haue beene the greateſt cauſe of their deſtructions: yet you ſee, God by a conuerted Saluage that diſcloſed the plot, ſaued the reſt, and the Pinnace then in *Pamavnkes* Riuer, whereof (ſay they) though our ſinnes made vs vnworthy of ſo glorious a conuerſion, yet his infinite wiſdome can neuertheleſſe bring it to paſſe, and in good time, by ſuch meanes as we thinke moſt vnlikely: for in the deliuery of them that ſuruiue, no mans particular carefulneſſe ſaued one perſon, but the meere goodneſſe of God himſelfe, freely and miraculouſly preſeruing whom he pleaſed.

The Letters of Maſter *George Sands*, a worthy Gentleman, and many others beſides them returned, brought vs this vnwelcome newes, that hath beene heard at large in publike Court, that the *Indians* and they liued as one Nation, yet by a generall combination in one day plotted to ſubuert the whole Colony, and at one inſtant, though our ſeuerall Plantations were one hundred and fortie miles vp on Riuer on both ſides.

But for the better vnderſtanding of all things, you muſt remember theſe wilde naked natiues liue not in great numbers together, but diſperſed, commonly in thirtie, fortie, fiftie, or ſixtie in a company. Some places haue two hundred, few places more, but many leſſe; yet they had all warning giuen them one from another in all their habitations, though farre aſunder, to meet at the day and houre appointed for our deſtruction at al our ſeueral Planrations; ſome directed to one place, ſome to another, all to be done at the time appointed, which they did accordingly: Some entring their houſes vnder colour of trading, ſo tooke their aduantage;

aduantage; others drawing vs abroad vnder faire pretences, and the reſt ſuddenly falling vpon thoſe that were at their labours.

Six of the counſell ſuffered vnder this treaſon, and the ſlaughter had beene vniuerſall, if God had not put it into the heart of an *Indian*, who lying in the houſe of one *Pace*, was vrged by another *Indian* his Brother, that lay with him the night before to kill *Pace*, as he ſhould doe *Perry* which was his friend, being ſo commanded from their King; telling him alſo how the next day the execution ſhould be finiſhed: *Perrys Indian* preſently aroſe and reueales it to *Pace*, that vſed him as his ſonne; and thus them that eſcaped was ſaued by this one conuerted Infidell. And though three hundred fortie ſeuen were ſlaine, yet thouſands of ours were by the meanes of this alone thus preſerued, for which Gods name be praiſed for euer and euer. Six of the Counſell ſlaine.

Pace vpon this, ſecuring his houſe, before day rowed to *Iames* Towne, and told the Gouernor of it, whereby they were preuented, and at ſuch other Plantations as poſſibly intelligence could be giuen: and where they ſaw vs vpon our guard, at the ſight of a peece they ranne away; but the reſt were moſt ſlaine, their houſes burnt, ſuch Armes and Munition as they found they tooke away, and ſome cattell alſo they deſtroied. Since wee finde *Opechankanough* the laſt yeare had practiſed with a King on the Eaſterne ſhore, to furniſh him with a kind of poiſon, which onely growes in his Country to poiſon vs. But of this bloudy acte neuer griefe and ſhame poſſeſſed any people more then themſelues, to be thus butchered by ſo naked and cowardly a people, who dare not ſtand the preſenting of a ſtaffe in manner of a peece, nor an vncharged peece in the hands of a woman. (But I muſt tell thoſe Authors, though ſome might be thus cowardly, there were many of them had better ſpirits.) How it was reuealed.

Thus haue you heard the particulars of this maſſacre, which in thoſe reſpects ſome ſay will be good for the Plantation; becauſe now we haue iuſt cauſe to deſtroy them by all meanes poſſible: but I thinke it had beene much better it had neuer happened, for they haue giuen vs an hundred times as iuſt occaſions long agoe to ſubiect them, (and I wonder I can heare of none but Maſter *Stockam* and Maſter *Whitaker* of my opinion.) Moreouer, where before we were troubled in cleering the ground of great Timber, which was to them of ſmall vſe: now we may take their owne plaine fields and Habitations, which are the pleaſanteſt places in the Country. Beſides, the Deere, Turkies, and other Beaſts and Fowles will exceedingly increaſe if we beat the Saluages out of the Country, for at all times of the yeare they neuer ſpare Male nor Female, old nor young, egges nor birds, fat nor leane, in ſeaſon or out of ſeaſon with them, all is one. The like they did in our Swine and Goats, for they haue vſed to kill eight in tenne more then we, or elſe the wood would moſt plentifully abound with victuall; beſides it is more eaſie to ciuilize them by conqueſt then faire meanes; for the one may be made at once, but their ciuilizing will require a long time and much induſtry. The manner how to ſuppreſſe them is ſo often related and approued, I omit it here: And you haue twenty examples of the *Spaniards* how they got the *Weſt-Indies*, and forced the treacherous and rebellious Infidels to doe all manner of drudgery worke and ſlauery for them, themſelues liuing like Souldiers vpon the fruits of their labours. This will make vs more circumſpect, and be an example to poſteritie: (But I ſay, this might as well haue beene put in practiſe ſixteene yeares agoe as now.) Memorandums. Captaine *Smith.*

Thus vpon this Anuill ſhall wee now beat our ſelues an Armour of proofe hereafter to defend vs againſt ſuch incurſions, and euer hereafter make vs more circumſpect: but to helpe to repaire this loſſe, beſides his Maieſties bounty in Armes, he gaue the Company out of the Tower, and diuers other Honorable perſons haue renewed their aduentures, we muſt not omit the Honorable Citie of *London*, to whoſe endleſſe praiſe wee may ſpeake it, are now ſetting forward one hundred perſons, and diuers others at their owne coſts are a repairing, and all His Maieſties gift. *London* ſets out 100 perſons.

good men doe thinke neuer the worſe of the buſineſſe for all theſe diſaſters.

What growing ſtate was there euer in the world which had not the like? *Rome* grew by oppreſſion, and roſe vpon the backe of her enemies: and the *Spaniards* haue had many of thoſe counterbuffes, more than we. *Columbus*, vpon his returne from the *Weſt-Indies* into *Spaine*, hauing left his people with the *Indies*, in peace and promiſe of good vſage amongſt them, at his returne backe found not one of them liuing, but all treacherouſly ſlaine by the Saluages. After this againe, when the Spaniſh Colonies were increaſed to great numbers, the *Indians* from whom the *Spaniards* for trucking ſtuffe vſed to haue all their corne, generally conſpired together to plant no more at all, intending thereby to famiſh them; themſelues liuing in the meane time vpon Caſſaua, a root to make bread, onely then knowne to themſelues. This plot of theirs by the *Spaniards* ouerſight, that fooliſhly depended vpon ſtrangers for their bread, tooke ſuch effect, and brought them to ſuch miſery by the rage of famine, that they ſpared no vncleane nor loathſome beaſt, no not the poiſonous and hideous Serpents, but eat them vp alſo, deuouring one death to ſaue them from another; and by this meanes their whole Colony well-neere ſurfeted, ſickned and died miſerably, and when they had againe recouered this loſſe, by their incontinency an infinite number of them died on the *Indian* diſeaſe, we call the French Pox, which at firſt being a ſtrange and an vnknowne malady, was deadly vpon whomſoeuer it lighted: then had they a little flea called *Nigua*, which got betweene the skinne and the fleſh before they were aware, and there bred and multiplied, making ſwellings and putrifactions, to the decay and loſſe of many of their bodily members.

A lamentable example, too oft approued.

Againe, diuers times they were neere vndone by their ambition, faction, and malice of the Commanders. *Columbus*, to whom they were alſo much beholden, was ſent with his Brother in chaines into *Spaine*; and ſome other great Commanders killed and murdered one another. *Pizzaro* was killed by *Almagros* ſonne, and him *Vaſco* beheaded, which *Vaſco* was taken by *Blaſco*, and *Blaſco* was likewiſe taken by *Pizzaros* Brother: And thus by their couetous and ſpightfull quarrels, they were euer ſhaking the maine pillars of their Common-weale. Theſe and many more miſchiefes and calamities hapned them, more then euer did to vs, and at one time being euen at the laſt gaſpe, had two ſhips not arriued with ſupplies as they did, they were ſo diſheartned, they were a leauing the Countrey: yet we ſee for all thoſe miſeries they haue attained to their ends at laſt, as is manifeſt to all the world, both with honour, power, and wealth: and whereas before few could be hired to goe to inhabit there, now with great ſute they muſt obtaine it; but where there was no honeſty, nor equity, nor ſanctitie, nor veritie, nor pietie, nor good ciuilitie in ſuch a Countrey, certainly there can bee no ſtabilitie.

Note this concluſion.

Therefore let vs not be diſcouraged, but rather animated by thoſe concluſions, ſeeing we are ſo well aſſured of the goodneſſe and commodities may bee had in *Virginia*, nor is it to be much doubted there is any want of Mines of moſt ſorts, no not of the richeſt, as is well knowne to ſome yet liuing that can make it manifeſt when time ſhall ſerue: and yet to thinke that gold and ſiluer Mines are in a country otherwiſe moſt rich and fruitfull, or the greateſt wealth in a Plantation, is but a popular error, as is that opinion likewiſe, that the gold and ſiluer is now the greateſt wealth of the Weſt Indies at this preſent. True it is indeed, that in the firſt conqueſt the Spaniards got great and mighty ſtore of treaſure from the Natiues, which they in long ſpace had heaped together, and in thoſe times the Indians ſhewed them entire and rich Mines, which now by the relations of them that haue beene there, are exceedingly waſted, ſo that now the charge of getting thoſe Metals is growne exceſſiue, beſides the conſuming the liues of many by their peſtilent ſmoke and vapours in digging and refining them, ſo that all things conſidered, the cleere gaines of thoſe metals, the Kings part defraied, to the Aduenturers is but ſmall, and nothing neere ſo much as vulgarly is imagined; and were it not

How the *Spaniards* raiſe their wealth in the Weſt Indies.

for

for other rich Commodities there that inrich them, thoſe of the Contraction houſe were neuer able to ſubſiſt by the Mines onely; for the greateſt part of their Commodities are partly naturall, and partly tranſported from other parts of the world, and planted in the *Weſt-Indies*, as in their mighty wealth of Sugarcanes, being firſt tranſported from the Canaries; and in Ginger and other things brought out of the *Eaſt-Indies*, in their Cochanele, Indicos, Cotton, and their infinite ſtore of Hides, Quick-ſiluer, Allum, Woad, Braſill woods, Dies, Paints, Tobacco, Gums, Balmes, Oiles, Medicinals and Perfumes, Saſſaparilla, and many other phyſicall drugs: Theſe are the meanes whereby they raiſe that mighty charge of drawing out their gold and ſiluer to the great & cleare reuenue of their King. Now ſeeing the moſt of thoſe commodities, or as vſefull, may be had in *Virginia* by the ſame meanes, as I haue formerly ſaid; let vs with all ſpeed take the priority of time, where alſo may be had the priority of place, in chuſing the beſt ſeats of the Country, which now by vanquiſhing the ſaluages, is like to offer a more faire and ample choice of fruitfull habitations, then hitherto our gentleneſſe and faire comportments could attaine vnto.

The numbers that were ſlaine in thoſe ſeuerall Plantations.

1 AT Captaine *Berkleys* Plantation, himſelfe and 21. others, ſeated at the *Falling-Crick*, 66. miles from *Iames* City. 22
2 Maſter *Thomas Sheffelds* Plantation, ſome three miles from the *Falling-Crick*, himſelfe and 12. others. 13
3 At *Henrico* Iland, about two miles from *Sheffelds* Plantation. 6
4 Slaine of the College people, twenty miles from *Henrico*. 17
5 At *Charles* City, and of Captaine *Smiths* men. 9
6 At the next adioyning Plantation. 8
7 At *William Farrars* houſe. 10
8 At *Brickley* hundred, fifty miles from *Charles* City, Maſter *Thorp* and 10
9 At *Weſtouer*, a mile from *Brickley*. 2
10 At Maſter *Iohn Weſts* Plantation. 2
11 At Captaine *Nathaniel Weſts* Plantation. 2
12 At Lieutenant *Gibs* his Plantation. 12
13 At *Richard Owens* houſe, himſelfe and 6
14 At Maſter *Owen Macars* houſe, himſelfe and 3
15 At *Martins* hundred, ſeuen miles from *Iames* City. 73
16 At another place. 7
17 At *Edward Bonits* Plantation. 50
18 At Maſter *Waters* his houſe, himſelfe and 4
19 At *Apamatucks* Riuer, at Maſter *Perce* his Plantation, fiue miles from the College. 4
20 At Maſter *Macocks* Diuident, Captaine *Samuel Macock*, and 4
21 At *Flowerda* hundred, Sir *George Tearleys* Plantation. 6
22 On the other ſide oppoſite to it. 7
23 At Maſter *Swinhows* houſe, himſelfe and 7
24 At Maſter *William Bickars* houſe, himſelfe and 4
25 At *Weanock*, of Sir *George Tearleys* people. 21
26 At *Powel Brooke*, Captaine *Nathaniel Powel*, and 12
27 At *South-hampton* hundred. 5
28 At *Martin Brandons* hundred. 7
29 At Captaine *Henry Spilmans* houſe. 2
30 At Enſigne *Spences* houſe. 5
31 At Maſter *Thomas Perſe* his houſe by *Mulbery* Ile, himſelfe and 4

The whole number 347.

Men

Men in this taking bettered with affliction,
Better attend, and mind, and marke Religion,
For then true voyces iſſue from their hearts,
Then ſpeake they what they thinke in inmoſt parts,
The truth remaines, they caſt off fained Arts.

How they were reduced to fiue or ſix places.

THis lamentable and ſo vnexpected a diſtaſter cauſed them all beleeue the opinion of Maſter *Stockam*, and draue them all to their wits end: it was twenty or thirty daies ere they could reſolue what to doe, but at laſt it was concluded, all the petty Plantations ſhould be abandoned, and drawne onely to make good fiue or ſix places, where all their labours now for the moſt part muſt redound to the Lords of thoſe Lands where they were reſident. Now for want of Boats, it was impoſſible vpon ſuch a ſudden to bring alſo their cattle, and many other things, which with much time, charge and labour they had then in poſſeſſion with them; all which for the moſt part at their departure was burnt, ruined and deſtroyed by the Saluages. Only Maſter *Gookins* at *Nuports-newes* would not obey the Commanders command in that, though hee had ſcarce fiue and thirty of all ſorts with him, yet he thought himſelfe ſufficient againſt what could happen, and ſo did to his great credit and the content of his Aduenturers. Maſter *Samuel Iorden* gathered together but a few of the ſtraglers about him at Beggers-buſh, where he fortified and liued in deſpight of the enemy. Nay, Miſtriſſe *Proctor*, a proper, ciuill, modeſt Gentlewoman did the like, till perforce the Engliſh Officers forced her and all them with her to goe with them, or they would fire her houſe themſelues, as the Saluages did when they were gone, in whoſe deſpight they had kept it, and what they had a moneth or three weekes after the Maſſacre; which was to their hearts a griefe beyond compariſon, to loſe all they had in that manner, onely to ſecure others pleaſures. Now here in *England* it was thought, all thoſe remainders might preſently haue beene reduced into fifties or hundreds in places moſt conuenient with what they had, hauing ſuch ſtrong houſes as they reported they had, which with ſmall labour might haue beene made inuincible Caſtles againſt all the Saluages in the Land, and then preſently raiſed a company, as a running Armie to torment the Barbarous and ſecure the reſt, and ſo haue had all that Country betwixt the Riuers of *Powhatan* and *Pamaunke* to range and ſuſtaine them; eſpecially all the territories of *Kecoughtan*, *Chiskait* and *Paſpahege*, from *Ozenies* to that branch of *Pamaunke*, comming from *Youghtanund*, which ſtrait of land is not paſt 4. or 5. miles, to haue made a peninſula much bigger then the Summer Iles, inuironed with the broadeſt parts of thoſe two maine Riuers, which for plenty of ſuch things as *Virginia* affords is not to be exceeded, and were it well manured, more then ſufficient for ten thouſand men. This, were it well vnderſtood, cannot but be thought better then to bring fiue or ſix hundred to lodge and liue on that, which before would not well receiue and maintaine a hundred, planting little or nothing, but ſpend that they haue vpon hopes out of *England*, one euill begetting another, till the diſeaſe is paſt cure: Therefore it is impoſſible but ſuch courſes muſt produce moſt fearefull miſeries and extreme extremities; if it proue otherwiſe, I ſhould be exceeding glad. I confeſſe I am ſomewhat too bold to cenſure other mens actions being not preſent, but they haue done as much of me; yea many here in *England* that were neuer there, & alſo many there that knowes little more then their Plantations, but as they are informed; and this doth touch the glory of God, the honour of my Country, and the publike good ſo much, for which there hath beene ſo many faire pretences, that I hope none will be angry for ſpeaking my opinion, ſeeing the old Prouerbe doth allow loſers leaue to ſpeake; and *Du Bartas* ſaith,

The opinion of Captaine *Smith*.

Euen as the wind the angry Ocean mones,
Wane hunteth Wane, and Billow Billow ſtones,

So

So doe all Nations iuſtell each the other,
And ſo one people doe purſue another,
And ſo wee a ſecond hath the firſt vnhouſed,
Before a third him thence againe haue rouſed.

The prouidence of Captaine *Nuſe.*

AMongſt the multitude of theſe ſeuerall Relations, it appeares Captaine *Nuſe* ſeeing many of the difficulties to enſue, cauſed as much Corne to be planted as he could at *Elizabeths* city, & though ſome deſtroyed that they had ſet, fearing it would ſerue the Saluages for Ambuſcadoes, truſting to releeſe by trade, or from *England*, which hath euer beene one cauſe of our miſeries, for from *England* wee haue not had much, and for trading, euery one hath not Ships, Shalops, Interpreters, men and prouiſions to performe it, and thoſe that haue, vſe them onely for their owne priuate gaine, not the publike good, ſo that our beginning this yeere doth cauſe many to diſtruſt the euent of the next. Here wee will leaue Captaine *Nuſe* for a while, lamenting the death of Captaine *Norton*, a valiant induſtrious Gentleman, adorned with many good qualities, beſides Phyſicke and Chirurgery, which for the publike good he freely imparted to all *gratis*, but moſt bountifully to the poore; and let vs ſpeake a little of Captaine *Croſhaw* amongſt the midſt of thoſe broiles in the Riuer of *Patawomeke*.

Captaine *Croſhaw* his voyage to *Patawomeck.*

Being in a ſmall Barke called the *Elizabeth*, vnder the command of Captaine *Spilman*, at *Cekacawone*, a Saluage ſtole aboord them, and told them of the Maſſacre, and that *Opechancanough* had plotted with his King and Country to betray them alſo, which they refuſed, but them of *Wighcocomoco* at the mouth of the riuer had vndertaken it; vpon this *Spilman* went thither, but the Saluages ſeeing his men ſo vigilant and well armed, they ſuſpected themſelues diſcouered, and to colour their guilt, the better to delude him, ſo contented his deſire in trade, his Pinnace was neere fraught; but ſeeing no more to be had, *Croſhaw* went to *Patawomeck*, where he intended to ſtay and trade for himſelfe, by reaſon of the long acquaintance he had with this King that ſo earneſtly entreated him now to be his friend, his countenancer, his Captaine and director againſt the *Pazaticans*, the *Nacotchtanks*, and *Moyaons* his mortall enemies. Of this oportunity *Croſhaw* was glad, as well to ſatisfie his owne deſire in ſome other purpoſe he had, as to keepe the King as an oppoſite to *Opechancanough*, and adhere him vnto vs, or at leaſt make him an inſtrument againſt our enemies; ſo onely *Elis Hill* ſtayed with him, and the Pinnace returned to *Elizabeths* City; here ſhall they reſt alſo a little, till we ſee how this newes was entertained in *England*.

The arriuall of this newes in *England.*

It was no ſmall griefe to the Councell and Company, to vnderſtand of ſuch a ſuppoſed impoſſible loſſe, as that ſo many ſhould fall by the hands of men ſo contemptible; and yet hauing ſuch warnings, eſpecially by the death of *Nemattanow*, whom the Saluages did thinke was ſhot-free, as he had perſwaded them, hauing ſo long eſcaped ſo many dangers without any hurt. But now to leape out of this labyrinth of melancholy, all this did not ſo diſcourage the noble aduenturers, nor diuers others ſtill to vndertake new ſeuerall Plantations, but that diuers ſhips were diſpatched away, for their ſupplies and aſſiſtance thought ſufficient. Yet Captaine *Smith* did intreat and moue them to put in practiſe his old offer, ſeeing now it was time to vſe both it and him, how ſlenderly heretofore both had beene regarded, and becauſe it is not impertinent to the buſineſſe, it is not much amiſſe to remember what it was.

The

The proiect and offer of Captaine Iohn Smith, *to the Right* Honourable, and Right Worſhipfull Company of *Virginia*.

Captaine *Smiths* offer to the Company.

IF you pleaſe I may be tranſported with a hundred Souldiers and thirty Sailers by the next *Michaelmas*, with victuall, munition, and ſuch neceſſary prouiſion, by Gods aſſiſtance, we would endeuour to inforce the Saluages to leaue their Country, or bring them in that feare and ſubiection that euery man ſhould follow their buſineſſe ſecurely, whereas now halfe their times and labours are ſpent in watching and warding, onely to defend, but altogether vnable to ſuppreſſe the Saluages, becauſe euery man now being for himſelfe will be vnwilling to be drawne from their particular labours, to be made as pack-horſes for all the reſt, without any certainty of ſome better reward and preferment then I can vnderſtand any there can or will yet giue them.

Theſe I would imploy onely in ranging the Countries, and tormenting the Saluages, and that they ſhould be as a running Army till this were effected, and then ſettle themſelues in ſome ſuch conuenient place, that ſhould euer remaine a gariſon of that ſtrength, ready vpon any occaſion againſt the Saluages, or any other for the defence of the Countrey, and to ſee all the Engliſh well armed, and inſtruct them their vſe. But I would haue a Barke of one hundred tunnes, and meanes to build ſixe or ſeuen Shalops, to tranſport them where there ſhould bee occaſion.

Towards the charge, becauſe it is for the generall good, and what by the maſſacre and other accidents, *Virginia* is diſparaged, and many men and their purſes much diſcouraged, how euer a great many doe haſten to goe, thinking to bee next heires to all the former loſſes, I feare they will not finde all things as they doe imagine; therefore leauing thoſe gilded conceits, and diue into the true eſtate of the Colony; I thinke if his Maieſtie were truly informed of their neceſſitie, and the benefit of this proiect, he would be pleaſed to giue the cuſtome of *Virginia*, and the Planters alſo according to their abilities would adde thereto ſuch a contribution, as would be fit to maintaine this gariſon till they be able to ſubſiſt, or cauſe ſome ſuch other collections to be made, as may put it with all expedition in practice; otherwiſe it is much to be doubted, there will neither come cuſtome, nor any thing from thence to *England* within theſe few yeares.

Now if this ſhould be thought an imploiment more fit for ancient Souldiers there bred, then ſuch new commers as may goe with me; you may pleaſe to leaue that to my diſcretion, to accept or refuſe ſuch voluntaries, that will hazard their fortunes in the trialls of theſe euents, and diſcharge ſuch of my company that had rather labour the ground then ſubdue their enemies: what releeſe I ſhould haue from your Colony I would ſatisfie and ſpare them (when I could) the like courteſie. Notwithſtanding theſe doubts, I hope to feede them as well as defend them, and yet diſcouer you more land vnknowne then they all yet know, if you will grant me ſuch priuiledges as of neceſſity muſt be vſed.

For againſt any enemy we muſt be ready to execute the beſt can be deuiſed by your ſtate there, but not that they ſhall either take away my men, or any thing elſe to imploy as they pleaſe by vertue of their authority, and in that I haue done ſomewhat for *New-England* as well as *Virginia*, ſo I would deſire liberty and authority to make the beſt vſe I can of my beſt experiences, within the limits of thoſe two Patents, and to bring them both in one Map, and the Countries betwixt them, giuing alwaies that reſpect to the Gouernors and gouernment, as an Engliſhman doth in *Scotland*, or a Scotchman in *England*, or as the regiments in the Low-countries doe to the Gouernors of the Townes and Cities where they are billited, or in Garriſon, where though they liue with them, and are as their

ſeruants

ſeruants to defend them, yet not to be diſpoſed on at their pleaſure, but as the Prince and State doth command them, and for my owne paines in particular I aske nor any thing but what I can produce from the proper labour of the Saluages.

Their Anſwer.

Their anſwer.

I Cannot ſay, it was generally for the Company, for being publiſhed in their Court, the moſt that heard it liked exceeding well of the motion, and ſome would haue been very large Aduenturers in it, eſpecially Sir *Iohn Brookes* and Maſter *Danid Wyffin*, but there were ſuch diuiſions amongſt them, I could obtaine no anſwer but this, the charge would be too great; their ſtocke was decayed, and they did thinke the Planters ſhould doe that of themſelues if I could finde meanes to effect it; they did thinke I might haue leaue of the Company, prouided they might haue halfe the pillage, but I thinke there are not many will much ſtriue for that imploiment, for except it be a little Corne at ſome time of the yeere is to be had, I would not giue twenty pound for all the pillage is to be got amongſt the Saluages in twenty yeeres: but becauſe they ſuppoſed I ſpake only for my owne ends, it were good thoſe vnderſtand prouidents for the Companies good they ſo much talke of, were ſent thither to make triall of their profound wiſdomes and long experiences.

The manner of the Sallary.

About this time alſo was propounded a propoſition concerning a Sallery of fiue and twenty thouſand pounds to be raiſed out of Tobacco, as a yeerely penſion to bee paid to certaine Officers for the erecting a new office, concerning the ſole importation of Tobacco, beſides his Maieſties cuſtome, fraught, and all other charges. To nominate the vndertakers, fauourers and oppoſers, with their arguments *(pro)* and *(con)* would bee too tedious and needleſſe being ſo publikely knowne; the which to eſtabliſh, ſpent a good part of that yeere, and the beginning of the next. This made many thinke wonders of *Virginia*, to pay ſuch penſions extraordinary to a few here that were neuer there, and alſo in what ſtate and pompe ſome Chieftaines and diuers of their aſſociates liue in *Virginia*, and yet no money to maintaine a Garriſon, pay poore men their wages, nor yet fiue and twenty pence to all the Aduenturers here, and very little to the moſt part of the Planters there, bred ſuch differences in opinion it was diſſolued.

Captaine *Croſhaw* ſtaies at *Patawomek*, and his aduentures.

Now let vs returne to Captaine *Croſhaw* at *Patawomek*, where he had not beene long ere *Opechancanough* ſent two baskets of beads to this King, to kill him and his man, aſſuring him of the Maſſacre he had made, and that before the end of two Moones there ſhould not be an Engliſhman in all their Countries: this feareſull meſſage the King told this Captaine, who replied, he had ſeene both the cowardiſe and trechery of *Opechancanough* ſufficiently tried by Captaine *Smith*, therefore his threats he feared not, nor for his fauour cared, but would nakedly fight with him or any of his with their owne ſwords; if he were ſlaine, he would leaue a letter for his Country men to know, the fault was his owne, not the Kings; two daies the King deliberated vpon an anſwer, at laſt told him the Engliſh were his friends, and the Saluage Emperour *Opitchapam* now called *Toyaran*, was his brother, therefore there ſhould be no bloud ſhed betwixt them, ſo hee returned the Preſents, willing the *Pamaunkes* to come no more in his Country, leſt the Engliſh, though againſt his will, ſhould doe them any miſchiefe.

The eſcape of *Waters* and his Wife.

Not long after, a Boat going abroad to ſeeke out ſome releeſe amongſt the Plantations, by *Nuports-newes* met ſuch ill weather, though the men were ſaued they loſt their boat, which the ſtorme and waues caſt vpon the ſhore of *Nandſamund*, where *Edward Waters* one of the three that firſt ſtayed in Summer Iles, and found the great peece of Amber-greece, dwelling in *Virginia* at this Maſſacre,

hee and his wife theſe *Nandſamunds* kept Priſoners till it chanced they found this Boat, at which purchaſe they ſo reioyced, according to their cuſtome of triumph, with ſongs, dances and inuocations, they were ſo buſied, that *Waters* and his wife found opportunitty to get ſecretly into their Canow, and ſo croſſed the Riuer to *Kecoughtan*, which is nine or ten miles, whereat the Engliſh no leſſe wondred and reioyced, then the Saluages were madded with diſcontent. Thus you may ſee how many deſperate dangers ſome men eſcape, when others die that haue all things at their pleaſure.

The arriuall of Captaine *Hamar* at *Patawomike*.

All men thinking Captaine *Croſhaw* dead, Captaine *Hamer* arriuing with a Ship and a Pinnace at *Patawomeke*, was kindly entertained both by him and the King; that *Don Hamar* told the King he came for Corne: the King replied hee had none, but the *Nacotchtanks* and their confederats had, which were enemies both to him and them; if they would ſerch it, he would giue them 40. or 50 choiſe Bow-men to conduct and aſſiſt them. Thoſe Saluages with ſome of the Engliſh they ſent, who ſo well played their parts, they ſlew 18. of the *Nacotchtanks*, ſome write but 4. and ſome they had a long skirmiſh with them; where the *Patawomeks* were ſo eager of reuenge, they driue them not onely out of their towne, but all out of ſight through the woods, thus taking what they liked, and ſpoiling the reſt, they retired to *Patawomek*, where they left Captaine *Croſhaw*, with foure men more, the reſt ſet ſaile for *Iames* towne. Captaine *Croſhaw* now with fiue men and himſelfe found night and day ſo many Alarums, he retired into ſuch a conuenient place, that with the helpe of the Saluages, hee had quickly fortified himſelfe againſt all thoſe wilde enemies. Captaine *Nuſe* his Pinnace meeting *Hamar* by the way vnderſtanding all this, came to ſee Captaine *Croſhaw*: after their beſt enterchanges of courteſies, *Croſhaw* writ to *Nuſe* the eſtate of the place where he was, but vnderſtanding by them the poore eſtate of the Colony, offered if they would ſend him but a bold Shallop, with men, armes and prouiſion for trade, the next Harueſt he would prouide them Corne ſufficient, but as yet it being but the latter end of *Iune*, there was little or none in all the Country.

Croſhaws Fort and plot for trade.

Captaine *Madyſon* ſent to *Patawomek*.

This being made knowne to the Gouernour and the reſt, they ſent Captaine *Madyſon* with a ſhip and pinnace, and ſome ſix and thirtie men: thoſe *Croſhaw* a good time taught the vſe of their armes, but receiuing a letter from *Boyſe* his Wife, a priſoner with nineteene more at *Pamavuke*, to vſe meanes to the Gouernour for their libertie; So hee dealt with this King, hee got firſt two of his great men to goe with him to *Iames* towne, and eight daies after to ſend foure of his counſell to *Pamavuke*, there to ſtay till he ſent one of his two to them, to perſwade *Opachankanough* to ſend two of his with two of the *Patawomekes*, to treat about thoſe priſoners, and the reſt ſhould remaine their hoſtage at *Pamavuke*; but the Commanders, at *Iames* towne, it ſeemes, liked not of it, and ſo ſent the *Patawomekes* backe againe to their owne Countrie, and Captaine *Croſhaw* to his owne habitation.

The induſtry of Captaine *Nuſe*.

All this time we haue forgot Captaine *Nuſe*, where we left him but newly acquainted with the Maſſacre, calling all his next adioyning diſperſed neighbours togeather, he regarded not the peſtring his owne houſe, nor any thing to releeue them, and with all ſpeed entrenched himſelfe, mounted three peece of Ordnance, ſo that within 14. daies, he was ſtrong enough to defend himſelfe from all the Saluages, yet when victuall grew ſcant, ſome that would forrage without order, which he puniſhed, neere occaſioned a mutiny. Notwithſtanding, he behaued himſelfe ſo fatherly and kindly to them all, they built two houſes for them, he daily expected from *England*, a faire Well of freſh water mantled with bricke, becauſe the Riuer and Cricks are there brackiſh or ſalt; in all which things he plaied the Sawyer, Carpenter, Dauber, Laborer, or any thing; wherein though his courage and heart were ſteeled, he found his body was not made of Iron, for hee had many ſickneſſes, and at laſt a Dropſie, no leſſe griefe to himſelfe, then ſorrow to his Wife and all vnder his gouernment. Theſe croſſes and loſſes were

no

no ſmall increaſers of his malady, nor the thus abandoning our Plantations, the loſſe of our Harueſt, and alſo Tobacco which was as our money; the Vineyard our Vineyerours had brought to a good forwardneſſe, bruiſed and deſtroyed with Deere, and all things ere they came to perfection, with weeds, diſorderly perſons or wild beaſts; ſo that as we are I cannot perceiue but the neat yeere will be worſe, being ſtill tormented with pride and flattery, idleneſſe and couetouſneſſe, as though they had vowed heere to keepe their Court with all the peſtilent vices in the world for their attendants, inchanted with a conceited ſtatelineſſe, euen in the very bottome of miſerable ſenſeleſneſſe.

Shortly after, Sir *George Yearly* and Captaine *William Powel*, tooke each of them a company of well diſpoſed Gentlemen and others to ſeeke their enemies. *Yearley* ranging the ſhore of *Weanock*, could ſee nothing but their old houſes which he burnt, and ſo went home: *Powel* ſearching another part, found them all fled but three he met by chance, whoſe heads hee cut off, burnt their houſes, and ſo returned; for the Saluages are ſo light and ſwift, though wee ſee them (being ſo loaded with armour) they haue much aduantage of vs though they be cowards. Captaine *Powel* kils 3. Saluages.

I confeſſe this is true, and it may cauſe ſome ſuppoſe they are grown inuincible: but will any goe to catch a Hare with a Taber and a Pipe? for who knowes not though there be monſters both of men and beaſts, fiſh and fowle, yet the greateſt, the ſtrongeſt, the wildeſt, cruelleſt, fierceſt and cunningeſt, by reaſon, art and vigilancy, courage and induſtry hath beene ſlaine, ſubiected or made tame, and thoſe are ſtill but Saluages as they were, onely growne more bold by our owne ſimplicities, and ſtill will be worſe and worſe till they be tormented with a continuall purſuit, and not with lying incloſed within Palizados, or affrighting them out of your ſights, thinking they haue done well, can but defend themſelues: and to doe this to any purpoſe, will require both charge, patience and experience. But to their proceedings. The opinion of Captaine *Smith*.

About the latter end of Iune, Sir *George Yearley* accompanied with the Councell, and a number of the greateſt Gallants in the Land, ſtayed three or foure daies with Captaine *Nuſe*, he making his moane to a chiefe man amongſt them for want of prouiſion for his Company, the great Commander replied hee ſhould turne them to his greene Corne, which would make them plumpe and fat: theſe fields being ſo neere the Fort, were better regarded and preſerued then the reſt, but the great mans command, as we call them, was quickly obeied, for though it was ſcarce halfe growne either to the greatneſſe or goodneſſe, they deuoured it greene though it did them ſmall good. Sir *George* with his company went to *Accomack* to his new Plantation, where he ſtaied neere ſix weekes; ſome Corne he brought home, but as he aduentured for himſelfe, he accordingly enioyed the benefit; ſome pety Magazines came this Summer, but either the reſtraint by Proclamation, or want of Boats, or both, cauſed few but the Chieftaines to be little better by them. So long as Captaine *Nuſe* had any thing we had part; but now all being ſpent, and the people forced to liue vpon Oiſters and Crabs, they became ſo faint no worke could be done; and where the Law was, no worke, no meat, now the caſe is altered, to no meat, no worke; ſome ſmall quantity of Milke and Rice the Captaine had of his owne, and that he would diſtribute *gratis* as he ſaw occaſion; I ſay *gratis*, for I know no place elſe, but it was ſold for ready paiment: thoſe eares of Corne that had eſcaped till Auguſt, though not ripe by reaſon of the late planting, the very Dogs did repaire to the Corne fields to ſeeke them as the men till they were hanged; and this I proteſt before God is true that I haue related, not to flatter *Nuſe*, nor condemne any, but all the time I haue liued in *Virginia*, I haue not ſeene nor heard that any Commander hath taken ſuch continuall paines for the publike, or done ſo little good for himſelfe, and his vertuous wife was no leſſe charitable and compaſſionate according to her power. For my owne part, although I found neither *Mulberies* planted, houſes built, Sir *George Yearlys* iourny to *Accomack*. Captaine *Nuſe* his miſery.

men nor victuall prouided, as the honourable Aduenturers did promiſe mee in *England*; yet at my owne charge, hauing made theſe preparations, and the ſilke-Wormes ready to be couered, all was loſt, but my poore life and children, by the Maſſacre, tho which as God in his mercy did preſerue, I continually pray we may ſpend to his glory. The 9. of September, we had an alarum, and two men at their labours ſlaine; the Captaine, though extreme ſicke, ſallied forth, but the Saluages lay hid in the Corne fields all night, where they deſtroyed all they could, and killed two men more, much miſchiefe they did to Maſter *Edward Hills* cattle, yet he alone defended his houſe though his men were ſicke and could doe nothing, and this was our firſt aſſault ſince the Maſſacre.

An Alarum, foure ſlaine.

The kindneſſe of the King of *Patawomek*.

About this time Captaine *Madyſon* paſſed by vs, hauing taken Priſoners, the King of *Patawomek*, his ſonne, and two more, and thus it happened; *Madyſon* not liking ſo well to liue amongſt the Saluages as *Croſhaw* did, built him a ſtrong houſe within the Fort, ſo that they were not ſo ſociable as before, nor did they much like *Poole* the Interpret; many Alarums they had, but ſaw no enemies: *Madyſon* before his building went to *Moyaoncs*, where hee got prouiſion for a moneth, and was promiſed much more, ſo he returned to *Patawomek* and built this houſe, and was well vſed by the Saluages. Now by the foure great men the King ſent to *Pamaunke* for the redemption of the Priſoners, *Madyſon* ſent them a letter, but they could neither deliuer it nor ſee them: ſo long they ſtayed that the King grew doubtfull of their bad vſage, that hee ſwore by the Skyes, if they returned not well, he would haue warres with *Opechankanough* ſo long as he had any thing: at this time two of *Madyſons* men ranne from him, to finde them he ſent Maſter *Iohn Vpton* and three more with an Indian guide to *Nazatica*, where they heard they were. At this place was a King beat out of his Country by the *Necoſts*, enemies to the *Patawomeks*; this expulſed King though he profeſſed much loue to the *Patawomeks*, yet hee loued not the King becauſe he would not helpe him to reuenge his iniuries, but to our Interpreter *Poole* hee proteſted great loue, promiſing if any treaſon were, he would reueale it; our guide conducted this *Bandyto* with them vp to *Patawomek*, and there kept him; our Fugitiues we found the *Patawomeks* had taken and brought home, and the foure great men returned from *Pamaunke*; not long after, this expulſed King deſired priuate conference with *Poole*, vrging him to ſweare by his God neuer to reueale what hee would tell him, *Poole* promiſed he would not; then quoth this King, thoſe great men that went to *Pamaunke*, went not as you ſuppoſe they pretended, but to contract with *Opechankanough* how to kill you all here, and theſe are their plots.

A Saluages policy.

Firſt, they will procure halfe of you to goe a fiſhing to their furtheſt towne, and there ſet vpon them, and cut off the reſt; if that faile, they will faine a place where are many ſtrangers would trade their Furres, where they will perſwade halfe of you to goe trade, and there murder you and kill them at home; and if this faile alſo, then they will make Alarums two nights together, to tire you out with watching, and then ſet vpon you, yet of all this, ſaid he, there is none acquainted but the King and the great Coniurer.

Madſon takes the King and kils 30. or 40.

This being made known to the Captain, we all ſtood more punctually vpon our guard, at which the Saluages wondering, deſired to know the cauſe; we told them we expected ſome aſſault from the *Pamaunkes*, whereat they ſeemed contented, and the next day the King went on hunting with two of our men, and the other a fiſhing and abroad as before, till our Shallop returned from *Iames* towne with the two Saluages, ſent home with Captaine *Croſhaw*: by thoſe the Gouernour ſent to *Madyſon*, that this King ſhould ſend him twelue of his great men; word of this was ſent to the King at another towne where he was, who not comming preſently with the Meſſenger, *Madyſon* conceited hee regarded not the meſſage, and intended as he ſuppoſed the ſame treaſon. The next morning the King comming home, being ſent for, he came to the Captaine and brought him a diſh of their daintieſt fruit; then the Captaine fained his returne to *Iames* towne, the

King

King told him he might if he would, but desired not to leaue him destitute of aid, hauing so many enemies about him; the Captaine told him he would leaue a guard, but intreated his answer concerning the twelue great men for the Gouernour; the King replied, his enemies lay so about him he could not spare them; then the Captaine desired his sonne and one other; my sonne, said the King, is gone abroad about businesse, but the other you desire you shall haue, and that other sits by him, but that man refused to goe, whereupon *Madyson* went forth and locked the doore, leauing the King, his sonne, and foure Saluages, and fiue English men in the strong house, and setting vpon the towne with the rest of his men, slew thirty or forty men, women and children; the King demanding the cause, *Poole* told him the treason, crying out to intreat the Captaine cease from such cruelty: but hauing slaine and made flye all in the towne, hee returned, taxing the poore King of treason, who denied to the death not to know of any such matter, but said, This is some plot of them that told it, onely to kill mee for being your friend. Then *Madyson* willed him, to command none of his men should shoot at him as he went aboord, which he presently did, and it was performed: so *Madyson* departed, leading the King, his sonne, and two more to his ship, promising when all his men were shipped, he should returne at libertie; notwithstanding he brought them to *Iames* towne, where they lay some daies, and after were sent home by Captaine *Hamer*, that tooke Corne for their ransome, and after set saile for New found Land.

The King set at liberty.

But, alas the cause of this was onely this
They vnderstood, nor knew what was amisse.

Euer since the beginning of these Plantations, it hath beene supposed the King of *Spaine* would inuade them, or our English Papists indeuour to dissolue them. But neither all the Counsels of *Spaine*, nor Papists in the world could haue deuised a better course to bring them all to ruine, then thus to abuse their friends, nor could there euer haue beene a better plot, to haue ouerthrowne *Opechankasough* then Captaine *Chroshaws*, had it beene fully managed with expedition. But it seemes God is angry to see *Virginia* made a stage where nothing but murder and indiscretion contends for victory.

A digression.

Amongst the rest of the Plantations all this Summer little was done, but securing themselues and planting Tobacco, which passes there as current Siluer, and by the oft turning and winding it, some grow rich, but many poore, notwithstanding ten or twelue ships or more hath arriued there since the massacre, although it was Christmas ere any returned, and that returne greatly reuiued all mens longing expectation here in *England*: for they brought newes, that notwithstanding their extreme sicknesse many were recouered, and finding the Saluages did not much trouble them, except it were sometimes some disorderly straglers they cut off. To lull them the better in securitie, they sought no reuenge till their Corne was ripe, then they drew together three hundred of the best souldiers they could, that would leaue their priuate businesse, and aduenture themselues amongst the Saluages to surprize their Corne, vnder the conduct of Sir *George Yearley*, being imbarked in conuenient shipping, and all things necessary for the enterprise, they went first to *Nandsamund*, where the people set fire to their owne houses, and spoiled what they could, and then fled with what they could carry; so that the English did make no slaughter amongst them for reuenge. Their Corne fields being newly gathered, they surprized all they found, burnt the houses remained vnburnt, and so departed. Quartering about *Kecoughtan*, after the Watch was set, *Samuell Collyer* one of the most ancientest Planters, and very well acquainted with their language and habitation, humors and conditions, and Gouernor of a Towne, when the Watch was set going the round, vnfortunately by a Centinell that discharged his peece, was slaine.

Their proceedings of the other plantations.

300 surpriseth *Nandsamund*.

Samuell Collyer slaine.

Thence

They surprise *Pamaunke.*

Thence they sailed to *Pamaunke*, the chiefe seat of *Opechankanough*, the contriuer of the massacre: the Saluages seemed exceeding fearefull, promising to bring them *Sara*, and the rest of the English yet liuing, with all the Armes, and what they had to restore, much desiring peace, and to giue them any satisfaction they could. Many such deuices they fained to procrastinate the time ten or twelue daies, till they had got away their Corne from all the other places vp the Riuer; but that where the English kept their quarter: at last, when they saw all those promises were but delusions, they seised on all the Corne there was, set fire on their houses: and in following the Saluages that fled before thē, some few of those naked Deuils had that spirit, they lay in ambuscado, and as our men marched discharged some shot out of English peeces, and hurt some of them flying at their pleasures where they listed, burning their empty houses before them as they went to make themselues sport: so they escaped, and Sir *George* returned with Corne, where for our paines we had three bushels apeece, but we were enioyned before we had it, to pay ten shillings the bushell for fraught and other charges. Thus by this meanes the Saluages are like as they report, to endure no small misery this Winter, and that some of our men are returned to their former Plantations.

The opinion of Captaine *Smith.*

What other passages or impediments hapned in their proceedings, that they were not fully reuenged of the Saluages before they returned, I know not; nor could euer heare more, but that they supposed they slew two, and how it was impossible for any men to doe more then they did: yet worthy *Ferdinando Courtus* had scarce three hundred *Spaniards* to conquer the great Citie of *Mexico*, where thousands of Saluages dwelled in strong houses: but because they were a ciuilized people, had wealth, and those meere Barbarians as wilde as beasts haue nothing; I intreat your patience to tell you my opinion, which if it be Gods pleasure I shall not liue to put in practice, yet it may be hereafter vsefull for some, but howsoeuer I hope not hurtfull to any, and this it is.

How to subiect all the Saluages in Virginia.

Had these three hundred men beene at my disposing, I would haue sent first one hundred to Captaine *Rawley Chroshaw* to *Patawomek*, with some small Ordnance for the Fort, the which but with daily exercising them, would haue struck that loue and admiration into the *Patowomeks*, and terror and amazement into his enemies, which are not farre off, and most seated vpon the other side the Riuer, they would willingly haue beene friends, or haue giuen any composition they could, before they would be tormented with such a visible feare.

Now though they be generally perfidious, yet necessity constraines those to a kinde of constancy because of their enemies, and neither my selfe that first found them, Captaine *Argall*, *Chroshow*, nor *Hamar*, neuer found themselues in fifteene yeares trials: nor is it likely now they would haue so hostaged their men, suffer the building of a Fort, and their women and children amongst them, had they intended any villany; but suppose they had, who would haue desired a better aduantage then such an aduertisement, to haue prepared the Fort for such an assault, and surely it must be a poore Fort they could hurt, much more take, if there were but fiue men in it durst discharge a peece: Therefore a man not well knowing their conditions, may be as wel too iealous as too careless; Such another Lopo Skonce would I haue had at *Onawmanient*, and one hundred men more to haue made such another at *Atquacke* vpon the Riuer of *Toppahanock*, which is not past thirteene miles distant from *Onawmanient*: each of which twelue men would keepe, as well as twelue thousand, and spare all the rest to bee imploied as there should be occasion. And all this with these numbers might easily haue been done, if not by courtesie, yet by compulsion, especially at that time of September when all their fruits were ripe, their beasts fat, and infinite numbers of wild Fowle began to repaire to euery creeke, that men if they would doe any thing could not want victuall. This done, there remained yet one hundred who should haue done the like at *Ozinieke*, vpon the Riuer of *Chickahamania*, not past [illegible] mi[illegible]

miles from the chiefe habitations of *Opechankanough*. Theſe ſmall Forts had beene cauſe ſufficient to cauſe all the Inhabitants of each of thoſe Riuers to looke to themſelues. Then hauing ſo many Ships, Barks, and Boats in *Virginia* as there was at that preſent, with what facility might you haue landed two hundred and twentie men, if you had but onely fiue or ſix Boats in one night; forty to range the branch of *Mattapanyent*, fortie more that of *Youghtanund*, and fortie more to keepe their randiuous at *Pamaunke* it ſelfe. All which places lie ſo neere, they might heare from each other within foure or fiue houres, and not any of thoſe ſmall parties, if there were any valour, diſcretion, or induſtry in them, but as ſufficient as foure thouſand, to force them all to contribution, or take or ſpoile all they had. For hauing thus ſo many conuenient randeuous to releeue each other, though all the whole Countries had beene our enemies, where could they reſt, but in the depth of Winter we might burne all the houſes vpon all thoſe Riuers in two or three daies? Then without fires they could not liue, which they could not ſo hide but wee ſhould finde, and quickly ſo tire them with watching and warding, they would be ſo weary of their liues, as either fly all their Countries, or giue all they had to be releaſed of ſuch an hourely miſery. Now if but a ſmall number of the Saluages would aſſiſt vs, as there is no queſtion but diuers of them would; And to ſuppoſe they could not be drawne to ſuch faction, were to beleeue they are more vertuous then many Chriſtians, and the beſt gouerned people in the world. All the *Pamaunkes* might haue beene diſpatched as well in a moneth as a yeare, and then to haue dealt with any other enemies at our pleaſure, and yet made all this toile and danger but a recreation.

If you think this ſtrange or impoſſible, 12 men with my ſelfe I found ſufficient, to goe where I would adaies, and ſurpriſe a houſe with the people, if not a whole towne in a night, or incounter all the power they could make, as a whole Army, as formerly at large hath beene related: And it ſeemes by theſe ſmall parties laſt amongſt them, by Captaine *Craſhow*, *Hamar*, and *Madyſon*, they are not growne to that excellency in policy and courage but they might bee encountred, and their wiues and children apprehended. I know I ſhall bee taxed for writing ſo much of my ſelfe, but I care not much, becauſe the iudiciall know there are few ſuch Souldiers as are my examples, haue writ their owne actions, nor know I who will or can tell my intents better then my ſelfe.

Some againe finde as much fault with the Company formedling with ſo many Plantations together, becauſe they that haue many Irons in the fire ſome muſt burne; but I thinke no if they haue men enow know how to worke them, but howſoeuer, it were better ſome burne then haue none at all. The King of *Spaine* regards but how many powerfull Kingdomes he keepes vnder his obedience, and for the Saluage Countries he hath ſubiected, they are more then enow for a good Coſmographer to nominate, and is three Mole-hills ſo much to vs; and ſo many Empires ſo little for him? For my owne part, I cannot chuſe but grieue, that the actions of an Engliſhman ſhould be inferior to any, and that the command of *England* ſhould not be as great as any Monarchy that euer was ſince the world began, I meane not as a Tyrant to torment all Chriſtendome, but to ſuppreſſe her diſturbers, and conquer her enemies.

For the great Romans *got into their hand*
The whole worlds compaſſe, both by Sea and Land,
Or any ſeas, or heauen, or earth extended,
And yet that Nation could not be contented.

Much about this time arriued a ſmall Barke of *Barneſtable*, which had beene at the *Summer Iles*, and in her Captaine *Nathaniel Butler*, who hauing beene Gouernor there three yeares, and his Commiſſion expired, he tooke the opportunity of this ſhip to ſee *Virginia*: at *Iames* Towne he was kindly entertained

The arriuall of Captaine *Butler*, & his accidents.

by

by Sir *Francis Wyat* the Gouernor. After he had rested there foureteene daies, he fell vp with his ship to the Riuer of *Chickahamania*, where meeting Captaine *William Powell*, ioyning together such forces as they had to the number of eighty, they set vpon the *Chickahamanians*, that fearefully fled, suffering the English to spoile all they had, not daring to resist them. Thus he returned to *Iames* towne, where hee staied a moneth, at *Kecoughtan* as much more, and so returned for *England*.

A strange deliuerance of Master *Argent* & others.

But riding at *Kecoughtan*, M. *Iohn Argent*, sonne to Doctor *Argent*, a young Gentleman that went with Captaine *Butler* from *England* to this place, *Michael Fuller*, *William Gany*, *Cornelius May*, and one other going ashore with some goods late in a faire euening, such a sudden gust did arise, that driue them thwart the Riuer, in that place at least three or foure miles in bredth, where the shore was so shallow at a low water, and the Boat beating vpon the Sands, they left her, wading neere halfe a mile, and oft vp to the chin: So well it hapned, Master *Argent* had put his Bandileir of powder in his hat, which next God was all their preseruations: for it being February, and the ground so cold, their bodies became so benumbed, they were not able to strike fire with a steele and a stone hee had in his pocket; the stone they lost twice, and thus those poore soules groping in the darke, it was Master *Argents* chance to finde it, and with a few withered leaues, reeds, and brush, make a small fire, being vpon the *Chisapeaks* shore, their mortall enemies, great was their feare to be discouered. The ioyfull morning appearing, they found their Boat and goods driue ashore, not farre from them, but so split shee was vnseruiceable: but so much was the frost, their clothes did freeze vpon their backs, for they durst not make any great fire to dry them, lest thereby the bloudy Saluages might discry them, so that one of them died the next day, and the next night digging a graue in the Sands with their hands, buried him. In this bodily feare they liued and fasted two daies and nights, then two of them went into the Land to seeke fresh water; the others to the Boat to get some meale and oyle, *Argent* and his Comrado found a Canow, in which they resolued to aduenture to their ship, but shee was a drift in the Riuer before they returned: thus frustrate of all hopes, Captaine *Butler* the third night ranging the shore in his Boat to seeke them, discharged his Muskets, but they supposing it some Saluages had got some English peeces, they grew more perplexed then euer, so he returned and lost his labour. The fourth day they vnloaded their Boat, and stopping her leakes with their handkerchiefes, and other rags, two rowing, and two bailing out the water; but farre they went not ere the water grew vpon them so fast, and they so tired, they thought themselues happy to be on shore againe, though they perceiued the *Indians* were not farre off by their fires. Thus at the very period of despaire, *Fuller* vndertooke to sit a stride vpon a little peece of an old Canow; so well it pleased God the wind and tide serued, by padling with his hands and feet in the water, beyond all expectation God so guided him three or foure houres vpon this boord, he arriued at their ship, where they no lesse amazed then he tired, they tooke him in. Presently as he had concluded with his Companions, he caused them discharge a peece of Ordnance if he escaped, which gaue no lesse comfort to Master *Argent* and the rest, then terror to those Plantations that heard it, (being late) at such an vnexpected alarum: but after, with warme clothes and a little strong water, they had a little recouered him, such was his courage and care of his distressed friends, he returned that night againe with Master *Felgate* to conduct him to them, and so giuing thanks to God for so hopelesse a deliuerance, it pleased his Diuine power, both they and their prouision came safely aboord, but *Fuller* they doubt will neuer recouer his benumbed legs and thighes.

Now before *Butlers* arriuall in *England*, many hard speeches were rumored against him for so leauing his charge, before he receiued order from the Company: Diuers againe of his Souldiers as highly commended him, for his good gouernment,

uernment, art, iudgement and industry. But to make the misery of *Virginia* appeare that it might be reformed in time, how all those Cities, Townes, Corporations, Forts, Vineyards, Nurseries of Mulberies, Glasse-houses, Iron forges, Guest-houses, Silke-wormes Colleges, the Companies great estate, and that plenty some doe speake of here, are rather things in words and paper then in effect, with diuers reasons of the causes of those defects; if it were false, his blame nor shame could not be too much: but if there bee such defects in the gouernment, and distresse in the Colony, it is thought by many it hath beene too long concealed, and requireth rather reformation then disputation: but howeuer, it were not amisse to prouide for the worst, for the best will help it selfe. Notwithstanding, it was apprehended so hardly, and examined with that passion, that the brute thereof was spread abroad with that expedition, it did more hurt then the massacre; and the fault of all now by the vulgar rumour, must be attributed to the vnwholesomnesse of the ayre, and barrennesse of the Countrey, as though all *England* were naught, because the Fens and Marshes are vnhealthy; or barren, because some will lie vnder windowes and starue in Cheap-side, rot in Goales, die in the street, high-waies, or any where, and vse a thousand deuices to maintaine themselues in those miseries, rather then take any paines, to liue as they may by honest labour, and a great part of such like are the Planters of *Virginia*, and partly the occasion of those defailements.

1623. How Captaine *Spilman* was left in the Riuer of *Patawomek*. The Earle of Southampton Treasurer.

In the latter end of this last yeare, or the beginning of this, Captaine *Henrie Spilman* a Gentleman, that hath liued in those Countries thirteene or foureteene yeares, one of the best Interpreters in the Land, being furnished with a Barke and six and twentie men; hee was sent to trucke in the Riuer of *Patawomek*, where he had liued a long time amongst the Saluages, whether hee presumed too much vpon his acquaintance amongst them, or they sought to be reuenged of any for the slaughter made amongst them by the English so lately, or hee sought to betray them, or they him, are all seuerall relations, but it seemes but imaginary: for then returned report they left him ashore about *Patawomek*, but the name of the place they knew not, with one and twentie men, being but fiue in the Barke, the Saluages ere they suspected any thing, boorded them with their Canowes, and entred so fast, the English were amazed, till a Sailer gaue fire to a peece of Ordnance onely at randome; at the report whereof, the Saluages leape ouer-boord, so distracted with feare, they left their Canowes and swum a shore; and presently after they heard a great brute amongst the Saluages a shore, and saw a mans head throwne downe the banke, whereupon they weighed Anchor and returned home, but how he was surprised or slaine, is vncertaine.

Thus things proceed and vary not a iot,
Whether we know them, or we know them not.

A particular of such necessaries as either priuate families, or single persons, shall haue cause to prouide to goe to Virginia, *whereby greater numbers may in part conceiue the better how to prouide for themselues.*

Apparell for one man, and so after the rate for more.

Apparell.			
A Monmoth Cap.	1 s. 10 d.	1 suit of Erize.	10 s.
3 falling bands.	1 s. 3 d.	1 suit of Cloth.	15 s.
3 shirts.	7 s. 6 d.	3 paire of Irish stockings.	4 s.
1 Waste-coat.	2 s. 2 d.	4 paire of shoes.	8 s. 8 d.
1 suit of Canuase.	7 s. 6 d.	1 paire of garters.	10 d.
		1 dozen of points.	3 d.

1 paire of Canuas sheets.	8 s.
7 ells of Canuas to make a bed and boulster, to be filled in *Virginia*, seruing for two men.	8 s.
5 ells of course Canuas to make a bed at Sea for two men.	5 s.
1 course rug at sea for two men.	6 s.
	4 l.

Victuall for a whole yeare for a man, and so after the rate for more.

8 bushels of meale.	2 l.
2 bushels of pease.	6 s.
2 bushels of Otemeale.	9 s.
1 gallon of *Aquavitæ*.	2 s. 6 d.
1 gallon of oyle.	3 s. 6 d.
2 gallons of Vineger.	2 s.
	3 l. 3 s.

Armes for a man, but if halfe your men be armed it is well, so all haue swords and peeces.

1 Armor compleat, light.	17 s.
1 long peece fiue foot and a halfe, neere Musket bore.	1 l. 2 s.
1 Sword.	5 s.
1 Belt.	1 s.
1 Bandilier.	1 s. 6 d.
20 pound of powder.	18 s.
60 pound of shot or Lead, Pistoll and Goose shot.	5 s.
	3 l. 9 s. 6 d.

Tooles for a family of six persons, and so after the rate for more.

5 broad howes at 2 s. a peece.	10 s.
5 narrow howes at 16 d. a peece.	6 s. 8 d.
2 broad axes at 3 s. 8 d. a peece.	7 s. 4 d.
5 felling axes at 18 d. a peece.	7 s. 6 d.
2 steele handsawes at 16 d. a peece.	2 s. 8 d.
2 two handsawes at 5 s. a peece.	10 s.
1 whipsaw, set and filed, with box, file and wrest.	10 s.
2 hammers 12 d. a peece.	2 s.
3 shouels 18 d. a peece.	4 s. 6 d.
2 spades at 18 d. a peece.	3 s.
2 Augers at 6 d. peece.	1 s.
6 Chissels at 6 d. a peece.	3 s.
2 Percers stocked 4 d. a peece.	8 d.
3 Gimblers at 2 d. a peece.	6 d.
2 Hatchets at 21 d. a peece.	3 s. 6 d.
2 frowes to cleaue pale 18 d. each	3 s.
2 hand Bills 20 d. a peece.	3 s. 4 d.
1 Grindstone.	4 s.
Nailes of all sorts to the value of	2 l.
2 Pickaxes.	3 s.
	6 l. 2 s. 6 d.

Houshold implements for a family and six persons, and so for more or lesse after the rate.

1 Iron pot.	7 s.
1 Kettell.	6 s.
1 large Frying-pan.	2 s. 6 d.
1 Gridiron.	1 s. 6 d.
2 Skellets.	5 s.
1 Spit.	2 s.
Platters, dishes, spoones of wood	4 s.
	1 l. 8 s.
For Sugar, Spice, and Fruit, and at Sea for six men.	12 s. 6 d.
So the full charge after this rate for each person, will amount about the summe of	11 l. 10 s.
The passage of each man is	6 l.
The fraught of these prouisions for a man, will be about halfe a tun, which is	12 l. 10 s. 10 d.
So the whole charge will amount to about	20 l.

Now if the number be great, Nets, Hooks and Lines, but Cheese, Bacon, Kine and Goats must be added. And this is the vsuall proportion the *Virginia* Company doe bestow vpon their Tenents they send.

A briefe relation written by Captaine Smith *to his Maiesties Commissioners for the reformation of* Virginia, *concerning some aspersions against it.*

HOnourable Gentlemen, for so many faire and Nauigable Riuers so neere adioyning, and piercing thorow so faire a naturall Land, free from any inundations, or large Fenny vnwholsome Marshes, I haue not seene, read, nor heard of: And for the building of Cities, Townes, and Wharfage, if they will vse the meanes, where there is no more ebbe nor flood, Nature in few places affoords any so conuenient, for salt Marshes or Quagmires.

In

In this tract of *Iames* Towne Riuer I know very few; ſome ſmall Marſhes and Swamps there are, but more profitable then hurtfull: and I thinke there is more low Marſh ground betwixt *Eriffe* and *Chelſey*, then *Kecoughton* and the Falls, which is about one hundred and eighty miles by the courſe of the Riuer.

Being enioyned by our Commiſſion not to vnplant nor wrong the Saluages, becauſe the channell was ſo neere the ſhore, where now is *Iames* Towne, then a thicke groue of trees; wee cut them downe, where the Saluages pretending as much kindneſſe as could bee, they hurt and ſlew one and twenty of vs in two houres: At this time our diet was for moſt part water and bran, and three ounces of little better ſtuffe in bread for fiue men a meale, and thus we liued neere three moneths: our lodgings vnder boughes of trees, the Saluages being our enemies, whom we neither knew nor vnderſtood; occaſions I thinke ſufficient to make men ſicke and die. The cauſes of our firſt miſeries.

Neceſſity thus did inforce me with eight or nine, to try concluſions amongſt the Saluages, that we got prouiſion which recouered the reſt being moſt ſicke. Six weeks I was led captiue by thoſe Barbarians, though ſome of my men were ſlaine, and the reſt fled, yet it pleaſed God to make their great Kings daughter the meanes to returne me ſafe to *Iames* towne, and releeue our wants; and then our Common-wealth was in all eight and thirty, the remainder of one hundred and fiue. But 38 Engliſh in all *Virginia*.

Being ſupplied with one hundred and twenty, with twelue men in a boat of three tuns, I ſpent foureteene weeks in thoſe large waters; the contents of the way of my boat protracted by the skale of proportion, was about three thouſand miles, beſides the Riuer we dwell vpon, where no Chriſtian knowne euer was, and our diet for the moſt part what we could finde, yet but one died. Proofes of the healthfulneſſe of the Countrey.

The Saluages being acquainted, that by command from *England* we durſt not hurt them, were much imboldned; that famine and their inſolencies did force me to breake our Commiſſion and inſtructions, cauſe *Powhatan* fly his Countrey, and take the King of *Pamaunke* Priſoner; and alſo to keepe the King of *Paſpahegh* in ſhackels, and put his men to double taskes in chaines, till nine and thirty of their Kings paied vs contribution, and the offending Saluages ſent to *Iames* towne to puniſh at our owne diſcretions: in the two laſt yeares I ſtaied there, I had not a man ſlaine. How the Saluages became ſubiected.

All thoſe concluſions being not able to preuent the bad euents of pride and idleneſſe, hauing receiued another ſupply of ſeuentie, we were about two hundred in all, but not twentie work-men: In following the ſtrict directions from *England* to doe that was impoſſible at that time; So it hapned, that neither wee nor they had any thing to eat, but what the Countrey afforded naturally; yet of eightie who liued vpon Oyſters in Iune and Iuly, with a pint of corne a week for a man lying vnder trees, and 120 for the moſt part liuing vpon Sturgion, which was dried till we pounded it to powder for meale, yet in ten weeks but ſeuen died. How we liued of the natural fruits of the Countrey.

It is true, we had of Tooles, Armes, & Munition ſufficient, ſome *Aquavitæ*, Vineger, Meale, Peaſe, and Otemeale, but in two yeares and a halfe not ſufficient for ſix moneths, though by the bils of loading the proportions ſent vs, would well haue contented vs, notwithſtanding we ſent home ample proofes of Pitch, Tar, Sope Aſhes, Wainſkot, Clapboord, Silke graſſe, Iron Ore, ſome Sturgion and Glaſſe, Saxefras, Cedar, Cypris, and blacke Walnut, crowned *Powhaton*, ſought the *Monatans* Countrey, according to the inſtructions ſent vs, but they cauſed vs neglect more neceſſary workes: they had better haue giuen for Pitch and Sope aſhes one hundred pound a tun in *Denmarke:* Wee alſo maintained fiue or ſix ſeuerall Plantations. Proofe of the Commodities we returned.

Iames towne being burnt, wee rebuilt it and three Forts more, beſides the Church and Store-houſe, we had about fortie or fiftie ſeuerall houſes to keepe vs warme and dry, inuironed with a palizado of foureteene or fifteene foot, and each as much as three or foure men could carrie. We digged a faire Well of freſh water in the Fort, where wee had three Bulwarks, foure and twentie peece of Ord- What we built.

nance, of Culuering, Demiculuering, Sacar and Falcon, and moſt well mounted vpon conuenient plat-formes, planted one hundred acres of Corne. We had but ſix ſhips to tranſport and ſupply vs, and but two hundred ſeuenty ſeuen men, boies, and women, by whoſe labours *Virginia* being brought to this kinde of perfection, the moſt difficulties paſt, and the foundation thus laid by this ſmall meanes; yet becauſe we had donē no more, they called in our Commiſſion, tooke a new in their owne names, and appointed vs neere as many offices and Officers as I had Souldiers, that neither knew vs nor wee them, without our conſents or knowledge; ſince there haue gone more then one hundred ſhips of other proportions, and eight or ten thouſand people. Now if you pleaſe to compare what hath beene ſpent, ſent, diſcouered and done this fifteene yeares, by that we did in the three firſt yeares, and euery Gouernor that hath beene there ſince, giue you but ſuch an account as this, you may eaſily finde what hath beene the cauſe of thoſe diſaſters in *Virginia*.

Then came in Captaine *Argall*, and Maſter *Sedan*, in a ſhip of Maſter *Cornelius*, to fiſh for Sturgion, who had ſuch good prouiſion, we contracted with them for it, whereby we were better furniſhed then euer.

Not long after came in ſeuen ſhips, with about three hundred people; but rather to ſupplant vs then ſupply vs, their Admirall with their authoritie being caſt away in the *Bermudas*, very angry they were we had made no better prouiſion for them. Seuen or eight weekes we withſtood the invndations of theſe diſorderly humors, till I was neere blowne to death with Gun-powder, which occaſioned me to returne for *England*.

How I left the Country.

In the yeare 1609 about Michaelmas, I left the Countrey, as is formerly related, with three ſhips, ſeuen Boats, Commodities to trade, harueſt newly gathered, eight weeks prouiſion of Corne and Meale, about fiue hundred perſons, three hundred Muskets, ſhot, powder, and match, with armes for more men then we had. The Saluages their language and habitation, well knowne to two hundred expert Souldiers; Nets for fiſhing, tooles of all ſorts, apparell to ſupply their wants: ſix Mares and a Horſe, fiue or ſix hundred Swine, many more Powltry, what was brought or bred, but victuall there remained.

My charge.

Hauing ſpent ſome fiue yeares, and more then fiue hundred pounds in procuring the Letters Parents and ſetting forward, and neere as much more about *New England*, &c. Thus theſe nineteene yeares I haue here and there not ſpared any thing according to my abilitie, nor the beſt aduice I could, to perſwade how thoſe ſtrange miracles of miſery might haue beene preuented, which lamentable experience plainly taught me of neceſſity muſt inſue, but few would beleeue me till now too deerely they haue paid for it. Wherefore hitherto I haue rather left all then vndertake impoſſibilities, or any more ſuch coſtly taskes at ſuch chargeable rates: for in neither of thoſe two Countries haue I one foot of Land, nor the very houſe I builded, nor the ground I digged with my owne hands, nor euer any content or ſatisfaction at all, and though I ſee ordinarily thoſe two Countries ſhared before me by them that neither haue them nor knowes them, but by my deſcriptions: Yet that doth not ſo much trouble me, as to heare and ſee thoſe contentions and diuiſions which will hazard if not ruine the proſperitie of *Virginia*, if preſent remedy bee not found, as they haue hindred many hundreds, who would haue beene there ere now, and makes them yet that are willing to ſtand in a demurre.

My reward.

For the Books and Maps I haue made, I will thanke him that will ſhew me ſo much for ſo little recompence, and beare with their errors till I haue done better. For the materials in them I cannot deny, but am ready to affirme them both there and here, vpon ſuch grounds as I haue propounded, which is to haue but fifteene hundred men to ſubdue againe the Saluages, fortifie the Countrey, diſcouer that yet vnknowne, and both defend & feed their Colony, which I moſt humbly refer to his Maieſties moſt iudiciall iudgement, and the moſt honourable Lords of his

Priuy

Priuy Councell, you his truſty and well-beloued Commiſſioners, and the Honourable company of Planters and well-willers to *Virginia*, *New-England* and *Sommer-Ilands*.

Out of theſe Obſeruations it pleaſed his Maieſties Commiſsioners for the reformation of *Virginia*, to deſire my anſwer to *theſe ſeuen Queſtions.*

Queſt. 1. *WHat conceiue you is the cauſe the Plantation hath proſpered no better ſince you left it in ſo good a forwardneſſe?*

Anſw. Idleneſſe and careleſneſſe brought all I did in three yeeres in ſix moneths to nothing, and of fiue hundred I left, ſcarce threeſcore remained, and had Sir *Thomas Gates* not got from the *Bermudas*, I thinke they had beene all dead before they could be ſupplied.

Queſt. 2. *What conceiue you ſhould be the cauſe, though the Country be good, there comes nothing but Tobacco?*

Anſw. The oft altering of Gouernours it ſeemes cauſes euery man make vſe of his time, and becauſe Corne was ſtinted at two ſhillings ſix pence the buſhell, and Tobacco at three ſhillings the pound, and they value a mans labour a yeere worth fifty or threeſcore pound, but in Corne not worth ten pound, preſuming Tobacco will furniſh them with all things; now make a mans labour in Corne worth threeſcore pound, and in Tobacco but ten pound a man, then ſhall they haue Corne ſufficient to entertaine all comers, and keepe their people in health to doe any thing, but till then, there will be little or nothing to any purpoſe.

Queſt. 3. *What conceiue you to haue beene the cauſe of the Maſſacre, and had the Saluages had the vſe of any peeces in your time, or when, or by whom they were taught?*

Anſw. The cauſe of the Maſſacre was the want of marſhall diſcipline, and becauſe they would haue all the Engliſh had by deſtroying thoſe they found ſo careleſly ſecure, that they were not prouided to defend themſelues againſt any enemy, being ſo diſperſed as they were. In my time, though Captaine *Nuport* furniſhed them with ſwords by truck, and many fugitiues did the like, and ſome Peeces they got accidentally, yet I got the moſt of them againe, and it was death to him that ſhould ſhew a Saluage the vſe of a Peece. Since I vnderſtand they became ſo good ſhot, they were imployed for Fowlers and Huntſmen by the Engliſh.

Queſt. 4. *What charge thinke you would haue ſetled the gouernment both for defence and planting when you left it?*

Anſw. Twenty thouſand pound would haue hyred good labourers and mechanicall men, and haue furniſhed them with cattle and all neceſſaries, and 100. of them would haue done more then a thouſand of thoſe that went, though the Lord *Lawarr*, Sir *Ferdinando Waynman*, Sir *Thomas Gates* and Sir *Thomas Dale* were perſwaded to the contrary, but when they had tried, they confeſſed their error.

Queſt. 5. *What conceiue you would be the remedy and the charge?*

Anſw. The remedy is to ſend Souldiers and all ſorts of labourers and neceſſaries for them, that they may be there by next *Michaelmas*, the which to doe well will ſtand you in fiue thouſand pound, but if his Maieſty would pleaſe to lend two of his Ships to tranſport them, leſſe would ſerue, beſides the benefit of his grace to the action would encourage all men.

Queſt. 6. *What thinke you are the defects of the gouernment both here and there?*

Anſw. The multiplicity of opinions here, and Officers there, makes ſuch delaies by queſtions and formalitie, that as much time is ſpent in complement as in acti-

on;

on; besides, some are so desirous to imploy their ships, hauing six pounds for euery Passenger, and three pounds for euery tun of goods, at which rate a thousand ships may now better be procured then one at the first, when the common stocke defrayed all fraughts, wages, prouisions and Magazines, whereby the Ships are so pestred, as occasions much sickneſse, diseases and mortality, for though all the Passengers die they are sure of their fraught; and then all must be satisfied with Orations, disputations, excuses and hopes. As for the letters of aduice from hence, and their answers thence, they are so well written, men would beleeue there were no great doubt of the performance, and that all things were wel, to which error here they haue beene euer much subiect; and there not to beleeue, or not to releeue the true and poore estate of that Colony, whose fruits were commonly spent before they were ripe, and this losse is nothing to them here, whose great estates are not sensible of the losse of their aduentures, and so they thinke, or will not take notice; but it is so with all men: but howsoeuer they thinke or dispose of all things at their pleasure, I am sure not my selfe onely, but a thousand others haue not onely spent the most of their estates, but the most part haue lost their liues and all, onely but to make way for the triall of more new conclusions, and he that now will aduenture but twelue pounds ten shillings, shall haue better respect and as much fauour then he that sixteene yeere agoe aduentured as much, except he haue money as the other hath, but though he haue aduentured fiue hundred pound, and spent there neuer so much time, if hee haue no more and not able to begin a family of himselfe, all is lost by order of Court.

But in the beginning it was not so, all went then out of one purse, till those new deuices haue consumed both mony and purse; for at first there were but six Patentees, now more then a thousand, then but thirteene Counsailors, now not lesse then an hundred; I speake not of all, for there are some both honourable and honest, but of those Officers, which did they manage their owne estates no better then the affaires of *Virginia*, they would quickly fall to decay so well as it; but this is most euident, few Officers in *England* it hath caused to turne Banquerupts, nor for all their complaints would leaue their places, neither yet any of their Officers there, nor few of the rest but they would be at home, but fewer Aduenturers here will aduenture any more till they see the businesse better established, although there be some so wilfully improuident they care for nothing but to get thither, and then if their friends be dead, or want themselues, they die or liue but poorely for want of necessaries, and to thinke the old Planters can releeue them were too much simplicity; for who here in *England* is so charitable to feed two or three strangers, haue they neuer so much; much lesse in *Virginia* where they want for themselues. Now the generall complaint saith, that pride, couetousnesse, extortion and oppression in a few that ingrosses all, then sell all againe to the comminalty at what rate they please, yea euen men, women and children for who will giue most, occasions no small mischiefe amongst the Planters.

As for the Company, or those that doe transport them, prouided of necessaries, God forbid but they should receiue their charges againe with aduantage, or that masters there should not haue the same priuilege ouer their seruants as here, but to sell him or her for forty, fifty, or threescore pounds, whom the Company hath sent ouer for eight or ten pounds at the most, without regard how they shall be maintained with apparell, meat, drinke and lodging, is odious, and their fruits sutable, therefore such merchants it were better they were made such merchandize themselues, then suffered any longer to vse that trade, and those are defects sufficient to bring a well setled Common-wealth to misery, much more *Virginia*.

Quest. 7. *How thinke you it may be rectified?*

Answ. If his Maiestie would please to intitle it to his Crowne, and yearely that both the Gouernours here and there may giue their accounts to you, or some that are not ingaged in the businesse, that the common stocke bee not spent in

maintaining

maintaining one hundred men for the Gouernour, one hundred for two Deputies, fifty for the Treaſurer, fiue and twenty for the Secretary, and more for the Marſhall and other Officers who were neuer there nor aduentured any thing, but onely preferred by fauour to be Lords ouer them that broke the ice and beat the path, and muſt teach them what to doe, if any thing happen well, it is their glory; if ill, the fault of the old directors, that in all dangers muſt endure the worſt, yet not fiue hundred of them haue ſo much as one of the others; alſo that there bee ſome preſent courſe taken to maintaine a Garriſon to ſuppreſſe the Saluages, till they be able to ſubſiſt, and that his Maieſty would pleaſe to remit his cuſtome, or it is to be feared they will loſe cuſtome and all, for this cannot be done by promiſes, hopes, counſels and countenances, but with ſufficient workmen and meanes to maintaine them, not ſuch delinquents as here cannot be ruled by all the lawes in *England*, yet when the foundation is laid, as I haue ſaid, and a common-wealth eſtabliſhed, then ſuch there may better be conſtrained to labour then here: but to rectifie a common-wealth with debauſhed people is impoſſible, and no wiſe man would throw himſelfe into ſuch a ſociety, that intends honeſtly, and knowes what he vndertakes, for there is no Countr to pillage as the Romans found: all you expect from thence muſt be by labour.

For the gouernment I thinke there is as much adoe about it as the Kingdomes of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, men here conceiting *Virginia* as they are, erecting as many ſtately Offices as Officers with their attendants, as there are labourers in the Countrey, where a Conſtable were as good as twenty of their Captaines, and three hundred good Souldiers and labourers better then all the reſt that goe onely to get the fruits of other mens labours by the title of an office. Thus they ſpend *Michaelmas* rent in *Mid-ſummer* Moone, and would gather their Harueſt before they haue planted their Corne.

As for the maintenance of the Officers, the firſt that went neuer demanded any, but aduentured good ſummes, and it ſeemes ſtrange to me, the fruits of all their labours, beſides the expence of an hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, and ſuch multitudes of people, thoſe collaterall Officers could not maintaine themſelues ſo well as the old did, and hauing now ſuch liberty to doe to the Saluages what they will, the others had not. I more then wonder they haue not fiue hundred Saluages to worke for them towards their generall maintenance, and as many more to returne ſome content and ſatisfaction to the Aduenturers, that for all their care, charge and diligence, can heare nor ſee nothing but miſerable complaints; therefore vnder your correction to rectifie all, is with all expedition to paſſe the authority to them who will releeue them, leſt all bee conſumed ere the differences be determined. And except his Maieſtie vndertake it, or by Act of Parlament ſome ſmall tax may be granted throughout his Dominions, as a Penny vpon euery Poll, called a head-penny; two pence vpon euery Chimney, or ſome ſuch collection might be raiſed, and that would be ſufficient to giue a good ſtocke, and many ſeruants to ſufficient men of any faculty, and tranſport them freely for paying onely homage to the Crowne of *England*, and ſuch duties to the publike good as their eſtates increaſed reaſon ſhould require. Were this put in practice, how many people of what quality you pleaſe, for all thoſe diſaſters would yet gladly goe to ſpend their liues there, and by this meanes more good might be done in one yeere, then all thoſe pety particular vndertakings will effect in twenty.

For the Patent the King may, if he pleaſe, rather take it from them that haue it, then from vs who had it firſt, pretending to his Maieſty what great matters they would doe, and how little we did, and for any thing I can conceiue, had we remained ſtill as at firſt, it is not likely we could haue done much worſe; but thoſe oft altering of gouernments are not without much charge, hazard and loſſe. If I be too plaine, I humbly craue your pardon; but you requeſted me, therefore I doe but my duty. For the Nobility, who knowes not how freely both in their Purſes

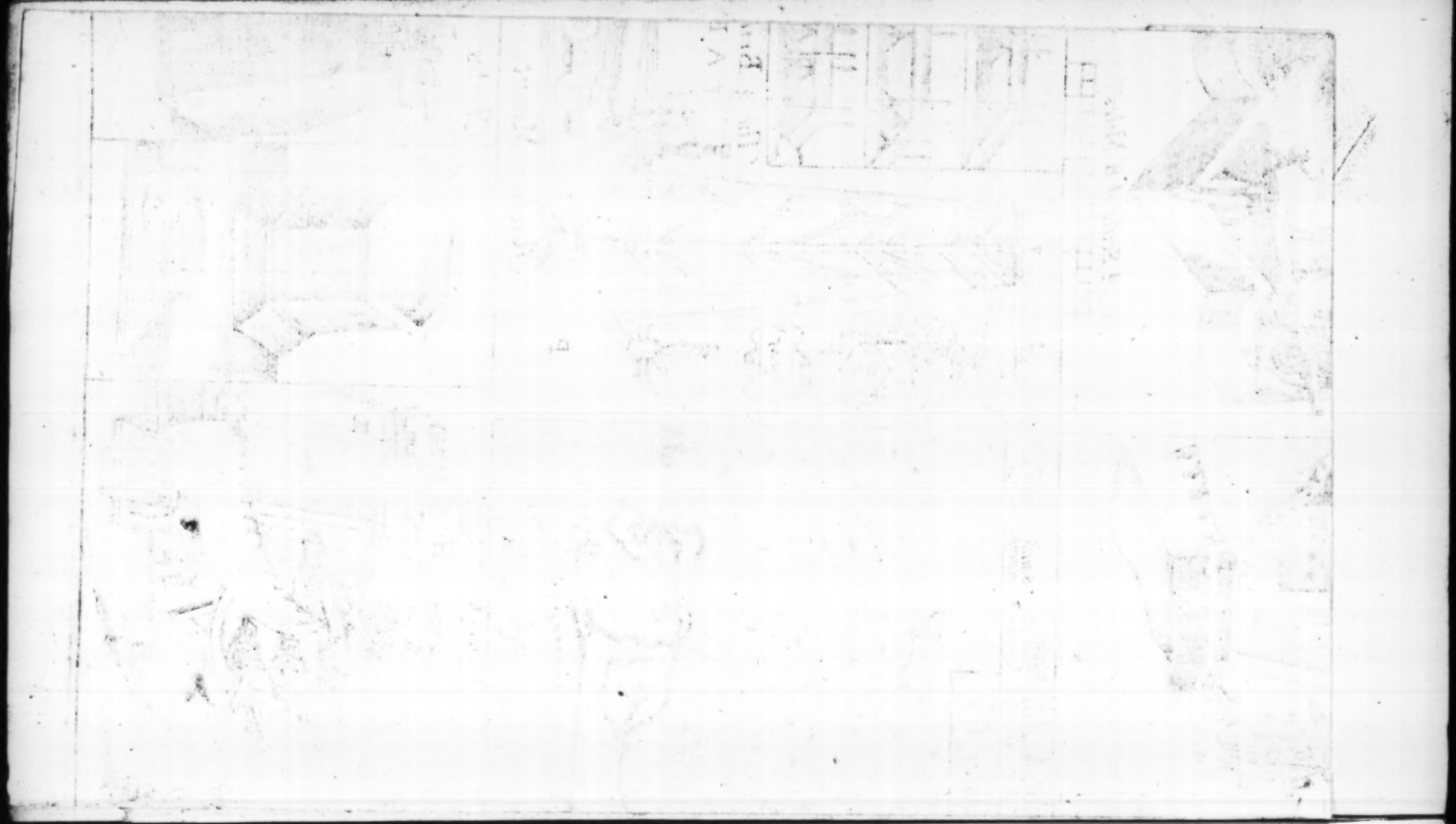
Purses and assistances many of them haue beene to aduance it, committing the managing of the businesse to inferiour persons, amongst whom questionlesse also many haue done their vtmost best, sincerely and truly according to their conceit, opinion and vnderstanding; yet grosse errors haue beene committed, but no man liues without his fault; for my owne part, I haue so much adoe to amend my owne, I haue no leisure to looke into any mans particular, but those in generall I conceiue to be true. And so I humbly rest Yours to command, *I. S.*

The King hath pleased to take it into his consideration.

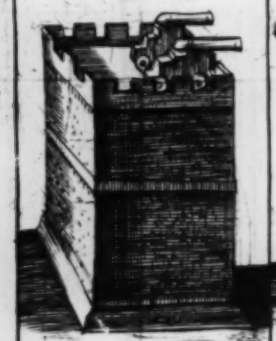
THus those discords, not being to be compounded among themselues, nor yet by the extraordinary diligences, care and paines of the noble and right worthy Commissioners, Sir *William Ionas*, Sir *Nicholas Fortescue*, Sir *Francis Goston*, Sir *Richard Sutton*, Sir *Henry Bourgchier* and Sir *William Pit*; a Corante was granted against Master Deputy *Farrar*, and 20. or 30. others of that party to plead their causes before the right Honourable, the Lords of his Maiesties Priuy Councell: now notwithstanding all the Relations, Examinations, and intercepting of all Letters whatsoeuer came from thence, yet it seemes they were so farre vnsatisfied and desired to know the truth, as well for the preseruation of the Colony, as to giue content and doe all men right, they sent two Commissioners strictly to examine the true estate of the Colony. Vpon whose returne after mature deliberation, it pleased his royall Maiesty to suppresse the course of the Court at Deputy *Farrars*, and that for the present ordering the affaires of *Virginia*, vntill he should make a more full settlement thereof, the Lord Viscount *Mandeuile*, Lord President of his Maiesties Priuie Councell, and also other Priuy Councellors, with many vnderstanding Knights and Gentlemen, should euery Thursday in the afternoone meet at Sir *Thomas Smiths* in *Philpot lane*, where all men whom it should concerne may repaire, to receiue such directions and warrant for their better security, as more at large you may see in the Proclamation to that effect, vnder the great Seale of *England*, dated the 15. of Iuly, 1624. But as for the relations last returned, what numbers they are, how many Cities, Corporations, townes, and houses, cattle and horse they haue, what fortifications or discoueries they haue made, or reuenge vpon the Saluages; who are their friends or foes, or what commodities they haue more then Tobacco, & their present estate or what is presently to be put in execution, in that the Commissioners are not yet fully satisfied in the one, nor resolued in the other, at this present time when this went to the Presse, I must intreat you pardon me till I be better assured.

Thus far I haue trauelled in this Wildernesse of *Virginia*, not being ignorant for all my paines this discourse will be wrested, tossed and turned as many waies as there is leaues; that I haue writ too much of some, too little of others, and many such like obiections. To such I must answer, in the Companies name I was requested to doe it, if any haue concealed their approued experiences from my knowledge, they must excuse me: as for euery fatherles or stolne relation, or whole volumes of sofisticated rehearsals, I leaue them to the charge of them that desire them. I thanke God I neuer vndertooke any thing yet any could tax me of carelesnesse or dishonesty, and what is hee to whom I am indebted or troublesome? Ah! were these my accusers but to change cases and places with me but 2. yeeres, or till they had done but so much as I, it may be they would iudge more charitably of my imperfections. But here I must leaue all to the triall of time, both my selfe, *Virginia's* preparations, proceedings and good euents, praying to that great God the protector of all goodnesse to send them as good successe as the goodnesse of the action and Country deserueth, and my heart desireth.

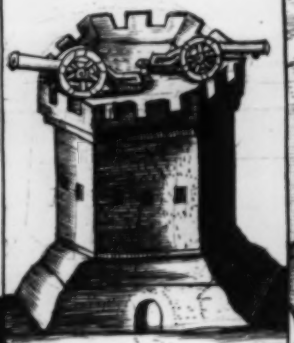
FINIS.



S[t] Catherins forte
F



Pembroks forte
K



Kings Castell
M

S[t] George Towne
D

Warwicks forte
E

State house

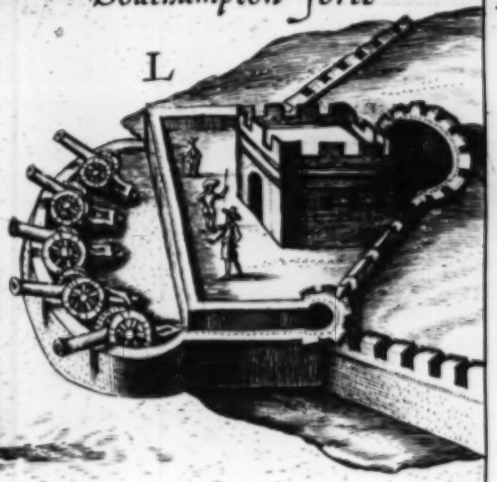
Thes Letters A.B.C. shew the situation of the 3 bridges P the Mount. D.E.F.G.H.I.K.L.M.N.O. & ẏ forts how and by whom they wer made the histo: ry will shew you.

The discription of ẏ land by M[r] Norwood.
All contracted into this order by Captaine Iohn Smith.

Smiths forte I

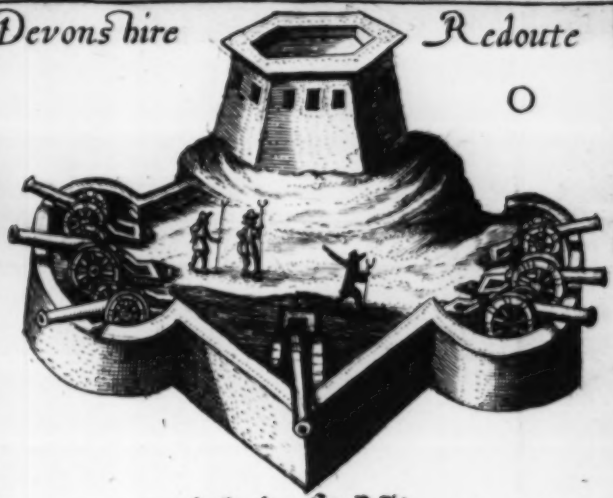
Southampton forte

L

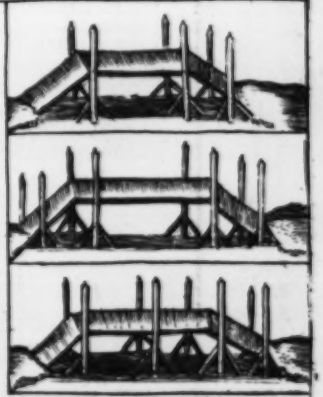


Devonshire Redoute

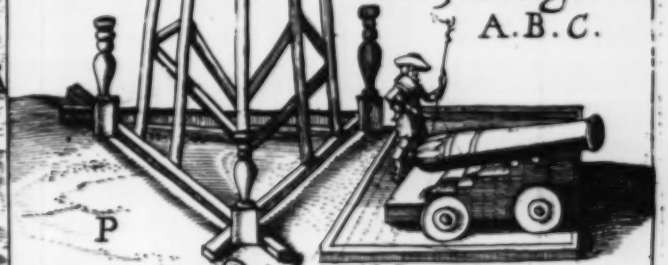
O



A Scale of 8 Miles



The 3 Bridges A.B.C.

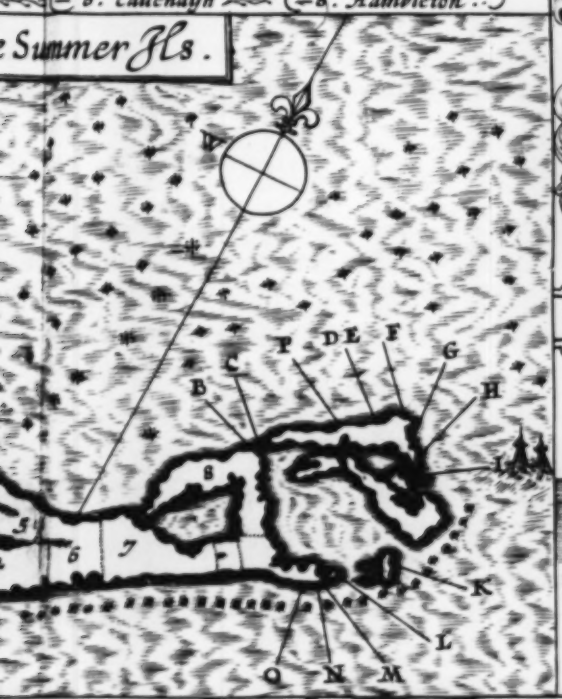


Riches Mount

signified by these Figures.

5. Pembrok — 7. Smith

8. Cauendish — 8. Kambleton

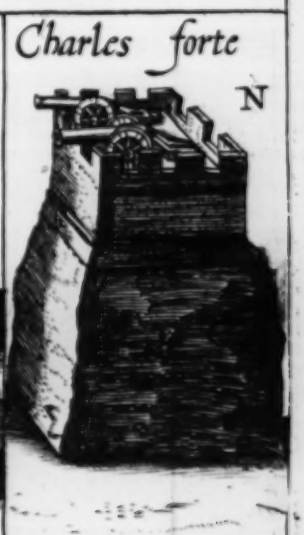


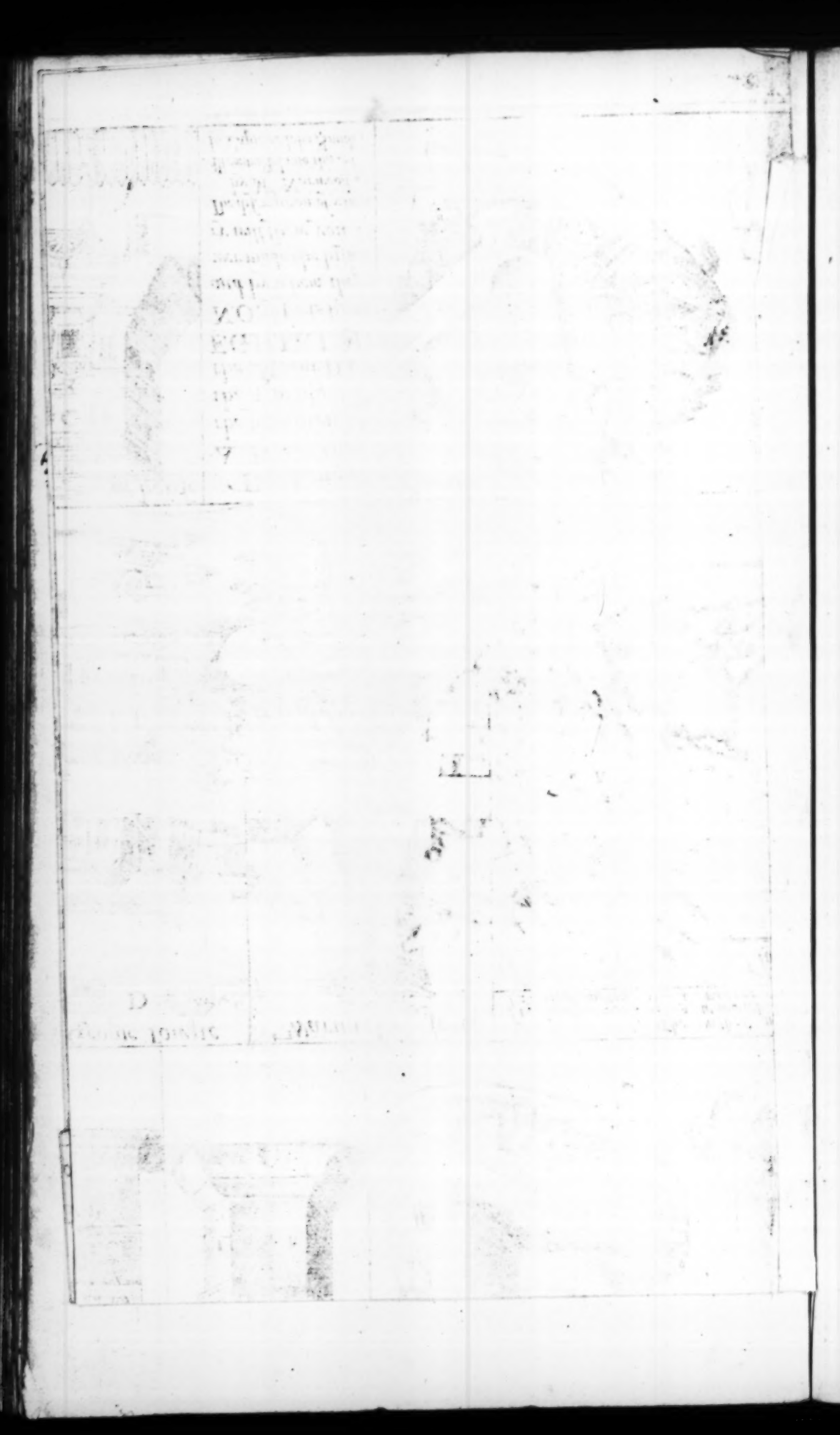
Pagets forte

H

Charles forte

N





THE FIFTH BOOKE.

THE GENERALL HISTORIE OF THE BERMVDAS, now called the *Summer Iles*, from their beginning in the yeere of our Lord 1593. to this preſent 1624. with their proceedings, accidents and preſent eſtate.

BEfore we preſent you the matters of fact, it is fit to offer to your view the Stage whereon they were acted, for as Geography without Hiſtory ſeemeth a carkaſſe without motion, ſo Hiſtory without Geography, wandreth as a Vagrant without a certaine habitation. Thoſe Ilands lie in the huge maine Ocean, and two hundred leagues from any continent, ſituated in 32. degrees and 25. minutes, of Northerly latitude, and diſtant from *England* Weſt South-Weſt, about 3300. miles, ſome twenty miles in length, and not paſt two miles and a halfe in breadth, enuironed with Rocks, which to the North-ward, Weſt-ward, and South-Eaſt, extend further then they haue bin yet well diſcouered: by reaſon of thoſe Rocks the Country is naturally very ſtrong, for there is but two places, & ſcare two, vnleſſe to them who know them well, where ſhipping may ſafely come in, and thoſe now are exceeding well fortified, but within is roome to entertaine a royall Fleet: the Rocks in moſt places appeare at a low water, neither are they much couered at a high, for it ebbs and flowes not paſt fiue foot; the ſhore for moſt part is a Rocke, ſo hardened with the ſunne, wind and ſea, that it is not apt to be worne away with the waues, whoſe violence is alſo broke by the Rocks before they can come to the ſhore: it is very vneuen, diſtributed into hills and dales; the mold is of diuers colours, neither clay nor ſand, but a meane betweene; the red which reſembleth clay is the worſt, the whiteſt reſembling ſand and the blackeſt is good, but the browne betwixt them both which they call white, becauſe there is mingled with it a white meale is the beſt: vnder the mould two or three foot deep, and ſometimes leſſe, is a kinde of white hard ſubſtance which they call the Rocke: the trees vſually faſten their roots in it; neither is it indeed rocke or ſtone, or ſo hard, though for moſt part more harder then Chalke; nor ſo white, but pumiſh-like and ſpungy, eaſily receiuing and containing much water. In ſome places Clay is found vnder it, it ſeemes to be ingendred with raine water, draining through the earth, and drawing with it of his ſubſtance vnto a certaine depth where it congeales; the hardeſt kinde of it lies vnder the red ground like quarries, as it were thicke ſlates one vpon another, through which the water hath his paſſage, ſo that in ſuch places there is ſcarce found any freſh water, for all or the moſt part of the freſh water commeth out of the Sea draining through the ſand, or that ſubſtance called the Rocke, leauing the ſalt behinde, it becomes freſh: ſometimes we digged wells of freſh water which we finde in moſt places, and but three or foure paces from the Sea ſide, ſome further, the moſt part of them would ebbe and flow as the Sea did, and be leuell or little higher then the ſuperficies of the ſea, and in ſome places very ſtrange, darke and cumberſome Caues.

The deſcription of the Iles.

The clime, temper and fertility.

The aire is moſt commonly cleere, very temperate, moiſt, with a moderate heat, very healthfull and apt for the generation and nourithing of all things, ſo as many things tranſported from hence yeeld a farre greater increaſe, and if it be any liuing thing it becomes fatter and better; by this meanes the country is ſo repleniſhed with Hens and Turkies, within the ſpace of three or foure yeeres, that many of them being neglected, forſake the houſes and become wilde, and ſo liue in great abundance; the like increaſe there is in Hogs, tame Conies, and other Cattle according to their kindes. There ſeemes to be a continuall Spring, which is the cauſe ſome things come not to that maturity and perfection as were requiſite; and though the trees ſhed their leaues, yet they are alwaies full of greene; the Corne is the ſame they haue in *Virginia*, and the *Weſt-Indies*: of this and many other things without plowing or much labour, they haue two Haruests euery yeere, for they ſet about March, which they gather in Iuly; and againe in Auguſt, which they reape in December; and little ſlips of Fig-trees and Vines doe vſually beare fruit within the yeere, and ſometimes in leſſe; but we finde not the Grapes as yet come to any perfection; the like fertility it hath in Oranges and Limons, Pomgranates, and other things. Concerning the ſerenity and beauty of the skie, it may as truly be ſaid of thoſe Ilands as euer it was ſaid of the Rhodes, that there is no one day throughout the 12. moneths, but that in ſome houre thereof, the ſun lookes ſingularly & cleere vpon them: for the temperature it is beyond all others moſt admirable; no cold there is beyond an Engliſh Aprill, nor heat much greater then an ordinary Iuly in *France*, ſo that froſt and ſnow is neuer ſeene here, nor ſtinking and infectious miſts very ſeldome, by reaſon of the maine Ocean, there is ſome wind ſtirring that cooles the aire: the winter they haue obſerues the time with ours, but the longeſt daies and nights are ſhorter then ours almoſt by two houres.

Trees and Fruits.

We found it at firſt all ouergrowne with weeds, and plants of ſeuerall kinds, as many tall and goodly Cedars, infinite ſtore of Palmetoes, numbers of Mulberies, wild Oliue-trees ſtore, with diuers others vnknowne both by name and nature, ſo that as yet they become loſt to many vſefull imployments, which time and induſtry no doubt will one day diſcouer, and euen already certaine of the moſt notorious of them haue gotten them appellations from their apparent effects, as the

The Prickell Peare.

Prickell-peare which growes like a ſhrub by the ground, with broad thick leaues, all ouer-armed with long and ſharpe dangerous thornes, the fruit being in forme not much vnlike a ſmall greene Peare, and on the outſide of the ſame colour, but within bloud red, and exceeding full of iuice; with graines not much vnlike

The poiſon weed.

the Pomgranat, and colouring after its nature. The poyſoned weed is much in ſhape like our Engliſh Iuy, but being but touched, cauſeth rednesſe, itching, and laſtly bliſters, the which howſoeuer after a while paſſe away of themſelues without further harme, yet becauſe for the time they are ſomewhat painfull, it hath got it ſelfe an ill name, although queſtionleſſe of no ill nature. Here is alſo frequently

The red weed.

growing a certaine tall Plant, whoſe ſtalke being all ouer couered with a red rinde, is thereupon termed the red weed, the root whereof being ſoked in any liquor, or but a ſmall quantity of the iuice drunke alone, procures a very forcible vomit, and yet is generally vſed by the people, and found very effectuall againſt the paines and diſtempers of the ſtomacke.

The purging Beane.

A kinde of Wood-bind there is likewiſe by the Sea very commonly to bee found, which runnes vpon trees twining it ſelfe like a Vine: the fruit ſomewhat reſembles a Beane, but ſomewhat flatter, the which any way eaten worketh excellently in the nature of a purge, and though very vehemently, yet without all

The coſtiue tree.

perill. Contrary to this, another ſmall tree there is, which cauſeth coſtiuenesſe; there is alſo a certaine Plant like a bramble buſh, which beares a long yellow fruit, hauing the ſhell very hard, and within it a hard berry, that beaten and taken in-

Red Pepper.

wardly purgeth gently. There is another fruit much like our Barberies, which being beaten or bruſed betweene the teeth, ſets all the mouth on an extreme heat very terrible for the time, to auoid which they are ſwallowed downe whole,

and

and found of the ſame or better operation then the red Pepper, and thence borroweth the name. In the bottome of the Sea there is growing vpon the Rocks a large kinde of Plant in the forme of a Vine leafe, but far more ſpread with veines in colour of a pale red, very ſtrangely interlaced & wouen one into another, which we call the Feather, but the vertue thereof is altogether vnknowne, but only regarded for the rarity. Now beſides theſe naturall productions, prouidences & paines ſince the Plantation, haue offered diuers other ſeeds & plants, which the ſoile hath greedlily imbraced & cheriſhed, ſo that at this preſent 1623. there are great abundance of white, red and yellow coloured Potatoes, Tobacco, Sugarcanes, Indicos, Parſnips, exceeding large Radiſhes, the American bread, the Caſſado root, the Indian Pumpian, the Water-millon, Musk-millon, & the moſt delicate Pine-apples, Plantans, and Papawes, alſo the Engliſh Artichoke, Peaſe, &c. briefly whatſoeuer elſe may be expected for the ſatisfaction either of curioſity, neceſſity or delight.

The Sea feather.

Fruits tranſported.

Neither hath the aire for her part been wanting with due ſupplies of many ſorts of Fowles, as the gray and white Hearne, the gray and greene Plouer, ſome wilde Ducks and Malards, Coots and Red-ſhankes, Sea-wigions, Gray-bitterns, Cormorants, numbers of ſmall Birds like Sparrowes and Robins, which haue lately beene deſtroyed by the wilde Cats, Wood-pickars, very many Crowes, which ſince this Plantation are kild, the reſt fled or ſeldome ſeene except in the moſt vninhabited places, from whence they are obſerued to take their flight about ſun ſet, directing their courſe towards the North-weſt, which makes many coniecture there are ſome more Ilands not far off that way. Sometimes are alſo ſeene Falcons & Iar-falcons, Oſpraies, a Bird like a Hobby, but becauſe they come ſeldome, they are held but as paſſengers; but aboue all theſe, moſt deſeruing obſeruation and reſpect are thoſe two ſorts of Birds, the one for the tune of his voice, the other for the effect, called the Cahow, and Egge-bird, which on the firſt of May, a day conſtantly obſerued, fall a laying infinite ſtore of Eggs neere as big as Hens, vpon certaine ſmall ſandie baies eſpecially in *Coupers* Ile; and although men ſit downe amongſt them when hundreds haue bin gathered in a morning, yet there is hath ſtayed amongſt them till they haue gathered as many more: they continue this courſe till *Midſummer*, and ſo tame & feareles, you muſt thruſt them off from their Eggs with your hand; then they grow ſo faint with laying, they ſuffer them to breed & take infinite numbers of their yong to eat, which are very excellent meat.

Birds.

Egge-Birds.

The Cahow is a Bird of the night, for all the day ſhe lies hid in holes in the Rocks, where they and their young are alſo taken with as much eaſe as may be, but in the night if you but whoop and hollow, they will light vpon you, that with your hands you may chuſe the fat and leaue the leane; thoſe they haue only in winter: their Eggs are as big as hens, but they are ſpeckled, the other white. Mr. *Norwood* hath taken twenty dozen of them in three or foure houres, and ſince there hath beene ſuch hauocke made of them, they were neere all deſtroyed, till there was a ſtrict inhibition for their preſeruation. The Tropicke bird is white, as large as a Pullet, with one onely long Feather in her taile, and is ſeldome ſeene far diſtant from other of the Tropicks: another ſmall Bird there is, becauſe ſhe cries Pemblyco they call her ſo, ſhe is ſeldome ſeene in the day but when ſhe ſings, as too oft ſhe doth very clamorouſly; too true a Propheteſſe ſhe proues of huge winds and boyſterous weather: there were a kinde of ſmall Owles in great abundance, but they are now all ſlaine or fled: ſome tame Ducks, Geeſe and Pigeons there are, but the two latter proſper not.

Cahowes.

The Tropicke Bird and the Pemblicos preſagements.

Concerning vermine and noiſome creatures, there are not many, but onely Rats and Cats, there increaſed ſince the Plantation, but how they agree together you ſhall heare hereafter. The Muſketas and Flies are alſo too buſie, with a certaine India Bug, called by the Spaniards a Cacarootch, the which creeping into Cheſts they eat and defile with their ill-ſented dung: alſo the little Ants in ſummer time are ſo troubleſome, they are forced to dry their figs vpon high frames, and anoint their feet with tar, wherein they ſticke, elſe they would ſpoile them all

Of Vermine.

ere they could be dryed: Wormes in the earth alſo there are, but too many, ſo that to keepe them from deſtroying their Corne and Tobacco, they are forced to worme them euery morning, which is a great labour, elſe all would be deſtroyed.

Note. Lizards there were many and very large, but now none, and it is ſaid they were deſtoyed by the Cat. Certaine Spiders alſo of very large ſize are found hanging vpon trees, but inſtead of being any way dangerous as in other places, they are here of a moſt pleaſing aſpect, all ouer dreſt, as it were with Siluer, Gold, and Pearle, and their Webs in the Summer wouen from tree to tree, are generally a perfect raw ſilke, and that as well in regard of ſubſtance as colour, and ſo ſtrong withall, that diuers Birds bigger than Black-birds, being like Snipes, are often taken and ſnared in them as a Net: then what would the Silke-worme doe were ſhee there to feede vpon the continuall greene Mulbery?

Fiſhes. But aboue all the reſt of the Elements, the Sea is found moſt abundantly liberall: hence haue they as much excellent Fiſh, and as much variety as need be deſired. The moſt of which being vnknowne to our Northerne parts, got there new names, either for their ſhapes or conditions; as the large Rocke-fiſh from his like hew, and haunting amongſt the Rocks, the fat Hog-fiſh from his ſwine-like ſhape and ſnout: for this is not the old knowne Hog-fiſh with bruſſels on his backe; the delicate Amber-fiſh from his taſte and ſmell, Angell-fiſh, Cony-fiſh, the ſmall yellow taile from that naturall painting; the great Growper from his odde and ſtrange grunting, ſome of them yet knowne to the *Americans*, as the Purgooſe, the Cauallo, the Gar-fiſh, Flying-fiſh and Morerayes: the reſt are common to other Continents; as the Whale in great numbers, the Sharke, the Pilot-fiſh, the Sea-Breame, the Oyſter and Lobſter, with diuers others; twenty Tortoiſes haue beene taken in a day, and ſome of them will affoord halfe a buſhell of Egges, and ſuffice to feed forty men at a meale. And thus haue you briefely epitomized Mother Natures benefits to this little, yet dainty ſpot of earth, neither were it ingenuity to conceale wherein ſhee inclineth to the Stepdame, eſpecially ſince the particulars are ſo few, as rather requiſite Antidotes againſt idleneſſe to rouſe vp induſtry, then any great cauſe of much diſtaſte, much leſſe deſpaire: and

The moſt hurtfull things in thoſe Iles. of thoſe to ſpeake troth, there are onely two: *viz.* the Winds, and the Wormes, eſpecially in the Spring and Autumne; and thus conditioned as yet we will let reſt theſe ſmall Ilands, in the midſt of this mightie and maine Ocean, ſo inuironed on euery ſide, by infinite numbers of vncertaine ſcattered Rocks, lying ſhallowly hid vnder the ſurface of the water, a league, two, three, foure, or fiue, to Sea, to the which aduantages added by art, as hereafter you ſhall heare at large, and finde deſcribed in the Map. It may well be concluded to be the moſt impregnable place in the world, and although the Amber Greece, Pearles, nor Tobacco, are of that quantity and certainty to be relied vpon to gaine wealth; yet by practiſe and experience they finde, by Silke, Saffron, Indico, Madar, Sugar-canes, Wine, Oile, and ſuch like great profit may be expected: yet were thoſe hopeleſſe in regard of their conueniency to nouriſh and maintaine themſelues, and releeue them ſhall viſit them with wood, water, and other neceſſaries, beſides what an eye-ſore they are already becommed to them that haue them not, and how deare and pretious to them that haue them, I thinke none will deny but they are well worth the keeping: and ſo we will proceed to the accidents that befell the firſt finders; alſo the proceedings of the firſt Planters and their ſucceſſors, Maſter *Norrod*, *Thomas Sparkes*, and diuers others.

A briefe relation of the ſhipwracke of Henry May.

1593. How it is ſuppoſed they were called the *Bermudas*.

HOw theſe Iles came by the name of *Bermudas*, or the infinite number of blacke Hogs, or ſo fearefull to the world, that many called them the *Ile of Deuils*, that all men did ſhun as Hell and perdition; I will not expoſtulate, nor trouble your patiences with thoſe vncertaine antiquities

ties further then thus; our men found diuers crosses, peeces of Spanish monies here and there. Two or three wracks also they found, by certaine inscriptions to bee some Spanish, some Dutch, some French; but the greatest rumour is, that a Spanish ship called *Bermudas* was there cast away, carrying Hogges to the West-Indies that swam a shore, and there increased: how the *Spaniards* escaped is vncertaine: but they say, from that ship those Iles were first called *Bermudas*, which till then for six thousand yeares had beene nameless.

But the first English-man that was euer in them, was one *Henry May*, a worthy Mariner that went with Captaine *Lancaster* to the East-Indies 1591. and in their returne by the West-Indies, being in some distresse, sent this *Henry May* for England by one *Mounsier de la Barbotier*, to acquaint the Merchants with their estate. The last of Nouember, saith *May*, we departed from *Lagna* in *Hispaniola*, and the seuenteenth of December following, we were cast away vpon the North-west of the *Bermudas*; the Pilots about noone made themselues Southwards of the Iles twelue leagues, and demanded of the Captaine their Wine of light as out of all danger, which they had: but it seemes they were richer drinke, or carelesse of their charge; for through their negligences a number of good men were cast away. I being but a stranger amongst fiftie and odde French-men, id pleased God to appoint me to be one of them should be saued. In this extremity we made a raft, which we towed with our Boat, there were but six and twentie of vs saued; and I seeing scarce roome for the one halfe, durst not passe in amongst them till the Captaine called me along with him, leauing the better halfe to the seas mercy: that day we rowed till within two houres of night ere we could land, being neere dead with thirst, euery man tooke his way to seeke fresh water, at length, by searching amongst many weeds, we found some raine water, but in the maine are many faire Baies, where we had enough for digging.

The building and calking their Barke.

Now it pleased God before our ship split we saued our Carpenters tooles, some Nailes, Sailes, and Tacklings, wherewith we went roundly to worke, and built a Barke of eighty tunnes: In stead of Pitch, we made Lime, mixed with Tortoise oyle, and as the Carpenters calked her, I and another paied the seames with this plaster, which being in Aprill, became quickly dry, and as hard as a stone.

His returne for England.

In Aprill it was so hot, we feared our water would faile, two great Chests wee made, which we calked as our ship; those we stowed on each side our maine Mast, filled them with water and thirtie liue Tortoises: wee found many Hogges, but so leane wee could not eat them; the tops of the Palmeta-berries was our bread, and the iuyce we got out of the trees we cut downe our drinke, and of the leaues, which are more then an Ell long, we couered our Cabens, & made our beds, and found many of those prouisions as is related, but little foule weather. The eleuenth of May it pleased God to set vs cleere of the Ile, after wee had liued there fiue moneths: and the twentieth wee fell with Cape *Britton*, neere *New found Land*, where refreshing our selues with wood and water, and such things as we could get of the Saluages, it seemed a good Country, but we staied not past foure houres before we set saile for the banke of *New found land*, where wee met many ships, but not any would take in a man of vs, vntill it pleased God we met a Barke of *Fawmothe*, which receiued vs for a little time, and with her we tooke a French ship, wherein I left Captaine *de la Barbotier*, my deare friend, and all his Company: and in August arriued at *Falmouth* in this honest English Barke, 1594.

Written by me Henry May.

The

The firſt Engliſh ſhip knowne to haue beene caſt away vpon the Bermudas 1609. *From the relation of* Mr. Iordan, *Maſter* Iohn Euens, *Maſter* Henry Shelly, *and diuers others.*

YOu haue heard, that when Captaine *Smith* was Gouernor of *Virginia*, there were nine ſhips ſent with Sir *Thomas Gates*, and Sir *George Somers*, and Captaine *Nuport* with fiue hundred people, to take in the old Commiſſion, and rectifie a new gouernment: they ſet ſaile in May, and in the height of thirty degrees of Northerly latitude, they were taken with an extreme ſtorme, or rather a part of *Hericano*, vpon the fiue and twentieth of Iuly, which as they write, did not onely ſeparate them from the Fleet, but with the violent working of the Seas, their ſhip became ſo ſhaken, torne, and leake, ſhe receiued ſo much water as couered two tire of Hogſheads aboue the ballace, that they ſtood vp to the middles, with Buckets, Baricos, and Kettles, to baile out the water. Thus bailing and pumping three daies and three nights without intermiſſion, and yet the water ſeemed rather to increaſe then diminiſh, in ſo much that being all vtterly ſpent with labour, were euen reſolued without any hope to ſhut vp the hatches, and commit themſelues to the mercy of the Sea, which is ſaid to be mercileſſe, or rather to the mercy of Almighty God, whoſe mercy farre exceeds all his workes; ſeeing no ſenſe or hope in mans apprehenſion, but preſently to ſinke: ſome hauing ſome good and comfortable waters, fetched them and dranke one to another, as taking their laſt leaues vntill a more happy, and a more ioyfull meeting in a more bleſſed world, when it pleaſed God out of his moſt gracious and mercifull prouidence, ſo to direct and guide their ſhip for her moſt aduantage;

A moſt deſperate eſtate by a ſtorm.

That Sir *George Somers* all this time ſitting vpon the poupe, ſcarce taking leiſure to eat nor ſleepe, couing the ſhip to keepe her as vpright as he could, otherwaies ſhe muſt long ere that needs haue foundered, moſt wiſhedly and happily deſcried land; whereupon he moſt comfortably incouraged them to follow their worke, many of them being faſt aſleepe: this vnlooked for welcome newes, as if it had bin a voice from heauen, hurrieth them all aboue hatches, to looke for that they durſt ſcarce beleeue, ſo that improuidently forſaking that taske which imported no leſſe then their liues, they gaue ſo dangerous aduantage to their greedy enemy the ſalt water, which ſtill entred at the large breaches of their poore wooden caſtle, as that in gaping after life, they had well-nigh ſwallowed their death. Surely it is impoſſible any ſhould now be vrged to doe his beſt, and although they knew it, that place all men did ſo ſhun, yet they ſpread all the ſaile they could to attaine them: for not long it was before they ſtrucke vpon a rocke, till a ſurge of the ſea caſt her from thence, and ſo from one to another, till moſt luckily at laſt ſo vpright betwixt two, as if ſhe had beene in the ſtocks, till this they expected but euery blow a death: But now behold, ſuddenly the wind giues place to a calme, and the billowes, which each by ouertaking her, would in an inſtant haue ſhiuered her in peeces, become peaceable and ſtill, ſo that with all conueniency and eaſe, they vnſhipped all their goods, victuall, and perſons into their Boats, and with extreme ioy, euen almoſt to amazedneſſe, arriued in ſafetie, though more then a league from the ſhore, without the loſſe of a man; yet were they in all one hundred and fiftie: yet their deliuerance was not more ſtrange in falling ſo happily vpon the land, as their feeding and preſeruation was beyond their hopes; for you haue heard, it hath beene to the *Spaniards* more fearefull then an Vtopian Purgatory, and to all Sea-men no leſſe terrible then an inchanted den of Furies and Deuils, the moſt dangerous, vnfortunate, and forlorne place in the world, and they found it the richeſt, healthfulleſt and pleaſanteſt they euer ſaw, as is formerly ſaid.

The care and iudgement of Sir George Somers.

An euident token of Gods mercy.

Sir George Somers his firſt ranging the land.

Being thus ſafe on ſhore, they diſpoſed themſelues to ſearch the Iles for food and

and water; others to get a ſhore what they could from the ſhip; not long Sir *George* wandred but found ſuch a fiſhing, that in halfe an houre with a hooke and line, he tooke ſo many as ſufficed the whole company, in ſome places they were ſo thicke in the Coues, and ſo great, they durſt not goe in leſt they ſhould bite them, and theſe rocke fiſh are ſo great two will load a man, and fatter nor better fiſh cannot be. Mr. *Shelly* found a Bay neere a quarter of a mile ouer, ſo full of Mullets, as none of them before had euer ſeene or heard of the like: the next day ſeeking to kill them with fiſ-gigs, they ſtrucke ſo many the water in many places was red with bloud, yet caught not one, but with a net they caught ſo many as they could draw a ſhore, with infinite number of Pilchards and diuers other ſorts; great craw-fiſhes in a night by making a fire they haue taken in great quantity. Sir *George* had twice his hooke and line broke out of his hand, but the third time he made it ſo ſtrong he caught the ſame fiſh, which had pulled him into the Sea had not his men got hold of him, whereby he had his three hookes againe were found in her belly. At their firſt hunting for hogs they found ſuch abundance, they killed 32. and this hunting & fiſhing was appointed to Captaine *Robert Walſingham*, and Mr. *Henry Shelly* for the company in generall: they report they killed at leaſt 500. beſides Pigs, and many that were killed by diuers others; for the birds in their ſeaſons, the facility to make their cabens of Palmeta leaues, cauſed many of them vtterly forget or deſire euer to returne from thence, they liued in ſuch plenty, peace and eaſe.

What meanes they made to ſend to *Virginia*.

But let vs remember how the Knights began to reſolue in thoſe deſperat affaires: many proiects they had, but at laſt it was concluded, to decke their long boat with their ſhip hatches; which done, with all expedition they ſent Maſter *Rauen*, a very ſufficient Mariner, with eight more in her to *Virginia*, to haue ſhipping from thence to fetch them away; three weekes or a moneth they expected her returne, but to this day ſhe was neuer more heard of; all this time was ſpent in ſearching the Iles: now although God ſtill fed them with this abundance of plenty, yet ſuch was the malice of enuy or ambition, for all this good ſeruice done by *Semmers*, ſuch a great difference fell amongſt their Commanders, that they liued aſunder in this diſtreſſe, rather as meere ſtrangers then diſtreſſed friends: but neceſſity ſo commanded, patience had the victory.

A mariage, and two children borne.

Two ſhips at this time by thoſe ſeuerall parties were a building; in the meane time two children were borne, the Boy was called *Bermudas*, the Girle *Bermuda*, and amongſt all thoſe ſorrowes they had a merry Engliſh mariage; the forme of thoſe Iles you may ſee at large in the Map of Mr. *Norwood*, where you may plainly ſee no place knowne hath better walls, nor a broader ditch. But hauing finiſhed and rigged their two new Cedar ſhips with ſuch prouiſions they ſaued from the Sea-aduenturer they left amongſt the Rocks, they called the one the *Patience*, the other the *Deliuerance*; they vſed Lime and Oile, as *May* did for Pitch and Tar. Sir *George Summers* had in his Barke no Iron at all but one bolt in her Keele; now hauing made their prouiſions of victuall and all things ready, they ſet ſaile the tenth of May 1610. onely leauing two men behinde them, called *Chriſtopher Carter* and *Edward Waters*, that for their offences, or the ſuſpition they had of their iudgements, fled into the woods, and there rather deſired to end their daies then ſtand to their trials and the euent of Iuſtice; for one of their conſorts was ſhot to death, and *Waters* being tied to a tree alſo to be executed, had by chance a Knife about him, and ſo ſecretly cut the Rope, he ran into the woods where they could not finde him. There were two Saluages alſo ſent from *Virginia* by Captain *Smith*, the one called *Namontack*, the other *Matchumps*, but ſome ſuch differences fell betweene them, that *Matchumps* ſlew *Namontack*, and hauing made a hole to bury him, becauſe it was too ſhort, he cut of his legs and laid them by him, which murder he concealed till he was in *Virginia*.

Their arriuall in *Virginia*.

The foure and twentieth of the ſame moneth they arriued in *Virginia* at *Iamos* towne, where they found but threeſcore perſons, as you may reade at large in the Hiſtory of *Virginia*, of the fiue hundred left by Captaine *Smith*, alſo of the arriuall of

of the Lord *Laware*, that met them thus bound for *England*, returned them backe, and vnderſtanding what plenty there was of hogs and other good things in the *Bermudas*, was deſirous to ſend thither to ſupply his neceſſary occaſions; whereupon Sir *George Summers*, the beſt acquainted with the place, whoſe noble minde euer regarded a generall good more then his owne ends, though aboue threeſcore yeeres of age, and had meanes in *England* ſutable to his ranke, offered himſelfe by Gods helpe to performe this dangerous voyage againe for the *Bermudas*, which was kindly accepted, ſo vpon the 19. of Iune, he imbarked in his Cedar ſhip, about the burthen of thirty tunnes, and ſo ſet ſaile.

Sir *George Summers* his returne to the *Bermudas*.

Much foule and croſſe weather he had, and was forced to the North parts of *Virginia*, where refreſhing himſelfe vpon this vnknowne coaſt, he could not bee diuerted from the ſearch of the *Bermudas*, where at laſt with his company he ſafely arriued: but ſuch was his diligence with his extraordinary care, paines and induſtry to diſpatch his buſineſſe, and the ſtrength of his body not anſwering the euer memorable courage of his minde, hauing liued ſo long in ſuch honourable ſeruices, the moſt part of his well beloued and vertuous life, God and nature here determined, ſhould euer remaine a perpetuall memory of his much bewailed ſorrow for his death: finding his time but ſhort, after he had taken the beſt courſe he could to ſettle his eſtate, like a valiant Captaine he exhorted them with all diligence to be conſtant to thoſe Plantations, and with all expedition to returne to *Virginia*. In that very place which we now call Saint *Georges* towne, this noble Knight died, whereof the place taketh the name. But his men, as men amazed, ſeeing the death of him who was euen as the life of them all, embalmed his body and ſet ſaile for *England*, being the firſt that euer went to ſeeke thoſe Ilands, which haue beene euer ſince called *Summers* Iles, in honour of his worthy memory, leauing three men behind them, that voluntarily ſtayed, whoſe names were *Chriſtopher Carter*, *Edward Waters*, there formerly left as is ſaid, and *Edward Chard*. This Cedar ſhip at laſt with his dead body arriued at *Whit-Church* in *Dorſetſhire*, where by his friends he was honourably buried, with many vollies of ſhot, and the rites of a Souldier, and vpon his tombe was beſtowed this Epitaph.

His Epitaph.

Hei mihi Virginia quod tam cito præterit Æſtas,
Autumnus ſequitur, ſæuiet inde & hiems;
At ver perpetuum naſcetur, & Anglia lata,
Decerpit flores florida terra tuas.

In Engliſh thus:

Alas Virginia's Summer ſo ſoone paſt,
Autumne ſucceeds and ſtormy Winters blaſt,
Yet Englands *ioyfull Spring with ioyfull ſhowers,*
O Florida, *ſhall bring thy ſweeteſt flowers.*

The proceedings of the three men.

THe honour of this reſolution belongs principally to *Carter*, for through his importunity, not to leaue ſuch a place abandoned, *Chard* & *Waters* were moued to ſtay with him, and the reſt promiſed with all the ſpeed they could againe to reuiſit them. But the ſhip once out of ſight, thoſe three Lords, the ſole inhabitants of all thoſe Ilands, began to ereſt their little common wealth for a while with brotherly regency, repairing the ground, planting Corne, and ſuch ſeeds and fruits as they had, building a houſe, &c. Then making priuy ſearch amongſt the creuiſes and corners of thoſe craggy Rocks, what this maine Ocean ſince the worlds creation had throwne amongſt them, at laſt they chanced vpon the greateſt peece of Amber-greece was euer ſeene or heard of in one lumpe, being in weight foure-ſcore pound, beſides diuers other ſmall peeces.

A peece of Amber-greece of 80. pound weight.

But now being rich, they grew ſo proud and abitious, contempt tooke ſuch place,

place, they fell out for ſuperiority, though but three forlorne men, more then three thouſand miles from their natiue Country, and but ſmall hope euer to ſee it againe. Notwithſtanding, they ſometimes fell from words to blowes about meere trifles: in one of which fights, one of them was bitten with his owne dog, as if the dumbe beaſt would reproue them of their folly; at laſt *Chard* and *Waters*, the two greater ſpirits, muſt try it out in the field, but *Carter* wiſely ſtole away their weapons, affecting rather to liue amongſt his enemies, then by being rid of them liue alone; and thus thoſe miſerable men liued full two yeeres, ſo that all their clothes were neere worne cleane from their backs, and their hopes of any forraine releeſe as naked as their bodies. At laſt they began to recouer their wits, yet in a faſhion perhaps would haue coſt them dearer then when they were mad; for concluding a tripartite peace of their Matachin warre, they reſolued to frame as good a Boat as they could, and therein to make a deſperate attempt for *Virginia*, or *New found Land*; but no ſooner were they entred into that reſolution, but they deſcried a ſaile ſtanding in for the ſhore, though they neither knew what ſhe was, nor what ſhe would, they were ſo ouer-ioyed, with all poſſible ſpeed they went to meet her, and according to their hearts deſire ſhe proued an Engliſh-man, whom they ſafely conducted into their harbour.

How they were ſupplied. 1611.

Now you are to vnderſtand, that Captaine *Matthew Somers*, Nephew and heire to Sir *George*, that returned with his dead body, though both he and his Company did their vtmoſt in relating all thoſe paſſages to their Countrey-men and aduenturers, their relations were beleeued but as trauellers tales, till it came to be apprehended by ſome of the *Virginia* Company, how beneficiall it might be, and helpfull to the Plantation in *Virginia*, ſo that ſome one hundred and twentie of them bought the pretended right of all the Company, and had ſent this ſhip to make a triall; but firſt they had obtained Letters Patents of the Kings moſt excellent Maieſtie. Sir *Thomas Smith* was elected Treaſurer and Gouernor heere, and Maſter *Richard More* to be Gouernor of the Iles and Colony there.

The firſt beginning of a Colonie in the Somer Iles, vnder the command of Maſter Richard More, *extracted out of a plot of Maſter* Richard Norwood *Surueior, and the relations of diuers others.*

The arriuall of Maſter *More*. 1612. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treaſurer.

MAſter *More* thus finding thoſe three men not onely well and luſty, but well ſtored with diuers ſorts of prouiſions, as an Acre of Corne ready to be gathered, numbers of Pumpions and Indian Beanes, many Tortoiſes ready taken, good ſtore of hogs fleſh ſalted, and made in flitches of Bacon, were very good, and ſo preſently landed his goods and ſixty perſons towards the beginning of Iuly 1612. vpon the South ſide of *Smiths* Ile.

Their differences about the Amber-greece.

Not long after his arriuall, *More* hauing ſome priuate intelligence of this Amber-greece, tooke firſt *Chard* in examination, he being one of the three the moſt maſterſull ſpirit, what Amber-greece, Pearle, Treaſure, or other Commodities they had found. *Chard* no leſſe witty then reſolute, directly anſwered; Not any thing at all but the fruits of the Ile, what his fellowes had done he knew not, but if they had, he doubted not but to finde it out, and then hee ſhould know it certainly. This he ſpake onely to win time to ſweare his Conſorts to ſecrecy, and he would finde the meanes how they ſhould all returne in that ſhip with it all for *England*, otherwiſe they ſhould be deceiued of all. Till this was effected they thought euery houre an age; now for the better conueiance of it aboord, they acquainted it to Captaine *Danis*, maſter of the ſhip, and one Maſter *Edwin Kendall*, that for their ſecrecy and tranſportation ſhould participate with them: Without further ceremony the match was accepted, and abſolutely concluded, the plot laid, time and place ſet downe to haue it aboord. But *Carter*, were it for feare the Gouernor at laſt ſhould know of it, to whom ſo oft they had denied it; or that the

reſt ſhould deceiue him, is vncertaine; but moſt certaine it is, he reuealed all the plot to Maſter *More*: To get ſo much wealth he knew would pleaſe them in *England*, though it did diſpleaſe all his Company, and to loſe ſuch a prize he would not for hazarding a mutiny. So firſt hee reuealed himſelfe to *Kendall* in faire tearmes, reproouing his diſhoneſty, but not being anſwered according to his expectation, he committed both *Chard* and him to perſon. The next Sabboath day *Danis* comming on ſhore, *More* alſo taxed with very hard language and many threats, to lay him faſt alſo if he mended not his manners; *Danis* for the preſent replied little, but went with him to the place of praier: but in the midſt of diuine ſeruice he goeth away, commanding all his Sea-men to follow him preſently aboord, where he encourageth them to ſtand to him like men, and hee would free the Priſoners, haue all the Amber-greece for themſelues, and ſo be gone.

Chard in danger of hanging.

The Gouernor hearing of this reſolution, prepares with his company to repulſe force with force, ſo that a generall expectance of a ciuill vnciuill warre poſſeſſed euery man; but this threatning guſt paſſed ouer more calmlier then was expected; for *Danis* hauing better aduiſed with himſelfe, repented his raſhneſſe, and deſired a reconcilement with the Gouernor. Peace thus concluded, *Kendall* was ſet at libertie, but *Chard* was condemned, and vpon the ladder to be hanged for his obſtinacy; yet vpon better conſideration *More* repriued him, but kept him a priſoner all the time he ſtaied in the Country, which was generally thought a very bad reward for his great deſert, and that there was more of this Amber-greece imbeziled, then would haue contented all the finders, that neuer had any conſideration at all. The greateſt part though *More* thus recouered, yet *Danis* and *Kendall* had ſo much, either by the ignorance or conniuency of the Gouernors, that arriuing in *England*, they prepared themſelues for a new voiage; at laſt they two falling out, the Company hauing notice thereof, ſo tormented them both, they gaue ouer their voiage, and durſt not be ſeene a long time after.

Maſter *Mores* induſtry in fortifying and planting.

The Gouernor thus rid of the ſhip and thoſe diſcontents, remoued his ſeat from *Smiths* Ile to Saint *Georges*, after he had fitted vp ſome ſmall Cabbens of Palmata leaues for his wife and family, in that valley where now ſtands their prime towne called *S. Georges*, hee began to apply himſelfe to fortifie the Countrey, and training his men in the exerciſe of armes. For although he was but a Carpenter, he was an excellent Artiſt, a good Gunner, very witty and induſtrious: he built and laid the foundation of eight or nine Forts, called the *Kings* Caſtle, *Charles* Fort, *Pembrookes* Fort, *Smiths* Fort, *Pagits* Fort, *Gates* Fort, *Warwicks* Caſtle, Saint *Katharines* Fort, &c. mounting in them all the Ordnance he had, preparing the ground to build Houſes, plant Corne, and ſuch Fruits as they had.

A contention of the Miniſter againſt the Gouernor.

Being thus buſied, and as the neceſſitie of the time required, keeping his men ſomewhat hard at worke, Maſter *Keath* his Miniſter, were it by the ſecret prouocation of ſome drones, that grew weary of their taskes, or his affection to popularity is not certaine: But he begins to tax the Gouernor in the Pulpit, hee did grinde the faces of the poore, oppreſſing his Chriſtian brethren with *Pharoahs* taxes. *More* finding this in ſhort time, might breed ill bloud, called the Company together and alſo the Miniſter, vrging them plainly, to tell him wherein he had deſerued thoſe hard accuſations: whereupon, with an vniuerſall cry they affirmed the contrary, ſo that *Keath* downe of his knees to aske him forgiueneſſe. But Maſter *More* kindly tooke him vp, willing him to kneele to God, and hereafter be more modeſt and charitable in his ſpeeches; notwithſtanding two other diſcontents ſo vpbraided *More* with that doctrine, and ſtood to maintaine it, he impaneled a Iury, with a great deale of ſeeming much adoe he would hang them being condemned, one of them with the very feare, fell into a dead Palſie; ſo that the other was ſet at libertie, and proued after a very good labourer.

Many concluſions he tried about the *Sea-venture*, the wracke of Sir *George Somers*,

mers, but he got onely for his paines but two peece of Ordnance. Hauing framed a Church of timber, it was blowne downe by a tempeſt, ſo that he built another in a more cloſer place with Palmeta leaues. Two peeces weighed out of the *Sea Adventure*.

Before this yeere was expired, the aduenterers ſent them an aduiſo with thirtie Paſſengers and good prouiſions, to prepare with all expedition for their defence againſt the *Spaniard*, whom they vnderſtood ere long would viſit them: This occaſioned him to keepe all his men together in that Ile ſo hard at worke, that wanting libertie to goe abroad for food, liuing onely on that they had, and expected daily to receiue from *England*, they were ſo ouer-toiled, many fell ſicke, but none died. Very earneſt this ſhip was to haue all the Amber greece, which M. *More* perceiuing, was the chiefeſt cauſe of their comming, and that it was the onely loadſtone to draw from *England* ſtill more ſupplies; for all the expreſſe command ſent from the Company, he returned this ſhip but with the one third part; ſo from thence ſhe went to *Virginia*, and not long after arriued ſafely in *England*. The firſt ſupply.

But before her returne the Company ſent the *Martha* with ſixtie Paſſengers more, they arriued in Iune with one Maſter *Bartlet* to ſuruey the Iland, and the eſtate of the Colonie, with expreſſe command for all the Amber-greece: but *More* perceiuing him not as he would haue him, and that the Company began to miſtruſt him, would ſend no more but another third part, wherewith they returned, leauing a French-man to make triall of the Mulberies for Silke, but he did not bring any thing to perfection; excuſing himſelfe, they were not the right Mulberies he expected. About this time they were in hope of a ſmall crop of Tobacco, but it was moſt ſpoiled for want of knowledge to vſe it. Now in *England* Maſter *More* became amongſt the Merchants maruelous diſtaſtfull, for the detaining ſo long the Amber-greece; which delaies they ſo much abhorred, they forthwith diſpatched the *Elizabeth* the ſecond time and forty Paſſengers, much rebuking *More* for ſo long detaining the Amber-greece: for the which, hauing now no more colourable excuſes, he deliuered it, wherewith the ſhip went to *Virginia*, & thence home. In this ſhip was brought the firſt Potata roots, which flouriſhed exceedingly for a time, till by negligence they were almoſt loſt (all but two caſt-away roots) that ſo wonderfully haue increaſed, they are a maine releefe to all the Inhabitants. This ſhip was not long gone but there came two Spaniſh ſhips, ſounding with their Boat; which attempted to come in: but from the Kings Caſtle Maſter *More* made but two ſhot, which cauſed them preſently depart. Marke here the handy-worke of the diuine prouidence, for they had but three quarters of a barrell of powder, and but one ſhot more, and the powder by careleſneſſe was rumbled downe vnder the muſſels of the two peeces, were diſcharged, yet not touched with fire when they were diſcharged.

1613. The ſecond ſupply. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treaſurer.

A ſtrange increaſe of Potatoes.

The attempt of two Spaniſh ſhips.

This feare thus paſt, appeares another much worſe, which was the extremity of famine; in this extremity God ſent Captaine *Daniel Elfrid* with a caruell of meale which a litle releeued them, but brought withall ſo many Rats, that within two yeeres after neere ruined all; now though *Elfrid* had deceiued his friend *Fiſher* of this Caruell in the *Weſt-Indies*, they reuenged *Fiſhers* iniury, for *Elfrid* had his paſſage for *England* and they made vſe of all he had. Some two moneths after, came in the *Bleſſing* with an hundred Paſſengers; and two daies after the *Starre* with a hundred and foureſcore more, amongſt which were many Gentlemen, as Maſter *Lower* for Marſhall, Maſter *Barras*, Maſter *Felgate*, and diuers others; but very vnpropet for what they vndertooke. Within foureteene daies after came in the *Margaret* and two Frygats, and in them one hundred and threeſcore Paſſengers; alſo Maſter *Bartlet* came now expreſſly to diuide the Country into Tribes, and the Tribes into ſhares. But Maſter *More* finding no mention made of any part for himſelfe nor all them with him, as he was promiſed in *England*, by no meanes would admit of any diuiſion, nor ſuffer his men from finiſhing their fortifications, which was ſo neceſſary, it was his maine ambition to ſee that accompliſhed; but ſuch vnkindneſſe grew betwixt this Maſter *Bartlet* and

the Gouernour, that the rude multitude with all the diſdaine they could deuiſe cauſed *Bartlet* returne for *England* as he came. About this time *William Mallington* was drawne into the Sea by a fiſh, but neuer after euer ſeene.

1614. The neglect of this diuiſion was very hardly conceited in *England*, ſo that Maſter *More* grew more and more in diſlike with the company; notwithſtanding he followed the building of theſe Forts ſo earneſtly, neglecting planting of Corne, till their ſtore was neere all conſumed, whereby they became ſo feeble and weake, ſome would not, others could not goe abroad to ſeeke releeſe, but ſtrued in their houſes, and many that went abroad, through weakneſſe were ſubiect to be ſuddenly ſurprized with a diſeaſe called the Feauges, which was neither paine nor ſickneſſe, but as it were the higheſt degree of weakneſſe, depriuing them of power and ability from the execution of any bodily exerciſes, whether it were working, walking, or what elſe, being thus taken, if any preſently gaue them food many times they ſtraight recouered, yet ſome after a little reſt would bee able to walke, but if they found not preſent ſuccour, died.

A great famine and mortalitie. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treaſurer.

A ſtrange being of Rauens.

About this time or immediatly before, came in a company of Rauens, which continued amongſt them all the time of this mortality and then departed, which for any thing knowne, neither before nor ſince were euer ſeene or heard of: this with diuers other reaſons cauſed Maſter *More* to goe out to Sea, to ſee if he could diſcouer any other Ilands, but he went not farre ere ill weather forced him backe; and it were a noble aduenture of him would vndertake to make more perfect all the dangers are about the *Summer Ilet*.

All workes abandoned to get onely victuals.

Thus famine and miſery cauſed Gouernour *More* leaue all his workes, and ſend them abroad to get what they could; one hundred and fifty of the moſt weake and ſicke he ſent to *Coopers* Ile, where were ſuch infinite numbers of the Birds called Cahowes, which were ſo feareleſſe they might take ſo many as they would, and that admired abundance of fiſh, that the extremity of their hunger, and their gluttony was ſuch, thoſe heauenly bleſſings they ſo conſumed and waſted by careleſneſſe and ſurfetting, many of them died vpon thoſe ſilly Birds that offered themſelues to the ſlaughter, which the Gouernour vnderſtanding, cauſed them for change of aire to be remoued to *Port-royall*, and a Company of Fiſhers with a Boat to releeue them with fiſh, but the Gange grew ſo lazie the poore weaklings ſtill died; they that remained killed the Cattle they found in the Ile, faining the heat cauſed them to runne into the Sea and ſo were drowned; ſo that the Gouernour ſent againe for them home, but ſome obtained leaue ſtill to liue abroad; one amongſt the reſt hid himſelfe in the Woods, and liued onely on Wilkes and land Crabs, fat and luſty many moneths, but moſt of them being at Saint *Georges*, ordinarily was taken one hundred and fifty or two hundred great fiſhes daily for their food; for want of hookes and lines, the Smith made hookes of old ſwords, and lines of old ropes, but finding all thoſe poore Engines alſo decay, they ſent one of the two Frigats laſt left with them for *England*, to tell them of this miſery. All which was now attributed to Maſter *Mores* peruerſneſſe, who at firſt when he got the Amber-Greece had not ſuch a generall applauſe, but now all the worſt could poſſibly be ſuggeſted was too good for him; yet not knowing for the preſent how to ſend a better, they let him continue ſtill, though his time was neere expired, and with all ſpeed ſent the *Welcome* fraught with prouiſion, where ſhee well arriued, and proued her ſelfe as welcome in deed as in name; for all thoſe extremities, Maſter *Lewes Hues* writeth, not one of all thoſe threeſcore that firſt beganne this Plantation was dead, which ſhewes it was not impoſſible, but induſtry might haue preuented a great part of the others ſluggiſh careleſneſſe.

A ſupply, and M. *Mores* returne.

This ſhip much refreſhed this miſerable Colony, but Maſter *More* ſeeing they ſent not for him, his time being now expired, vnderſtanding how badly they reputed him in *England*, and that his imployment now was more for their owne ends then any good for himſelfe, reſolued directly to returne with this ſhip. Hauing ſetled all things in the beſt order he could, left the gouernment to the charge

of

of the counſell of ſix to ſucceed each other monethly, till they had further directions from *England*; whoſe names were Captaine *Miles Kendall*, Captaine *Iohn Mansfield*, *Thomas Knight*, *Charles Caldycot*, *Edward Waters*, and *Chriſtopher Carter*, with twelue others for their aſſiſtances. *More* thus taking leaue of thoſe Ilands, arriued in *England*, much wrangling they had, but at laſt they confirmed him according to promiſe eight ſhares of Land, and ſo he was diſmiſſed of his charge, with ſhew of fauour and much friendſhip.

The rule of the ſix Gouernors.

THE firſt thing they did was caſting of lots, who ſhould rule firſt, which lot lighted vpon Maſter *Caldicot*. This laſt ſupply ſomewhat abated the extremitie of their miſeries, and the better in that their fortifications being finiſhed, they had the more leaſure to goe abroad with that meanes was brought to that purpoſe to fiſh. *Chard* as you haue heard, whom all this while *More* had kept Priſoner, they ſet at libertie: now by reaſon of their former miſeries, little or nothing could be done; yet this Gouernor hauing thus concluded his moneth, and prepared a Frigot and two and thirtie men, hee imbarked himſelfe with two other of his fellow counſellers; namely, *Knight* and *Wat*[illegible] for the Weſt-Indies, to get Fruits and Plants, Goats, young Cattle, and ſuch like. But this poore veſſell, whether through ill weather, or want of Mariners, or both, in ſtead of the *Indies* fell with the *Canaries*, where taking a poore *Portugall*, the which they manned with ten of their owne people, as ſoone after ſeparated from her in a ſtorme, & the next day was taken by a French Pickaroune, ſo that the Frigot out of hope of her prize, makes a ſecond time for the Weſt-Indies, where ſhe no ſooner arriued, but foundred in the ſea; but the men in their Boat recouered a deſolate Ile, where after ſome few moneths ſtay, an Engliſh Pyrat tooke them in, and ſome of them at laſt got for *England*, and ſome few yeares after returned to the *Somer Iles*.

1615. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treaſurer.

Captaine Iohn Mansfield *his moneth.*

THE Frigot thus gone, Captaine *Mansfield* ſucceeded. Then was contriued a petition, as from the generalitie, vnto the triumuerat Gouernors; wherein they ſupplicated, that by no meanes they ſhould reſigne the gouernment to any ſhould come from *England*, vpon what tearmes ſoeuer, vntill ſix moneths after the returne of their ſhip ſent to the Weſt-Indies: about this vnwarrantable action, Maſter *Lewes Hues* their Preacher was ſo violent in ſuppreſſing it, that ſuch diſcontents grew betwixt the Gouernors and him, and diuiſions among the Company, he was arraigned, condemned, and impriſoned, but not long detained before releaſed. Then the matter fell ſo hotly againe to be diſputed betwixt him and one Maſter *Keath* a Scotch-man, that profeſſed ſcholerſhip, that made all the people in a great combuſtion: much adoe there was, till at laſt as they ſate in the Church and ready to proceed to a iudicary courſe againſt Maſter *Hues*, ſuddenly ſuch an extreme guſt of wind and weather ſo ruffled in the trees and Church; ſome cried out a miracle; others, it was but an accident common in thoſe Iles, but the noiſe was ſo terrible it deſolued the aſſembly; notwithſtanding, Maſter *Hues* was againe impriſoned, and as ſuddenly diſcharged; but thoſe factions were ſo confuſed, and their relations ſo variable, that ſuch vnneceſſary circumſtances were better omitted then any more diſputed.

This mans moneth thus ended, begins Maſter *Carter*, which was altogether ſpent in quietneſſe, and then Captaine *Miles Kendall* had the rule, whoſe moneth was alſo as quietly ſpent as his Predeceſſors. Then Captaine *Manſfield* begins his ſecond moneth, when the ſhip called the *Edwin* arriued with good ſupplies. About this time diuers Boats going to ſea were loſt, and ſome men drowned; and many

Maſter *Carter*. Captaine *Kendall*. Capt. *Mansfield*.

many of the Company repaired to Maſter *Hues*, that there might bee a Councell according to Maſter *Mores* order of ſixe Gouernours, and twelue Aſſiſtants, whereupon grew as many more ſuch ſilly brawles as before, which at laſt concluded with as ſimple a reconciliation. In the *interim* happened to a certaine number of priuate perſons as miſerable and lamentable an accident, as euer was read or heard of, and thus it was:

A wonderfull accident.

In the month of March, a time moſt ſubiect of all others to ſuch tempeſts; on a Friday there went ſeuen men in a boat of two or three tunnes to fiſh. The morning being faire, ſo eager they were of their iourney, ſome went faſting: neither carried they either meat or drinke with them, but a few Palmeta berries, but being at their fiſhing place ſome foure leagues from the ſhoare, ſuch a tempeſt aroſe, they were quickly driuen from the ſight of land in an ouergrowne Sea, deſpairing of all hope, onely committing themſelues to Gods mercy, let the boat driue which way ſhee would. On Sunday the ſtorme being ſomewhat abated, they hoyſed ſaile as they thought towards the Iſland. In the euening it grew ſtarke calme; ſo that being too weake to vſe their oares, they lay a drift that night. The next morning *Andrew Hilliard*, for now all his companons were paſt ſtrength either to helpe him or themſelues: before a ſmall gale of winde ſpred his ſaile againe. On Tueſday one died, whom they threw ouer board. On Wedneſday three. And on Thurſday at night the ſixt. All theſe but the laſt were buried by *Hilliard* in the Sea, for ſo weake hee was growne hee could not turne him ouer as the reſt, whereupon hee ſtripped him, ripping his belly with his knife, throwing his bowels into the water, hee ſpread his body abroad tired open with a ſticke, and ſo lets it lie as a ciſterne to receiue ſome lucky raine-water, and this God ſent him preſently after, ſo that in one ſmall ſhoure hee recouered about foure ſpoonefuls of raine water to his vnſpeakeable refreſhment; he alſo preſerued neere halfe a pint of blood in a ſhooe, which he did ſparingly drinke of to moiſt his mouth: two ſeuerall dates he fed on his fleſh, to the quantity of a pound, on the eleuenth day from his looſing the ſight of land, two flying fiſhes fals in his boat, whoſe warme iucie blood hee ſucked to his great comfort. But within an houre after to his greater comfort you will not doubt, he once againe deſcried the land, and within foure houres after was caſt vpon a rocke neere to Port royall, where his boat was preſently ſplit in pieces, but himſelfe, though exreamly weake, made ſhift to clamber vp ſo ſteepe and high a rocke, as would haue troubled the ableſt man in the Ile to haue done that by day hee did by night.

Being thus aſtride on a rocke, the tumbling Sea had gotten ſuch poſſeſſion in his braines, that a good while it was before his giddy head would ſuffer him to venture vpon the forſaking it: towards the morning he craules a ſhore, and then to his accompliſhed ioy deſcernes where hee is, and trauels halfe a day without any refreſhment then water, whereof wiſely and temperately he ſtinted himſelfe, otherwiſe certainely hee had drunke his laſt. In which caſe hee attaines a friends houſe: where at the firſt they tooke him for a ghoſt, but at laſt acknowledged and receiued him with ioy, his ſtory after ſome houres of recouery of ſtrength to tell it, heard out with admiration: he was not long after conueyed to the towne, where he receiued his former health, and was liuing in the yeere 1623.

Treaſure found in the *Sumſter Ile*.

The next newes that happened in this time of eaſe, was, that a merry fellow hauing found ſome few Dollars againſt the Flemiſh wracke, the bruit went current the treaſure was found, and they all made men. Much adoe there was to preuent the purloining of it, before they had it: vvhere after they had tyred themſelues vvith ſearching, that they found amounted not to aboue twenty pounds ſtarling, vvhich is not vnlike but to be the remainder of ſome greater ſtore, waſhed from ſome wracke not farre from the ſhore.

A new Gouernor choſen.

The company by the *Edwin* receiuing newes of the reuels vvere kept in *Sommer Ile*s, reſolued to make choice of a new Gouernour, called Maſter *Daniel Tucker*, that a long time had beene a planter *Virginia* in the gouernment of Captaine *Smith*.

Smith. All things being furniſhed for his voyage; hee ſet ſaile in the *George*, conſorted vvith the *Edwin*, with many paſſengers, which being diſcouered by them in thoſe Iles, they ſuppoſed them the Frigot ſent to the Weſt Indies, but when they vnderſtood vvhat they vvere, much preparation they made to reſiſt the new Gouernour. Many great oſtentations appeared on both ſides, but vvhen the *quondam* Gouernour did ſee his men for moſt part forſake him; all was very well and quietly compounded, and with much kindneſſe receiued and welcomed a ſhore, where his Commiſſion was no ſooner read, then they accepted and acknowledged him for their Gouernour.

The Gouernment of Captaine Daniel Tuckar.

ABout the miſld of May arriued this Gouernor, where finding the Inhabitants both abhorring all exacted labour, as alſo in a manner diſdaining and grudging much to be commanded by him; it could not but paſſionate any man liuing. But at laſt according to the *Virginia* order, hee ſet euery one was with him at Saint *Georges*, to his taske, to cleere grounds, fell trees, ſet corne, ſquare timber, plant vines and other fruits brought out of *England*. Theſe by their taske Maſters by breake a day repaired to the wharfe, from thence to be imployed to the place of their imployment, till nine of the clocke, and then in the after-noone from three till Sunne-ſet. Beſide meat, drinke and cloaths, they had for a time a certaine kinde of braſſe money with a hogge on the one ſide, in memory of the abundance of hogges was found at their firſt landing. 1616. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treaſurer.

This courſe thus ſquared, imitating diuers orders vſed in *Virginia*, by Sir *Tho. Dale*: he began by them to looke into his inſtructions giuen by the Company. Whereupon by one Mr. *Richard Norwood* a Suruayor, ſent ouer for that purpoſe, in the time of Maſter *Moore*, hee began to lay out the eight tribes in the maine, which were to conſiſt of fifty ſhares to a tribe; and twenty fiue acers to euery ſhare. He alſo began to plant ſome Colony men, on ſome of the eſpeciall ſhares. He ſwore alſo certaine of the chiefe men of euery tribe to bee Bailiffes thereof; and appointed as many men as hee was able for all ſupplied ſhares. The goods landed in the ſtore houſes hee ſent from thence, and diſperſed it to his workemen in generall: ſome Boats alſo began to be builded; but the pinace called the *Thomas* ſuſpected might make an eſcape, was laid vp in a docke, were ſhee yet remaineth. Captaine *Tuckars* proceedings.

In the beginning of the ſecond moneth of his gouernment, he directed warrants to all the Bailiffes, for the holding of a generall Aſſiſe at Saint *Georges*, and appointed Maſter *Stokes* Lieutenant of the Kings Caſtle at the Gurnets head. The *Edwin* came with him he ſent to the Weſt Indies by directions from *England*, to trade with the natiues, for cattell, corne, plants, and other commodities. A courſe of great importance, which had it been purſued, would certainly haue produced more hopefull effects for the good of the Colony, then all the ſupplies and *Magazines* from *England* hath or will in a long time. A Barke ſent to the Weſt Indies.

Preſently after her departure began the Aſſiſes, executed by his Depury. The chiefe matter handled was the hanging one *Iohn Wood* a French man, for ſpeaking many diſtaſtefull and mutinous ſpeeches againſt the Gouernour, to ſhew the reſt by that example, the power of his authority, which after with his owne hands he ſo oft executed with a baſtinado amongſt the poorer ſort; many tearmed it a cruelty, not much leſſe then tyranny: but the ſequell is more then ſtrange. The Aſſiſes.

So it was that fiue of them, ſeeing by no meanes they could get paſſage for *England*, reſolued to vndergoe all hazards but they would make an eſcape from ſuch ſeruitude. The chiefe mariner and plotter of this buſineſſe, was *Richard Sanders* and his confederates, *William Goodwin* a ſhip Carpenter, *Thomas Hariſon* a Ioyner, *Iames Barker* a Gentleman, and *Henry Puet*. Theſe repairing to the Gouernour, and with pleaſing inſinuations told him, if hee would allow them but The ſtrange aduenture of fiue men in a boat.

things

things necessary; they would build him a boat of two or three tunnes, with a close decke, should goe a fishing all weathers. The Gouernour halfe proud that hee had brought his men to so good a passe, as he conceiued, to offer themselues to so necessary a worke; instantly with all willingnesse furnished them with all things they could desire, and many faire promises to incourage them to performe it with all expedition. Hauing made choise of a place most fit from molestation, they went forward with that expedition, that in a short time shee was brought to perfection. By this time, the ship that brought the Gouernour, being ready to depart, hee sends a lusty gange to goe fetch his new boat to carry him aboard, but arriuing at the place where she was built, they could heare no more of her, but she was gone the last euening to Sea, to try how shee would saile. Much search and dispute was where this boat should be: but at last they found diuers letters in the cabbins, to this effect, directed to the Gouernour, and other their friends: that their hard and bad vsage was so intolerable, and their hope so small euer againe to see their Countrey, or be deliuered from such seruitude, they did rather chuse to put themselues to that desperate hazard to goe for *England*, in which if they miscaried, as it was much to be mistrusted, their liues and bloods should be required at their hands was the cause. A compasse Diall *Barker* had borrowed of Master *Hues*, to whom he writ that as hee had oft perswaded them to patience, and that God would pay them though none did: hee must now bee contented with the losse of his Diall, with his owne doctrine. Such leasure they found to bee merry when in the eye of reason they were marching into a most certaine ruine. The Gouernour being thus satisfied of their escape, extreamly threatned them no lesse then a hanging, but the stormes of the Ocean they now more feared then him; good prouision by bartering they had got from the ship, where *Goodwin* in a brauado told the Mariners, though he could not be permitted to goe with them, yet peraduenture hee might be in *England* before them, whereat the Master and his Mate laughed merrily. But hauing beene now vnder saile three weekes, the winds so fauoured them, they felt nothing of what they had cause to feare: then a blustering gale blowing in their teeth, put them to much extremity for diuers dayes, then becomming more gentle away they past prosperously some eight or ten dayes more, till meeting a French Piccaroune of whom they desired succour, hee like himselfe tooke from them what hee liked, leauing them not so much as a crosse-staffe to obserue withall, and so cast them off: their course still they continued till their victuall began to fall to the lowest ebbe; and the very knees of their small vessell were halfe hewed away for fire wood. At last to their infinit ioy they arriued in *Ireland*, where the Earle of *Tomund* honorably entertained them, and caused the boat to be hung vp for a Monument, and well she might, for shee had sailed more then 3300. miles by a right line thorow the maine Sea, without any sight of land, and I thinke since God made the world, the like nauigation was neuer done, nor heard of. This fortunate *Sanders* going to the *East Indies*, in the rifling some ships there tooke, it was his chance to buy an old cheft, for three or foure shillings, but because it wanted a key hee repented his bargaine, and would gladly haue sold it againe for lesse. A certaine time it lay tossed to and fro as a thing hee little regarded, but at last hauing little to doe, hee broke it open, where he found a thousand pounds starling, or so much gold as bought him in *England* a good estate, which leauing with his wife he returned againe to the *East Indies*.

Plants from the West Indies.

The *George* setting saile three dayes after this escape, the Gouernour seazed and confiscated all that those fugitiues left behinde them. Within a weeke after returned the *Edwin* from the *West Indies*, furnished with figges, pynes, sugar-canes, plantaines, papanes and diuers other plants, which were presently replanted, and since increased into greater numbers, also an *Indian* and a *Negar*, and so much *ligna vitæ* as defrayed all the charge. The Gouernor thus busied amongst his plants, making hedges of Figtrees, and Pomgranets, and seuerall diuisions by palizadoes

Palizadoes for the defence of their guarding and keeping their cattell, for in ſuch husbandry qualities he well deſerued great commendations. The Aduenturers to ſupply him ſent with all ſpeed they could the *Hopewell*, a ſmall Barke, but an excellent ſailer, and in her one Captaine *Powell* an excellent Mariner, and well acquainted in the Indies where he was to goe trade, after he had landed his paſſengers in the Summer Iles: but in his iourney at the Weſterne Iles meeting a *Braſile* man, hee liked the ſuger and paſſengers ſo well, hee mand the Caruill with his owne men, and continued his courſe, but bethinking himſelf how this would be entertained at the Summer Iles, hee found ſuch doubts, hee went directly for the Weſt Indies to take time to reſolue what to doe: arriuing there hee met a French rouer, one euery way as cunning as himſelfe, but much more trecherous. A great league of kindneſſe is ſoone made betweene them, vpon confidence whereof, *Powell* and ſome of the chiefe with him being inuited aboord him, is eaſily entiſed, and in the midſt of their cups both hee and his company treacherouſly made priſoners; and thus was forced to giue him their priſe, or hang at the yards arme with all his company. Hauing ſet them a ſhore, away goes the French man; *Powels* ſhip being but hard by, preſently fetcht them all a boord, but finding his victuall neere ſpent, and no hope at all to recouer his prize, ſet his Portugales on ſhore, and ſet ſaile for the Summer Iles; where ſafely arriuing, hee declared the whole paſſage to the Gouernour, leſt ſome other in telling might make it worſe, of which the Gouernour ſeemed well enough to approue. The exploits of Captain *Powell*.

This Gouernour ſtill ſpent his time in good husbandry, although ſome of the ſnarling ſort here in *England*, whom nothing will pleaſe, writ to him hee was fitter to be a Gardiner then a Gouernour: ſome time he ſpent in digging of a great pond, but that worke proued altogether vnprofitable: about that time was held the ſecond Aſſiſe. The greateſt matter paſſed, was a Proclamatiõ againſt the ſpoile of Cahowes, but it came too late, for they were moſt deſtroyed before: a platforme hee cauſed to be erected by *Paggs* Fort, where a good Fort were very neceſſary. Captaine *Powell* not hauing performed his ſeruice in the Weſt Indies, he conditioned with the Company, is ſent thither againe by this Gouernour, and thirteene or fourteene of his beſt men, furniſhed with all things neceſſary. In the meane time the Company vnderſtanding, that in Ianuary, February and March, there are many Whales, for which fiſhing they ſent the Neptune, a tall ſhip well prouided with euery thing fitting for that purpoſe. But before ſhe arriued, Captaine *Tuckar*, who had brought alſo with him moſt prouiſions for that imploiment, ſent three good Shalops to try what could be done, but whether it was the ſwiftnes of the Whale in ſwimming, or the condition of the place, certaine it is for all their labour and hazard, they could kill none, though they ſtrucke many. The ſecond Aſſiſe.

To begin his ſecond yeere, he called the third Aſſiſe, where diuers were puniſhed as their faults deſerued: three were condemned to die, two were reprieued, but the third was hanged: the next day there was alſo a leuy for the repairing two Forts; but that labour tooke not ſuch effect as was intended, for want of good directions. 1617. The third Aſſiſe. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treaſurer.

But the great God of heauen being angry at ſomewhat happened in thoſe proceedings, cauſed ſuch an increaſe of ſilly rats, in the ſpace of two yeeres ſo ſo abound, before they regarded them, that they filled not onely thoſe places where they were firſt landed, but ſwimming from place to place, ſpread themſelues into all parts of the Countrey, inſomuch that there was no Iland but it was peſtered with them; and ſome ſhips haue beene taken with rats in their bellies, which they caught in ſwimming from Ile to Ile: their neſts they had almoſt in euery tree, and in moſt places their burrowes in the ground like conies: they ſpared not the fruits of the plants, or trees, nor the very plants themſelues, but ate them vp. When they had ſet their corne, the rats would come by troupes in the night and ſcratch it out of the ground. If by diligent watch any eſcaped till it came to eating, it ſhould then very hardly eſcape them: and they became noyſome euen to the very perſons of men. They vſed all the diligence they could for the deſtroying of The countrey neere deuoured with rats.

them; nouriſhing cats both wilde and tame, for that purpoſe; they vſed rats-bane, and many times ſet fire on the woods, that oft ran halfe a mile before it was extinct; euery man was enioyned to ſet twelue traps, and ſome of their owne accord haue ſet neere an hundred, which they euer viſited twice or thrice in a night; they alſo trained vp their dogges to hunt them, wherein they became ſo expert, that a good dog in two or three houres would kil forty or fifty. Many other deuices they vſed to deſtroy them, but could not preuaile, finding them ſtill increaſing againſt them: nay they ſo deuoured the fruits of the earth, that they were deſtitute of bread for a yeere or two; ſo that when they had it afterwards, they were ſo wained from it, they eaſily neglected to eat it with their meat. Beſides they endeuoured ſo much for the planting Tobacco for preſent gaine, that they neglected many things might more haue preuailed for their good, which cauſed amongſt them much weakneſſe and mortality, ſince the beginning of this vermine.

A ſtrange confuſion of rats.

At laſt it pleaſed God, but by what meanes it is not well knowne, to take them away; in ſo much that the wilde cats and many dogs which liued on them, were famiſhed, and many of them leauing the woods, came downe to their houſes, and to ſuch places where they vſe to garbiſh their fiſh, and became tame. Some haue attributed the deſtruction of them the to encreaſe of wild cats, but that is not likely they ſhould be ſo ſuddenly encreaſed rather at that time, then foure yeeres before; and the chiefe occaſion of this ſuppoſition was, becauſe they ſaw ſome companies of them leaue the woods, and ſlew themſelues for want of food. Others by the coldneſſe of winter, which notwithſtanding is neuer ſo great there, as with vs in March, except it be in the wind: beſides the rats wanted not the fethers of young birds and chickins, which they daily killed, and Palmeta moſſe to build themſelues warme neſts out of the wind, as vſually they did; neither doth it appeare that the cold was ſo mortall to them, ſeeing they would ordinarily ſwimme from place to place, and bee very fat euen in the midſt of winter. It remaineth then, that as God doth ſometimes effect his will without ſubordinate and ſecondary cauſes, ſo wee need not doubt, but that in the ſpeedy encreaſe of this vermine; as alſo by the preſeruation of ſo many of them by ſuch weake meanes as they then enioyed, and eſpecially in the ſo ſudden remouall of this great annoyance, there was ioyned with and beſides the ordinary and manifeſt meanes, a more mediate and ſecret worke of God.

About this time *Henry Long*, with ſeuen others in an extreame ſtorme were caſt away, but three of them eſcaped. One of them being asked what hee thought in the worſt of that extremity, anſwered, he thought nothing but gallowes claime thy right, and it ſeemes God well heard his prayer, and rewarded his ingratitude; for he was hanged within halfe a yeere after. In that March alſo fiue men went to Sea, but as yet was neuer heard of, and three more drowned in a boat. By *Hilliards* houſe grew a very faire Cedar, which by a thunder clap was rent almoſt to ſmall ſhiuers, and a man ſtood by him, and *Samuel Tooton*, moſt fearfully blaſted, yet neither they, the houſe, nor a little childe, yet a paire of racks in the houſe was all torne to fitters. The *Neptune* not long after arriuing to fiſh for whale, her fortune proued no better then the Gouernours, yet ſome are of opinion, profit might be made by them.

The returne of M. *Powel* from the Indies.

In May they diſcried foure ſaile, ſo that manning all their Forts, they ſtood two daies in Armes, expecting what they were; at laſt they found it Maſter *Powell* returned from the Weſt-Indies in the *Hopewell*, where miſſing ſuch trade as he expected, theſe three Frigots comming in his way, he could not chuſe but take them; Meale, Hides and Munition was their lading: Faire weather the Gouernor made with *Powell*, till he had got all the goods into his owne poſſeſſion, and then called *Powell* to a ſtrict account for doing ſuch an vnwarrantable act; much a doe then was betwixt the taker and receiuer; but *Powell* was glad to be excuſed to anſwer it in *England*, leauing all hes had taken behinde him in the Iles: The *Neptune* alſo returned with him, but noble *Powell* loſt all his pay and pillage for this

this yeeres worke. For which the Company ſent for to *Tucker*, ſo that he alſo loſt his part as well as *Powell*: Notwithſtanding, the Gouernour by this meanes being ſtrong in ſhipping, fitted the Caruill with tweluemen, vnder the command of *Edward Waters* formerly ſpoken of, and ſent them to *Virginia* about ſuch buſineſſe as hee had conceiued. Arriuing there, they obtained ſome goates, and and hogs, & what they could ſpare, and ſo returned for the *Summer Iles*; but whether they could not finde the Iles for want of skill, or beaten off by ill weather, or the ill will they bare the Gouernor, it matters not much: but they bare vp again for *Virginia*, where they all remained, and would returne no more to *Summer Iles*.

A ſuppoſed mutiny by M. *Pollard*, and M. *Rich*.

The Gouernour thinking to make ſome vſe of the hides, ſet ſome that profeſſed themſelues Tanners, to make tryall of their skill; but they loſt their labours and ſpoiled the hides. Alſo he called another Aſſiſe cõcerning a poore fellow called *Gabriel*, for concealing ſome ſpeeches M. *Pollard* and M. *Rich* ſhould vſe, tending to the diſ-reputation of the Gouernour, and his iniuſtice and cruelties; which being brought within the compaſſe of ſedition and mutiny, though a yeere agoe; many were called in queſtion about it, although euery one ordinarily had ſpoke as much. Yet *Gabriel* for example ſake was condemned to bee hanged, and was vpon the ladder, but reprieued. The other two M. *Pollard*, and M. *Rich* were impriſoned, but vpon better conſideration, the fact appeared ſo ſmall and ridiculous, vpon their ſubmiſſion they were pardoned, and reſtored to their places.

The diuiſion of the Summer Iles into Tribes, by Maſter Richard Norwood, *Surueyor.*

1618. The diuiſion of the Iles into Tribes. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treaſurer.

ACcording to the directions of the Councell and Company, as they had determined by lot, M. *Norwood* tooke a plot of the Ile, and diuided it with as much faithfulnes as he could, aſſigning to euery Aduenturer his ſhare or proportion, as namely, to lay out a large proportion, to bee called the generall land, and imployed for publike vſes, as for the maintenance of the Gouernour, Miniſters, Commanders of Forts, ſouldiers, and ſuch like: and to this end was aſſigned S. *Georges* Iland, S. *Dauids* Iland, *Longbridge* Iland, *Smiths* Iland, *Coopers* Iland, *Cony* Iland, *Noneſuch* Iland, part of the maine, and ſundry other ſmall Iles. The reſt was to be diuided into eight parts, each part to be called a tribe, and to haue his denomination of ſome principall perſon that was Aduenturer therein: and accordingly the firſt Tribe to bee Eaſtward, was then called *Bedfords* Tribe, now *Hamiltons*: the ſecond, *Smiths*: Tribe the third, *Cauendiſh*, now *Deuonſhires*: the fourth, *Pembrookes*: the fift, *Pagits*: the ſixt, *Manſils*, now *Warwicks*: the ſeuenth, *Southhampton*: the eighth, *Sands*: in the honours of the Right honorable the Marquis *Hamilton*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, the Earle of *Deuonſhire*, the Earle of *Pembrooke*, the *Lord Pagit*, the Earle of *Warwicke*, the Earle of *Southhampton*, and Sir *Edwin Sands*. Againe each of thoſe Tribes were to bee diuided into fifty parts, called ſhares; and euery Aduenturer to haue his ſhares in theſe tribes as was determined, by caſting lots in *England*, the manner of it appeares by the *Map*, and more largely by his Booke of the Suruay of the Countrey, which is in the Records of the Colony. And then began this which was before as you haue heard, but as an vnſetled and confuſed Chaos, to receiue a diſpoſition, forme, and order, and become indeed a Plantation.

The names of the Aduenturers, and their ſhares in *euery Tribe, according to the ſuruey, and the beſt information* yet aſcertained, of any of their alterations.

Hamiltons Tribe.

	Share.
Iames L. Marquis Hamil.	6
Sir Edward Harwood.	4
M. *Iohn Delbridge.*	3
M. *Iohn Dike.*	3
M. *Ellis Roberts.*	2
M. *Robert Phips.*	1
M. *Ralph King.*	1
M. *Quicks aſſignes.*	2
M. *William Cannig.*	4
M. *William Cannig.*	1
M. *William Web.*	1
M. *Iohn Bernards aſſignes.*	2
M. *Elias Roberts Iun.*	1
M. *Iohn Gearing.*	2
M. *Cleophas Smith.*	2
Robert Earle of Warwick.	4
M. *Thomas Conell.*	3
M. *Greenwels aſſignes.*	1
M. *Cley.*	1
M. *Powlſon.*	2
M. *Iohn Dike.*	1.
Cõmon land for conueniency.	25
M. *Iohn Dike.*	1.
M. *George Thorps aſſignes.*	1

2. Smiths Tribe.

Sir Dudley Digs aſſignes.	2
M. *Richard Edwards.*	2
M. *William Pane.*	4
M. *Robert Smith.*	2
M. *George Barkley aſſignes.*	5
Sir Samuel Sands.	1
M. *Anthony Penniſtone.*	4
Sir Edwin Sands.	5
Sir Thomas Smith.	5
M. *Richard More.*	4
M. *Ad. Brumfield*	2
M *Rob. Iohnſon Alderman.*	5
M. *Iohn Wroth.*	3
M. *George Smith.*	4

3. Deuonſhire Tribe.

M. *Anth. Penniſtone.*	2
M. *Iohn Dike.*	1
M. *Iohn Dike.*	1
M. *Iohn Bernards heires.*	2

	Shares.
Robert Earle of Warwick.	2
M. *Francis Weſt.*	2
Will. Lord Cauendiſh.	5
Will. Earle of Deuonſhire.	5
M. *Edw. Luckin.*	5
M. *Edw. Ditchfield.*	1
M. *Edw. Ditchfield.*	4
M. *Will. Nicols.*	2
M. *Edw. Ditchfield.*	1
M. *Iohn Fletcher.*	2
M. *Gedion Delawne.*	2
M. *Anth. Penniſtone.*	3
M. *Beſt.*	2
M. *Edw. Luckin.*	2
M. *Richard Rogers.*	2
M. *Will. Palmer.*	4

4. Pembrookes Tribe.

M. *George Smith.*	4
Gleab land.	2
M. *Nicholas Hide.*	1
Sir Lawrence Hide.	1
M. *Thomas Iudwyn.*	2
Will. Earle of Pemb.	10
M. *Richard Edwards.*	1
M. *Harding.*	1
M. *Rich. Edwards.*	1
M. *Elias Roberts.*	1
M. *Rich. Edwards.*	1
M. *Iacobſons aſſignes.*	1
M. *Iohn Farrar.*	1
M. *Nicholas Farrar.*	1
M. *Nicholas. Farrar.*	1
M. *Will. Canning.*	2
M. *Richard Martin.*	2
M. *Moris Abbot.*	2
M. *Rich. Caſwell.*	1
M. *Rich. Caſwell.*	2
M. *VVill. Caſwell.*	1
M. *Rich. Edwards.*	2
M. *Rich. Caſwell.*	1
M. *Rich. Edwards.*	1
M. *George Sands aſſignes.*	2
M. *Will. Paine.*	2

5. Pagits Tribe.

M. *Iohn Chamberlaine.*	5
M. *Tho. Ayres, and* M. *Rich. Wiſeman.*	4

	Shares.
M. *Rich. Wiſeman*	1
Will. Lord Pagit.	10
M. *Will. Palmer.*	4
M. *Bagnell.*	5
M. *Iohn Bale.*	1
M. *Wheatley.*	4
M. *Chriſtop. Barron.*	4
M. *Iohn Wodall.*	1
M. *Iohn Wodall.*	1
M. *Lewis.*	2
M. *Owen Arthors aſſignes.*	2
M. *George Etheridge.*	4
	2
Sir VVill. VVade.	1
M. *Iohn Bernards heires.*	1

6. Warwicks Tribe.

M. *VVheatley.*	2
Cap. Daniel Tuckar.	2
M. *Will. Felgate.*	1
Rob. Earle of Warwicke.	5
M. *George Smith.*	5
M. *Sam. Tickner.*	2
M. *Francis Mevell.*	1
M. *Sephen Sparrow.*	1
M. *Ioſeph Man.*	5
Cap. Daniel Tuckar.	2
M. *Elias More.*	1
Doctor. Anth. Hunton	2
M. *Francis Moverill.*	1
M. *Rich. Poulſon*	1
M. *Math. Shephard.*	1
M. *George Tuckar.*	10
M. *Ch. Clitheroe.*	1
M. *George Swinow.*	2
M. *Rich. Tomlings.*	1
M. *Francis Meverill.*	1
M. *Iohn Waters.*	2
M. *Martin Bond.*	2

7. Southamptons Tribe.

Cap. Dan. Tuckar.	4
M. *Iohn Britton.*	1
M. *Rich. Chamberland.*	3
M. *Leon. Harwods aſſignes.*	1
M. *Iohn Banks.*	1
Sir Nathanael Rich.	12
Rob. Earle of VVarwicke.	3

M. *Rich.*

	Shares.
M. Richard More.	6
M. George Scot. } *M. Edward Scot.* } *M. Antho. Abdy.*	6
Hen: Earle of Southampton.	4
M. And. Broumfield.	2
M. Henry Timbed.	2
Sir Tho. Hewet.	2
M. Perce.	1
Sir Ralph Winwood.	2

8. Sandys Tribe.

	Shares.
M. George Barckleis heires.	5
Sir Edwin Sands.	5
M. Ierom Hidon.	10
M. Tho. Millin and } *M. Iohn Cuffe.* }	2
M. Robert Chamberlaine.	2
M. Abr. Chamberlaine.	1

	Shares.
M. George Smith.	2
M. Robert Gore.	3
Sir Edw. Sackvile.	1
Sir Iohn Dauers.	1
M. Robert Gore.	2
M. Iohn Delbridge.	1
M. Iohn VVroth.	1
M. Iohn VVests heires.	4
M. Richard Chamberlaine.	10

Touching the common ground in each Tribe, as alſo the ouer-plus, you may finde that at large in the Booke of Surueyes amongſt their Records.

Now though the Countrey was ſmall, yet they could not conueniently haue beene diſpoſed and well ſetled, without a true deſcription and a ſuruey of it; and againe, euery man being ſetled where he might conſtantly abide, they knew their buſineſſe, and fitted their houſhold accordingly: then they built no more Cabbens, but ſubſtantiall houſes, they cleered their grounds, and planted not onely ſuch things as would yeeld them their fruits in a few moneths, but alſo ſuch as would affoord them profit within a few yeares, ſo that in a ſhort time the Countrey began to aſpire, and neerely approach vnto that happineſſe and proſperitie, wherein now it flouriſheth, &c.

But to follow the Hiſtory; vpon the beſt plot of ground could be found, the Gouernor preuailed ſo much with the generalitie, they built a faire houſe of Cedar, which being done, he appropriated it to himſelfe, which occaſioned exceeding much diſtaſte. About this time arriued the *Diana* with a good ſupply of men and prouiſion, and the firſt Magazin euer ſeene in thoſe Iles; which courſe is not ſo much commended here, as curſed and abhorred by reaſon of enhanſements of all the Inhabitants there; ſix or ſeuen weeks this ſhip ſtaied, then hauing towards her fraught thirtie thouſand weight of Tobacco; which proouing good, and comming to a lucky Market, gaue great encouragement to the Aduenturers to goe luſtily forward in their Plantation, and without ſuch ſucceſſe, there is nothing but grudging and repining. But about the appropriation of this new built houſe, many bad diſcontents grew betwixt the oppreſſed Colony and the Gouernor, eſpecially betwixt him and the Miniſter, and *Lewes*, who would neither be feared with threats nor impriſonment, that their malice continued till they met in *England*, of which the Miniſter made the cauſe ſo plaine, hee very well and honeſtly it ſeemes, diſcharged himſelfe. The firſt Magazin. 1618.

Now in thoſe times of theſe endleſſe vnciuill broiles, two deſperate men and a proper Gentlewoman got into a Boat, and thinking to make an eſcape to *Virginia*, as appeared by ſome Letters they left behinde them were neuer more heard on. The very next moneth after the like was attempted by ſix others, ſo deſirous they were to be rid of their ſeruitude; but their ploc being diſcouered by one of their ſocietie, they were apprehended, arraigned, and condemned to be hanged: the next day being led with halters about their neckes to the place of execution, one was hanged, and the reſt repriued. Two exploits of deſperate Fugitiues.

The *Diana* arriuing well in *England*, for all the infinite numbers of complaints, the Tobacco did helpe to ſweeten all manner of grieuances, yet it bred a diſtaſte in the opinions of ſo many, they began to thinke of another Gouernor; but for that time it was ſo qualified by diuers of his friends, they diſpatched away the *Bleſſing*, which arriued in the *Somer Iles*. Though their generall Letter was faire and courteous to the Gouernor, yet by the report of the Paſſengers and diuers particular letters from his friends, it was aſſured him his cruelty and couetouſneſſe, for all his paines and induſtry was much diſliked, nor was he like to enioy his houſe, The arriuall of the *Bleſſing*.

houſe, and that land he had planted for himſelfe, by the extreme oppreſſion of the Comminalty. This cauſed ſo many ielouſies to ariſe in his conceit, that at laſt he fully reſolued to returne by this ſhip, that no ſooner ſet ſaile from *England*, then they proceeded to the nomination of a new Gouernor. Many were preſented according to the affections of thoſe that were to giue in their voices, but it chiefely reſted betwixt one Captaine *Southwell*, and one Mr *Nathaniel Butler*, where wee will leaue them a while to the conſideration of the Court and Company. Now Captaine *Tuckar* hauing inſtituted Captaine *Kendall* one of the ſix Gouernors before ſpoken of for his ſubſtitute, returned with this ſhip directly for *England*, as well to excuſe himſelfe of thoſe obiections he ſuſpected, as to get aſſured him the houſe and land he had alotted for himſelfe, leſt it might otherwiſe be diſpoſed of in his abſence.

Collected out of their Records by N. B. *and the relations of* M. Pollard, *and diuers others.*

The Gouernment of Captaine Miles Kendall, *Deputy for Captaine* Tuckar.

The arriuall of two ſhips.

THE vnexpected returne of Captaine *Tuckar*, cauſed a demurre in the election of the new Gouernor; ſome perſwading theſe oft changes were ſo troubleſome, dangerous, and chargeable, it were beſt to continue Captaine *Kendall*; others againe ſtood for Captaine *Tuckar*, but during the time of theſe opinions, the *Gilliflower* was diſpatched with a ſupply. Now I ſhould haue remembred, *Tuckar* was no ſooner out of the harbour, but he met Maſter *Elfred* in a ſhip called the *Treaſurer*, ſent from *Virginia* to trade: by her he writ to his Deputy Maſter *Kendall*, to haue a care of all things, and beware of too much acquaintance with this ſhip, which hee ſuſpected was bound for the Weſt-Indies. Notwithſtanding, *Elfred* receiued what kindneſſe the Ile could afford; he promiſed to reuiſit them at his returne; this done, becauſe they would not be gouernleſſe when his Deputiſhip was expired, there was a generall aſſembly, and by that Election *Kendall* was confirmed to ſucceed ſtill Gouernor. Now they began to apply themſelues to the finiſhing ſome plat-forme about *Smiths* Fort, and laying the foundation of a Church to be built of Cedar, till the *Gilly-flower* arriued with ſome priuate letters to *Kendall*, how he was elected Gouernor of thoſe Iles for three yeeres. During her ſtay they held their Aſſiſes, where for ſome few ſuſpected facts three were condemned, and the better to terrifie the reſt, led to the place of execution, but reprieued; diuers of the reſt had their faults pardoned, and the *Gilliflower* ſet ſaile for *New found land*.

Captaine *Butler* choſen Gouernor.

The loue and kindneſſe, honeſty and induſtry of this Captaine *Kendall*, hath beene very much commended; by others, ſomewhat diſliked: but an Angell in thoſe imploiments cannot pleaſe all men, yet this conſideration bred much ill bloud as well here as there, ſo that the Company directly concluded, Captaine *Butler* ſhould with what expedition they could, goe to be their Gouernor: In the *Interim* they tooke the opportunitie of a ſhip, called the *Sea-flower*, bound for *Virginia*, and by her ſent a Preacher and his Family, with diuers Paſſengers, and newes of a new Gouernor. This bred a great diſtaſte amongſt many, that ſtill they ſhould haue new officers and ſtrangers for their Gouernors they neuer heard of, and themſelues ſtill kept there whether they would or no, without any preferment, no nor ſcarce any of them their inhabiting, to haue any land at all of their owne, but liue all as tenants, or as other mens poore ſeruants.

About this time came in Captaine *Kerby* with a ſmall Barke from the Weſt-Indies, who hauing refreſhed himſelfe, was very kindly vſed by the Gouernor and

and so departed. Not long after a Dutch Frigot was cast away vpon the Westerne shore, yet by the helpe of the English they saued the men, though the ship perished amongst the Rocks. A little after one Ensigne *Wood* being about the loading of a peece, by thrusting a pike into the concauitie, grating vpon the shot, or somewhat about the powder, strucke fire within her and so discharged, but wounded him cruelly and blew him into the Sea, though hee was got out by some that stood by him, yet hee died of those wounds. Within two or three daies after, Captaine *Elfred* now comes in a second time: but of that we shall say more in the gouernment of Captaine *Butler*, who presently after arriued with a good supply, and was kindly entertained by Captaine *Kendall* and all the Colony.

From a relation of Tho. Sparks, *and diuers others.*

The Gouernment of Captaine Nathaniel Butler.

CAptaine *Butler* being arriued the twentieth of October, 1619. some mutterings there was how to maintaine their election of Captaine *Kendall*, but better remembring themselues, that conceit quickly dissolued. The next day, *Kendall*, the Ministers, and the Counsell went aboord to salute the new Gouernor, where after they had dined with the best entertainment he could giue them; they saw the Redout belonging to the Kings Castle by a mischance on fire, whither he repaired with all the meanes he could to quench it; but all the platforme and cariages were consumed before their faces, and they could not helpe it. Two daies after he went vp to the Towne, had his Commission publikely read, made a short speech to the Company, and so tooke vpon him the gouernment. Then presently he began to repaire the most necessary defects: The next moneth came in the *Garland*, sent from *England* six or seuen weekes before him; so that being seuenteene weeks in her voyage, it was so tedious and grieuous to diuers of the Fresh-water Passengers, that such a sicknesse bred amongst them, many died as well Sailers as Passengers. Hauing taken the best order he could for their releefe, passed through all the Tribes, and held his first Assise in Captaine *Tuckers* house at the ouer-plus. Towards the last of this moneth of Nouemb. there arose a most terrible storme or *Hericano*, that blew vp many great trees by the roots: the *Warwick* that brought the Gouernor was cast away, but the *Garland* rid by her, saued her selfe by cutting downe her Masts; and not long after a second storme, no lesse violent then the first, wherein the Mount which was a frame of wood built by Master *More* for a Watch-tower to looke out to Sea, was blowne vp by the roots, and all that Winter crop of corne blasted: And thus was the new Gouernor welcomed.

A plat-forme burnt, and much hurt by a *Hericano*.

1619.

With the beginning of the new yeere he began his first peece of fortification, vpon a Rocke which flankers the Kings Castle, and finding the ship called the *Treasurer* starke rotten and vnseruiceable, hee tooke nine peeces of Ordinance from her to serue other vses. The *Garland* for want of meanes, could not make her voiage to *Virginia* as she was appointed, wherefore he entertained her to returne to *England*, with all the Tabacco they had in the Ile. It was Ianuary before she departed, in which time shee failed not much to haue beene twice cast away. But those strange and vnauoidable mischances, rather seemed to quicken the Gouernors industry then to dull it. Hauing finished the Church begun by Captaine *Kendall*, with an infinite toile and labour he got three peeces out of the wracke *VVarwicke*. Hauing an excellent Dutch Carpinter he entertained of them that were cast away in the Dutch Frigot; he imploied him in building of Boats, whereof they were in exceeding great want. In February they discouered a tall ship beating too and againe, as it seemed by her working, being ignorant of the Coast; some thought her a *Spaniard* to view their Forts, which stand most to

The refortifying the Kings Castle.

that

that part she so neerely approached; some, English; but the most, some Dutch man of Warre: The wind blew so high, they durst not send out a Boat, though they much doubted she would be foule of their Rocks, but at last she bore vp roomy for the Sea, and we heard of her no more. That euening, a lucky fellow it should seeme he was, that found a peece of Amber-greece of eight ounces, as he had twice before, which bringing to the Gouernor, he had ready money for the one halfe, after three pound an ounce, according to their order of Court, to encourage others to looke out for more, and preuent the mischiefe insueth by concealing of it.

Amber-greece found.

Within a few daies after, they descried two Frigots that came close to the shore, and sent a Letter to the Gouernor, writ in *Italian*, that they were *Hollanders* had beene in the West-Indies, and desired but to arriue, refresh themselues with wood and water, and so be gone. The Gouernor forthwith sent them to vnderstand, that being there vnder his Maiestie of *England* to command those Iles, he was to carrie himselfe a friend to his friends, and an enemy to his enemies; if therefore he could shew a lawfull Commission for his being honestly and nobly employed, he and his should be kindly welcome, otherwise they were to aduenture at their perills. But his Commission was so good, he staied there two moneths, and was so well fitted with Oile & Bacon, they were all glad and happy of this Dutch Captaine *Scouten* arriuall; with many thanks to their old friend Captaine *Powell* that had conducted him thither: the Colony being exceedingly in great want and distresse, bought the most part of it at reasonable rates, so Captaine *Scouten* returned to the West-Indies, and Captaine *Powell* for his part in the Low-Countries. Whilest these things were in action, the Aduenturers in *England* made many a long looke for their ships; at last the *Garland* brought them all the newes, but the Tobacco was so spoiled either in the leaking ship, or the making vp, it caused a great suspicion there could none was good come from those Iles; where (were they but perfit in the cure) questionlesse it would be much better then a great quantitie of that they sell for *Verinas*, and many a thousand of it in *London* hath beene bought and sold by that tide.

The arriuall of two Dutch Frigots.

The Gouernor being cleere of those distractions, falls vpon the restoring of the ruine Redoubt, where he cuts out a large new plat-forme, and mounts seuen great peece of Ordnance vpon new cariages of Cedar. Now amongst all those troubles, it was not the least to bring the two Ministers to subscribe to the Booke of Common Prayer, which all the Bishops in *England* could not doe. Finding it high time to attempt some conformitie, he thought himselfe of the Liturgie of *Garnsey* and *Iarse*, wherein all those particulars they so much stumbled at, were omitted. No sooner was this propounded, but it was gladly imbraced by them both, whereupon the Gouernor translated it *verbatim* out of French into English, and caused the eldest Minister vpon Easter day to begin the vse thereof at S. *Georges* towne, where himselfe, most of the Councell, Officers and Auditorie receiued the Sacrament: the which forme they continued during the time of his gouernment.

The differences betwixt the Ministers.

Much about this time, in such a faire morning, that had inuited many Boats farre out to the Sea to fish, did rise such a *Hericano* that much indangered them all, so that one of them with two Boies were driuen to Sea and neuer more heard of. The Ministers thus agreed, a Proclamation was published for keeping of the Sabbath, and all the detestable cariages he endeauored to haue renewed, builded a small Boat of Cedar onely to goe with Oares, to be ready vpon any occasion to discouer any shipping, and tooke order euery Fort should haue the like. Also caused numbers of Cedars to be brought from seuerall places in store, to rebuild the Mount, which with an vnspeakable toile, was raised seuen foot higher then before, and a Falcon mounted on the foot, to be alwaies discharged for a warning to all the Forts vpon the discouery of any shipping, and this he called Rich Mount. This exceeding toile and labour, hauing no Cattle but onely meere

The rebuilding the Mount.

strengths

ſtrengths, cauſed many petitions to the Gouernour, that all thoſe generall works might ceaſe till they had reaped their haruests, in that they were in great diſtreſſe for victuall; which hee ſo well anſwered, their owne ſhames did cauſe them deſiſt from that importunity, and voluntarily performe as much as hee required.

Finding accidentally a little croſſe erected in a by place, amongſt a many of buſhes, vnderſtanding there was buried the heart and intrailes of Sir *George Summers*, hee reſolued to haue a better memory for ſo worthy a Souldier, then that. So finding alſo a great Marble ſtone brought out of *England*, hee cauſed it by Maſons to bee wrought handſomely and laid ouer the place, which hee inuironed with a ſquare wall of hewen ſtone, Tombe like; wherein hee cauſed to bee grauen this *Epitaph* he had compoſed, and fixed it vpon the Marble ſtone; and thus it was, The Tombe of Sir *George Summers*.

In the yeere 1 6 1 1,
Noble Sir George Summers *went hence to heauen;*
Whoſe well tri'd worth that held him ſtill imploid,
Gaue him the knowledge of the world ſo wide.
Hence 't was by heauens decree, that to this place
He brought new gueſts, and name to mutuall grace.
At laſt his ſoule and body being to part,
He here bequeath'd his entrails and his heart.

Vpon the ſixt of Iune began the ſecond Aſſiſe, that reduced them to the direct forme vſed in *England*. For beſides the Gouernour and Councell, they haue the Bailiffes of the Tribes, in nature of the Deputy Lieutenants of the ſhires in *England*, for to them are all precepts and warrants directed, and accordingly anſwered and reſpected; they performe alſo the duties of Iuſtices of Peace, within their limits. The ſubordinate Officers to theſe in euery tribe, are the Conſtables, Head-borowes, and Church-wardens; theſe are the triers of the Tobacco, which if they allow not to be marchantable, is burnt: and theſe are the executioners of their ciuill and politicke cauſes. Their manner of lawes reformed.

For points of warre and martiall affaires, they haue the Gouernour for Lieutenant generall, the Sergeant maior, Maſter of Ordinance, Captaines of Companies, Captaines of Forts, with their ſeuerall officers, to traine and exerciſe thoſe numbers vnder their charge, in martiall diſcipline. Martiall Officers.

Concerning their Courts for deciſion of right and iuſtice, the firſt, though laſt in conſtitution, is their generall aſſembly; allowed by the ſtate in *England*, in the nature of a Parliament, conſiſting of about forty perſons; *viz.* the Gouernour, the Counſell, the Bailiffes of the tribes, and two Burgeſſes of each tribe choſen by voyces in the tribe, beſides ſuch of the Clergie as the Gouernour thinkes moſt fit, to be held once a yeere, as you ſhal heare more thereof hereafter. The next Court is the Aſſiſe or Iayles of deliuerie, held twice euery yeere, in Chriſtmas, and Whitſon weeke, for all criminall offenders, and ciuill cauſes betwixt party and party; as actions of debt, treſpaſſe, battery, ſlander, and the like: and theſe are determined by a Iury of twelue men, and aboue them is alſo a grand Iury to examine matters of greater conſequence. The laſt day of the Aſſiſe might alſo well be held a Court, for hearing the trangreſſions in matters of contempt, miſ-behauiour towards any Magiſtrate, riots, ſeditious ſpeakers, contemners of warrants, and ſuch like: there are alſo as occaſion ſhall require, many matters heard by the Gouernor, or his Officers, and oft iuſtice done in ſeuerall places, but thoſe are but as daies of hearing, and as preparatiues againſt their Courts, &c. Ciuill Officers and Courts.

At this laſt Aſſize eighteene were arraigned for criminall cauſes, a number very extraordinary conſidering the place; but now occaſioned by reaſon of the hard yeere, and the ſtore of ill choſen new commers; of theſe, ſome were cenſured to the whipping poſt, ſome burned in the hand, but two were condemned to die, yet the one was repriеued, the other hanged; this done, euery man returned to his home: many trials they made againe about the Warwicke, but to ſmall purpoſe, The ſecond Aſſiſe.

poſe, her Ordnance being laſhed ſo faſt they could not be vnlooſed, till the ropes and decks were rotten, yet ſome few buttes of beare being flotie they got, which though it had lien ſix moneths vnder water was very good, notwithſtanding the next yeere they recouered fiue peeces of Ordnance.

A generall aſſemblie in manner a Parliament.

Vpon the firſt of Auguſt, according to the Companies inſtructions from *England*, began the generall aſſembly at the towne of Saint *George*, which was the firſt theſe Iles euer had; conſiſting as is ſaid, of the Gouernour, Councell, Bailiffes, and Burgeſſes, and a Secretarie to whom all bils were preſented, and by him openly read in the houſe, alſo a Clerke to record the Acts, being thirty two in all; fifteene of which being ſent into *England*, were by a generall conſent receiued and enacted, the titles whereof are theſe following: as for all the reaſons for them, they would be too tedious to recite.

Their Acts.

The firſt was againſt the vniuſt ſale and letting of apprentiſes and other ſeruants, and this was eſpecially for the righting the vndertakers in *England*. The ſecond, concerning the diſpoſing of aged, diſeaſed, and impotent perſons, for it being conſidered how careleſſe many are in preferring their friends, or ſending ſometimes any they can procure to goe, ſuch vnſeruiceable people ſhould be returned back at their charge that ſent them, rather then be burdenſome to the poore Inhabitants in the Iles. The third, the neceſſary manning the Kings Caſtle, being the key of the Ile, that a gariſon of twelue able men ſhould bee there alwaies reſident: and 3000. eares of corne, and 1000. pounds of Tobacco payed them by the generality yeerely, as a penſion. The fourth, againſt the making vnmarchantable Tobacco, and Officers ſworne to make true trials, & burne that was naught. The fift, inioyned the erection of certaine publike bridges, and the maintenance of them. The ſixt, for a continuall ſupply of victuall for all the Forts, to bee preſerued, till ſome great occaſion to vſe it. The ſeuenth was, for two fixed dayes euery yeere for the Aſſiſes. The eight, commands the making of high-waies, and prohibiting the paſſage ouer mens grounds and planted fields, as well to preuent the ſpoyling of gardens, as conueniencie to anſwer any alarum. The ninth, for the preſeruing young tortoiſes and birds, that were careleſly deſtroyed. The tenth, prouided againſt vagabonds, & prohibited the entertainement of other mens ſeruants. The eleuenth, compelled the ſetting of a due quantity of corne for euery family. The twelfth, the care corne being ſet, enioyned the keeping vp of their poultry till it was paſt their reaches. The thirteenth, for the preſeruation of ſufficient fences, & againſt the felling of marked trees appointed for bounds. The fourteenth, granted to a leuy for a thouſand pound weight of Tobacco, towards the payment of publike workes, as the bridges and the mount. The fifteenth, for the enioyning an acknowledgement and acception of all reſident Gouernours, and the warranting him to continue, though his time be expired, till the arriuall of a legitimate ſucceſſor from *England*, to preuent all vomeet and preſumptuous elections, beſides it was deſired by petition in *England*, the new Gouernous ſhould liue two months as a priuate man after his arriuall, if his predeceſſor did ſtay ſo long, the better to learne and obſerue his courſe. And theſe are the contents of thoſe fifteene Acts, applied as you may perceiue: which the lawes of *England* could not take notice of, becauſe euery climate hath ſomewhat to it ſelfe in that kinde in particular; for otherwiſe as it is conceiued, it had beene a high impudency and preſumption to haue medled with them, or indeed with any ſuch as theſe lawes, that had with ſuch great iudgement and iuſtice alwaies prouided for.

The arriuall of the *Magazin* ſhip.

No ſooner was this buſineſſe ouer, but the *Magazin* ſhip is diſcouered, and that night came into the Harbour, but in a very weake and ſickly caſe, hauing caſt ouer board twenty or thirty of her people, and ſo violent was the infection, that the moſt part of the ſailers, as well as paſſengers, were ſo ſicke, or diſmaid, or both, that the Maſter confeſſed, had they ſtayed at the Sea but a weeke longer, they had all periſhed. There arriued with this ſhip diuers Gentlemen of good faſhion, with their wiues and families; but many of them craſie by the rediouſneſſe of the voyage;

age: howſoeuer moſt of them, by the excellent ſalubrity of the aire, then which the world hath not a better, ſoone after recouered; yet ſome there were that died preſently after they got aſhore, it being certainly the quality of the place, either to kill, or cure quickly, as the bodies are more or leſſe corrupted. By this ſhip the Company ſent a ſupply of ten perſons for the generality, but of ſuch bad condition that it ſeemed they had picked the Males out of *Newgate*, the Females from *Bridewell*: As the Gouernour found it his beſt courſe, to grant out the women to ſuch as were ſo greedy of wiues, and would needs haue them for better for worſe; and the men hee placed in the Kings Caſtle for ſouldiers. But this bad, weake, ſickly ſupply being diſperſed for their beſt reliefe, by the much imployment of his boats in remouing them, many of his owne men became infected, ſo that for ſome weekes, they were not able to doe him any ſeruice at all. Strict inſtructions alſo they brought for the planting of Sugar-canes, for which the Iland being rockie and dry, is ſo vnproper, that few as yet haue beene ſeene to proſper: yet there are others hold the contrary opinion, that there is raine ſo ordinarily, the Iles are ſo moiſt, as produceth all their plants in ſuch infinit abundance: there is no great reaſon to ſuſpect this, were it rightly vſed, more then the reſt. Seuenty thouſand weight of Tobacco being prepared towards her fraught, ſhe returned for *England*. 70000. weight of Tobacco.

No ſooner was ſhee gone then came in another, ſent by the Company and generalty, well conditioned, but ſhee failed not much to haue beene caſt away amongſt thoſe dangerous & terrible rocks; by her came alſo expreſſe command, they ſhould entertaine no other ſhips, then were directly ſent from the Company: this cauſed much grudging, and indeed a generall diſtraction and exclamation among the Inhabitants, to be thus conſtrained to buy what they wanted, and ſell what they had at what price the *Magazin* pleaſed, and to debarre true men from comming to them for trade or reliefe, that were daily receiued in all the harbours in *England*. So long this ſhip ſtayed going for fraught and wages, the Maſter not caring how long he lay at that rate in a good harbour, the Gouernour was ready to ſend her away by Proclamation. Thus ended the firſt yeere of the gouernment of C. *Butler*.

With the firſt of the ſecond yeere were held the Aſſiſes, where all the Bailiffes were fined for not giuing a beginning to the building of the bridges; there was alſo an order to reſtraine the exceſſiue wages all handicrafts men would haue: and that the Church-wardens ſhould meet twice a yeere, to haue all their preſentments made perfect againſt the Aſſiſes. The Aſſiſes done, all the ableſt men were trained in their armes, and then departed to their owne homes. The towne thus cleered, he made certaine new carriages for ſome demy Culuerings, and a large new ſtore-houſe of Cedar for the yeerely *Magazines* goods; finiſhed *Warwicks* Fort begun by Maſter *More*, and made a new platforme at *Pagits* Fort, alſo a faire houſe of lime and ſtone for the Townes-houſe. The three bridges appointed by the generall aſſembly, was followed with ſuch diligence, though they were more then an hundred, or an hundred and twenty foot in length, hauing the foundation and arches in the Sea, were raiſed and accompliſhed, ſo that man or beaſt with facility might paſſe them. 1620. The building of three bridges and other works.

At Whitſonday was held the fourth generall Aſſiſe at Saint *Georges*, where were tryed twenty ſeuerall cauſes; foure or fiue were whipped or burnt in the hand, for breaking of houſes: alſo an order was made, that the party caſt in the triall of any cauſe, ſhould pay to euery of the Iurours foure pence: moreouer, that not paſt ten leaues at the moſt ſhould grow vpon a plant of Tobacco, and that alſo in the making it vp, a diſtinction ſhould diligently be obſerued of two kinds, a better and a worſe: then they built a ſtrong ſtone houſe for the Captaine of the Kings Caſtle and *corps du guard*; and repaired what defects they could finde in the platformes and carriages. The generall Aſſiſes, and the proceedings.

Captaine *Powell* ſo oft mentioned, hauing beene in the Weſt-Indies for the States of *Holland*, came to an anchor within ſhot of their Ordnance, deſiring admittance for wood and water, of which hee had great need, but the Gouernor

would not permit him, ſo he weighed and departed, whereat the company were ſo madded, it was not poſſible to conſtraine them to ceaſe their exclaimations againſt the Companies inhibition, till they were weary with exclaming: But ſtill for their better defence, not thinking themſelues ſufficiently ſecure, hauing finiſhed two new plat-formes more, arriued the Magazin ſhip, but her Maſter was dead, and many of the Paſſengers, the reſt for moſt part very ſicke; and withall, a ſtrange and wonderfull report of much complaint made againſt the Gouernor to the Company in *England*, by ſome of them returned in the laſt yeeres ſhipping: but it was eight daies before ſhe could get in by reaſon of ill weather, being forced againe to Sea; ſo that time, they kept euery night continually great fires, ſhe might ſee the Ile as well by night as day; but at laſt ſhe arriued, and he plainly vnderſtood, he had more cauſe a great deale to looke for miſconſtruction of all his ſeruice then an acknowledgment, much leſſe a recompence any better then his predeceſſors; but it is no new thing to requite the beſt deſert with the moſt vildeſt of ingratitude.

A ſtrange deliuerance of a Spaniſh wracke.

The very next daies night after the arriuall of the Magazins ſhip, newes was brought the Gouernor by a diſmaied Meſſenger from *Sands* his Tribe, that one hundred *Spaniards* were landed in that part, and diuers ſhips diſcouered at Sea, whereupon he preſently manned the Forts, and inſtantly made thitherward in perſon with twentie men, determining as he found cauſe to draw together more ſtrength by the way. Being got thither by the breake of the next day, in ſtead of an enemy which he expected, he met onely with a company of poore diſtreſſed *Portugals* and *Spaniards*, who in their paſſage from *Carthagena* in the *Weſt-Indies*, in conſort with the Spaniſh fleet of Plait; by the ſame ſtorme that had indangered the Magazin ſhip, loſt theirs vpon thoſe terrible Rocks, being to the number of ſeuenty perſons, were ſtrangely preſerued; and the manner was thus.

About Sunne-ſet their ſhip beating amongſt the Rocks, ſome twenty of the Sailers got into the Boat with what treaſure they could, leauing the Captaine, the Maſter, and all the reſt to the mercy of the Sea. But a Boy not paſt foureteene yeares of age that leaped after to haue got into the Boat, miſſing that hope, it pleaſed God he got vpon a Cheſt a drift by him, whereon they report he continued two daies, and was driuen neere to the cleane contrary part of the Ile, where he was taken vp neere dead, yet well recouered. All this night the ſhip ſticking faſt, the poore diſtreſſed in her the next day ſpying land, made a raft, and were thoſe gaue the alarum firſt a ſhore about three of the clocke in the after noone. The morning after, about ſeuen of the clocke came in the Boat to a place called *Mangroue Bay*; and the ſame day their Carpenter was driuen a ſhore vpon a Planke neere *Hog-Bay*. There was a Gentlewoman that had ſtood wet vp to the middle vpon the raft from the ſhip to the ſhore, being big with childe; and although this was vpon the thirteenth of September, ſhe tooke no hurt, and was ſafely deliuered of a Boy within three daies after. The beſt comfort could be giuen them in thoſe extremities they had, although ſome of the baſer ſort had beene rifling ſome of them before the Gouernors arriuall: Alſo the Spaniſh Captaine and the chiefe with him, much complained of the treachery of his men to leaue him in that manner, yet had conueyed with them the moſt of the money they could come by, which he eaſily miſſed; whereupon hee ſuddenly cauſed all them he accuſed, to be ſearched, and recouered to the value of one hundred and fortie pounds ſtarling, which he deliuered into the Captaines hands, to be imploied in a generall purſe towards their generall charge: during their ſtay in the Iles, ſome of the better ſort, nine or ten weeks dieted at his owne table, the reſt were billited amongſt the Inhabitants at foure ſhillings the weeke, till they found ſhipping for their paſſage, for which they paied no more then the Engliſh paied themſelues; and for the paſſage of diuers of them, the Gouernor was glad to ſtand bound to the Maſter; ſome others that were not able to procure ſuch friendſhip, were ſo conſtrained to ſtay in the Iles, till by their labours they had got

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ſo much as would tranſport them; and thus they were preſerued, releeued, and deliuered.

In the moneth inſuing arriued the ſecond ſhip, and ſhe alſo had loſt her Maſter, and diuers of her Paſſengers; in her came two *Virginian* Women to be married to ſome would haue them, that after they were conuerted and had children, they might be ſent to their Countrey and kindred to ciuilize them. Towards the end of this moneth came in the third ſhip with a ſmall Magazin, hauing ſold what ſhe could, caried the reſt to *Virginia*, and neuer did any of thoſe Paſſengers complaine either of their good diet, or too good vſage at ſea; but the cleane contrary ſtill occaſioned many of thoſe extremities. The fift of Nouember the damnable plot of the powder treaſon was ſolemnized, with Praiers, Sermons, and a great Feaſt, whereto the Gouernor inuited the chiefe of the *Spaniards*, where drinking the Kings health, it was honored with a quicke volly of ſmall ſhot, which was anſwered from the Forts with the great Ordnance, and then againe concluded with a ſecond volley of ſmall ſhot; neither was the afternoone without muſicke and dancing, and at night many huge bone-fires of ſweet wood.

How they ſolemnized the powder treaſon, and the arriuall of two ſhips.

The *Spaniards* to expreſſe their thankfulneſſe at their departure, made a deed of gift to the Gouernor of whatſoeuer he could recouer of the wracked ſhip; but the ſhips as they went out came ſo dangerouſly vpon a Rock, that the poore *Spaniards* were ſo diſmaied, ſwearing this place was ominous vnto them, eſpecially the women, that deſired rather to goe a ſhore and die howſoeuer, than aduenture any further in ſuch a labyrinth of dangers, but at laſt ſhe got cleere without danger, and well to *England*; the other went to *Virginia*, wherein the Gouernor ſent two great Cheſts filled with all ſuch kinds and ſorts of Fruits and Plants as their Ilands had; as Figs, Pomgranats, Oranges, Lemons, Sugar-canes, Plantanes, Potatoes, Papawes, Caſſado roots, red Pepper, the Prickell Peare, and the like. The ſhips thus diſpatched, hee goeth into the maine, and ſo out to ſea to the Spaniſh wracke. He had beene there before preſently after her ruine, for neuer had ſhip a more ſudden death, being now ſplit in peeces all vnder water. He found ſmall hope to recouer any thing, ſaue a Cable and an Anchor, and two good Sacars; but the wind was ſo high hee was forced to returne, being ten miles from the ſhore, onely with three Murderers, which were knowne to be the ſame Captaine *Kendall* had ſold to Captaine *Kerby*, whoſe ſhip was taken by two men of warre of *Carthagena*, the moſt of his men ſlaine or hanged, and he being wounded, died in the woods. Now their Pilot being at this ſeruice, got thus thoſe three Murderers to their ſhip, and their ſhip thus to the *Bermudas*, as the *Spaniards* remaining related to the Gouernor and others.

The Spaniards returne, and in danger againe. 1621.

Three Engliſh Murderers found in the Spaniſh wracke.

Hauing raiſed three ſmall Bulwarkes at *Southhamptons* Fort, with two Curtaines, and two Rauilings, which indeed is onely the true abſolute peece of fortification in the Iles; Chriſtmas being come, and the prefixed day of the Aſſiſe; diuers were whipped and burnt in the hand, onely three young boyes for ſtealing were condemned, and at the very point of hanging repriued. The Gouernour then ſent his Lieutenant all ouer the maine to diſtribute Armes to thoſe were found moſt fit to vſe them, & to giue order for their randezuous, which were hanged vp in the Church. About this time it chanced a pretty ſecret to be diſcouered to preſerue their corne from the fly, or weauell, which did in a manner as much hurt as the rats. For the yeere before hauing made a Proclamation that all Corne ſhould be gathered by a certaine day, becauſe many lazy perſons ranne ſo after the ſhips to get Beere and *Aquavite*, for which they will giue any thing they haue, much had beene loſt for want of gathering. This yeare hauing a very faire crop, ſome of the Inhabitants, none of the beſt husbands, haſtily gathered it for feare of the penaltie, threw it in great heaps into their houſes vnhuſked, and ſo let it lie foure or fiue moneths, which was thought would haue ſpoiled it: where the good husbands huſked it, and with much labour hung it vp, where the Flies did ſo blow on it, they increaſed to ſo many Weauels, they generally

Their Aſſiſes, and other paſſages.

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complained of great losse; but those good fellowes that neuer cared but from hand to mouth, made their boasts, that not a graine of theirs had beene touched nor hurt, there being no better way to preserue it then by letting it lie in its huske, and spare an infinite labour formerly had beene vsed. There were also very luckily about this time found out diuers places of fresh water, of which many of the Forts were very destitute, and the Church-wardens and Side-men were very busie in correcting the prophaners of the Sabbath, Drunkards, Gamesters, and such like. There came also from *Virginia* a small Barke with many thanks for the presents sent them; much Aquauitæ, Oile, Secke and Bricks they brought in exchange of more Fruits and Plants, Ducks, Turkies and Limestone, of which she had plenty, and so returned. During the aboad of the stay of this ship, the mariage of one of the *Virginia* maides was consummated with a husband fit for her, attended with more then one hundred guests, and all the dainties for their dinner could be prouided; they made also another triall to fish for Whales, but it tooke no more effect then the former: this was done by the Master of the *Virginia* ship that professed much skill that way, but hauing fraughted his ship with Limestone, with 20000. weight of Potatoes, and such things as he desired, returned for *Virginia*.

A strange Sodomy.

Aprill and May were spent in building a strong new Prison, and perfecting some of the Fortifications, and by the labour of twenty men in fourteene daies was got from the Spanish wracke foure excellent good Sacres, and mounted them at the Forts. Then began the generall Assize, where not fewer then fifty ciuill, or rather vnciuill actions were handled, and twenty criminall prisoners brought to the bar; such a multitude of such vild people were sent to this Plantation, that he thought himselfe happy his time was so neere expired: three of the foulest acts were these: the first for the rape of a married woman, which was acquitted by a senselesse Iury; the second for buggering a Sow, and the third for Sodomy with a boy, for which they were hanged; during the time of the imprisonment of this Buggerer of the Sow, a Dung-hill Cocke belonging to the same man did continually haunt a Pigge of his also, and to the wonder of all them that saw it who were many, did so frequently tread the Pigge as if it had beene one of his Hens, that the Pigge languished and died within a while after, and then the Cocke resorted to the very same Sow (that this fellow was accused for) in the very same manner; and as an addition to all this, about the same time two Chickens were hatched, the one whereof had two heads, the other crowed very loud and lustily within twelue houres after it was out of the shell. A desperate fellow being to bee arraigned for stealing a Turky, rather then he would endure his triall, secretly conueighed himselfe to Sea in a little Boat, and neuer since was euer heard of, nor is he euer like to be, without an exceeding wonder, little lesse then a miracle. In Iune they made another triall about the Spanish wracke, and recouered another Sacre and a Murderer, also he caused to be hewed out of the maine Rocke a paire of large staires for the conuenient landing of goods and passengers; a worke much to the beauty and benefit of the towne. With twenty chosen men, and two excellent Divers, the Gouernour went himselfe to the wracke *Warwick*, but they could recouer but one Murderer, from thence he went to the *Sea-aduenture*, the wracke of Sir *George Summers*, the hull though two or three fathomes in the water, they found vnperished and with much a doe weighed a Sacre, her sheat Anchor, diuers barres of Iron and pigs of Lead, which stood the Plantation in very great stead. Towards the end of Iuly he went to seeke for a wracke they reported lay vnder water with her hatches spiked vp, but they could not finde her, but from the Spanish wracke lay there by they weighed three faire Sacres more, and so returned through the Tribes to Saint *George*: some were also imployed to seeke out beds of Oisters for Pearle, some they found, some seed Pearle they got, but out of one little shell aboue all the rest they got about 120. small Pearle, but somewhat defectiue in their colour.

More trialls about the wracks.

The

The time of Captain *Butlers* gouernment drawing neere an end, the Colony preſented vnto him diuers grieuances, to intreat him to remember to the Lords and Company in *England* at his returne: alſo they appointed two to be ioyned with him, with letters of credence to ſolicit in their behalfe thoſe grieuances following: Firſt, they were defrauded of the food of their ſoules: for being not fewer then one thouſand and fiue hundred people, diſperſed in length twenty miles, they had at that preſent but one Miniſter, nor neuer had but two, and they ſo ſhortned of their promiſes, that but onely for meere pity they would haue forſaken them. Secondly, neglected in the ſafety of their liues by wants of all ſorts of munition. Thirdly, they had beene cenſured contrary to his Maieſties Lawes, and not allowed them the benefit of their booke as they are in *England*, but by Captaine *Butler*. Fourthly, they were fruſtrated of many of their couenants, and moſt extremely pinched and vndone by the extortion of the Magazine, for although their Tobacco was ſtinted but at two ſhillings ſixpence the pound, yet they pitched their commodities at what rate they pleaſed. Fifthly, their fatherleſſe children are left in little better condition then ſlaues, for if their Parents die in debt, their children are made as bondmen till the debt be diſcharged: theſe things being perfected, there grew a great queſtion of one *Herios* for plotting of factions and abuſing the Gouernour, for which he was condemned to loſe his eares, yet he was vſed ſo fauourably he loſt but the part of one in all. The Planters complaints.

By this time it being growne paſt the wonted ſeaſon of the comming in of ſhips from *England*, after a generall longing and expectation, eſpecially of the Gouernour, whoſe Commiſſion being neere vpon expiration, gaue him cauſe to wiſh for a meane of deliuerance from ſo troubleſome and thankleſſe an imploiment as he had hitherto found it; a ſaile is diſcouered, and long it was not before ſhee arriued in the Kings Caſtle Harbour; this Barke was ſet out by two or three priuate men of the Company, and hauing landed her ſupplies, was to goe for *Virginia*; by her the Gouernour receiued certaine aduertiſements of the carriage and behauiour of the Spaniards, which he had relieued as you haue heard the yeere before; that quite contrary both to his merit, their vow, and his owne expectation, they made clamours againſt him, the which being ſeconded by the Spaniſh Ambaſſadour, cauſed the State to fall in examination about it; whereupon hauing fully cleared their ingratefulneſſe and impudency, and being aſſured of the choice of a ſucceſſor that was to be expected within fiue or ſix weekes; hee was deſirous to take the opportunity of this Barke, and to viſit the Colony in *Virginia* in his returne for *England*: leauing the gouernment to Captaine *Felgat*, Captaine *Stokes*, Maſter *Lewis Hewes*, Maſter *Nedom* and Maſter *Gunner*, but now his time being fully expired, and the fortifications finiſhed, *viz.* The *Kings Caſtle* wherein were mounted vpon ſufficient Platformes ſixteene peece of Ordnances: In *Charles* Fort two; In *Southampton* Fort fiue, betwixt which and the Caſtle paſſeth the Chanell into the Harbour, ſecured by three and twenty peeces of good artillery to play vpon it. In *Coopers* Ile is *Pembrocks* Fort, where is two Peeces. The Chanell of Saint *George* is guarded by *Smiths* Fort, and *Pagits* Fort, in which is eleuen peece of Ordnance. Saint *George* towne is halfe a league within the Harbour, commanded by *Warwicks* Fort, where are three great Peeces, and on the Wharfe before the Gouernours houſe eight more, beſides the warning Peece by the mount, and three in Saint *Katharines*: ſo that in all there are ten Fortreſſes and two and fifty peeces of Ordnance ſufficient and ſeruiceable: their formes and ſituations you may ſee more plainlier deſcribed in the Map; and to defend thoſe, he left one thouſand fiue hundred perſons with neere a hundred boats, and the Ile well repleniſhed with ſtore of ſuch fruits, prouiſions and Poultry, as is formerly related; yet for ſo departing and other occaſions, much difference hath beene betwixt him and ſome of the Company, as any of his Predeceſſors, which I rather wiſh were reconciled, then to be a reporter of ſuch vnprofitable diſſentions. The returne of Captaine *Butler*.

For

For

Till trechery and faction, and auarice be gone,
Till enuy and ambition, and backbiting be none,
Till periury and idleneſſe, and iniury be out,
And truly till that villany the worſt of all that rout;
Vnleſſe thoſe viſes baniſht be, what euer Forts you haue,
A hundred walls together put will not haue power to ſaue.

Maſter Iohn Barnard *ſent to be Gouernour.*

1622. The Lord *Cauendiſh* Treaſurer. Maſter *Nicholas Farrar* Deputy.

TO ſupply this place was ſent by the noble aduenturers *Iohn Bernard*, a Gentleman both of good meanes and quality, who arriued within eight daies after *Butlers* departure with two ſhips, and about one hundred and forty paſſengers with armes and all ſorts of munition and other prouiſions ſufficient. During the time of his life which was but ſix weekes in reforming all things he found defectiue, he ſhewed himſelfe ſo iudiciall and induſtrious as gaue great ſatisfaction, and did generally promiſe vice was in great danger to be ſuppreſſed, and vertue and the Plantation much aduanced; but ſo it hapned that both he and his wife died in ſuch ſhort time they were both buried in one day and one graue, and Maſter *Iohn Harriſon* choſen Gouernour till further order came from *England*.

What hapned in the gouernment of Maſter Iohn Harriſon.

1623. Sir *Edward Sackuil* Treaſurer. Maſter *Gabriel Barber* Deputy.

THey are ſtill much troubled with a great ſhort worme that deuours their Plants in the night, but all the day they lie hid in the ground, and though early in the morning they kill ſo many, they would thinke there were no more, yet the next morning you ſhall finde as many. The Caterpillers to their fruits are alſo as pernicious, and the land Crabs in ſome places are as thicke in their Borowes as Conies in a Warren, and doe much hurt; beſides all this, there hapned this yeere a very heauy diſaſter, for a ſhip wherein there had beene much ſwearing and blaſpheming vſed all the voyage, and landed what ſhe had to leaue in thoſe Iles, iouially froliking in their Cups and Tobacco, by accident fired the Powder, that at the very inſtant blew vp the great Cabin, and ſome one way and ſome another, it is a wonder to thinke how they could bee ſo blowne out of the gun-roome into the Sea, where ſome were taken vp liuing, ſo pitifully burned, their liues were worſe then ſo many deaths, ſome died, ſome liued, but eighteene were loſt at this fatall blaſt, the ſhip alſo immediatly ſunke with threeſcore barrels of meale ſent for *Virginia*, and all the other prouiſion in her was thus loſt.

Note. Now to conſider how the Spaniards, French, and Dutch, haue beene loſt and preſerued in thoſe inuincible Iles, yet neuer regarded them but as monuments of miſeries, though at this preſent they all deſire them; How Sir *Thomas Gates*, and Sir *George Summers* being ready to ſinke in the ſea were ſaued, what an incredible abundance of victuall they found, how it was firſt planted by the Engliſh, the ſtrange increaſe of Rats, and their ſudden departure, the fiue men came from *England* in a boat, the eſcape of *Hilliard*, and the reſt of thoſe accidents there hapned, a man would thinke it a tabernacle of miracles, and the worlds wonder, that from ſuch a Paradiſe of admiration who would thinke ſhould ſpring ſuch wonders of afflictions as are onely fit to be ſacrificed vpon the higheſt altars of ſorrow, thus to be ſet vpon the higheſt Pinacles of content, and preſently throwne downe to the loweſt degree of extremity, as you ſee haue beene the yeerely ſucceedings of thoſe Plantations; the which to ouercome, as it is an incomparable honour, ſo it can be no diſhonour if a man doe miſcarry by vnfortunate accidents in ſuch honourable actions, the which renowne and vertue to attaine hath

cauſed

cauſed ſo many attempts by diuers Nations beſides ours, euen to paſſe through the very amazement of aduentures. Vpon the relation of this newes the Company hath ſent one Captaine *Woodhouſe*, a Gentleman of good repute and great experience in the warres, and no leſſe prouident then induſtrious and valiant: then returned report, all goeth well there. It is too true, in the abſence of the noble Treaſurer, Sir *Edward Sackvill*, now Earle of *Dorſet*, there haue beene ſuch complaints betwixt the Planters and the Company, that by command the Lords appointed Sir *Thomas Smith* againe Treaſurer, that ſince then according to their order of Court he is alſo elected, where now we muſt leaue them all to their good fortune and ſucceſſe, till we heare further of their fortunate proceedings.

1624. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treaſurer, and Maſter *Edwards* Deputy.

FINIS.

To his friend Captaine *Smith*, vpon his *deſcription of* New-England.

SIr; your Relations I haue read: which ſhew,
Ther's reaſon I ſhould honour them *and* you:
And if their meaning I haue vnderſtood,
I dare to cenſure thus: Your Proiect *'s good;*
And may (if follow'd) doubtleſſe quit the paine,
With honour, pleaſure and a trebble gaine;
Beſide the benefit that ſhall ariſe
To make more happy our Poſterities.
For would we daigne to ſpare, though 'twere no more
Then what ore-fils, and ſurfets vs in ſtore,
To order Nature's *fruitfulneſſe a while*
In that rude Garden, *you* New-England *ſtile;*
With preſent good, ther's hope in after-daies
Thence to repaire what Time *and* Pride *decaies*
In this rich Kingdome. And the ſpacious Weſt
Being ſtill more with Engliſh *bloud poſſeſt,*
The proud Iberians *ſhall not rule thoſe Seas,*
To checke our ſhips from ſailing where they pleaſe;
Nor future times make any forraine power
Become ſo great to force a bound to Our.
Much good my minde foretels would follow hence
With little labour, and with leſſe expence.
Thriue therefore thy Deſigne, *who ere enuy:*
England *may ioy in* England's *Colony,*
Virginia *ſeeke her Virgin ſiſters good,*
Be bleſſed in ſuch happy neighbourhood:
Or, whatſoere Fate pleaſeth to permit,
Be thou ſtill honour'd for firſt moouing it.
George Wither, *è ſocietate Lincol.*

To that worthy and generous Gentleman, *my very good friend, Captaine* Smith.

MAy Fate thy Proiect proſper, that thy name
May be eternized with liuing fame:
Though foule Detraction Honour would peruert,
And Enuie euer waits vpon deſert:

In ſpight of Pelias, *when his hate lies cold,*
Returne as Iaſon *with a fleece of gold.*
Then after-ages ſhall record thy praiſe,
That a New-England *to this Ile didſt raiſe:*
And when thou di'ſt (as all that line muſt die)
Thy fame line here; thou, with Eternity.

R. Gunnell.

To his worthy Captaine, the Author.

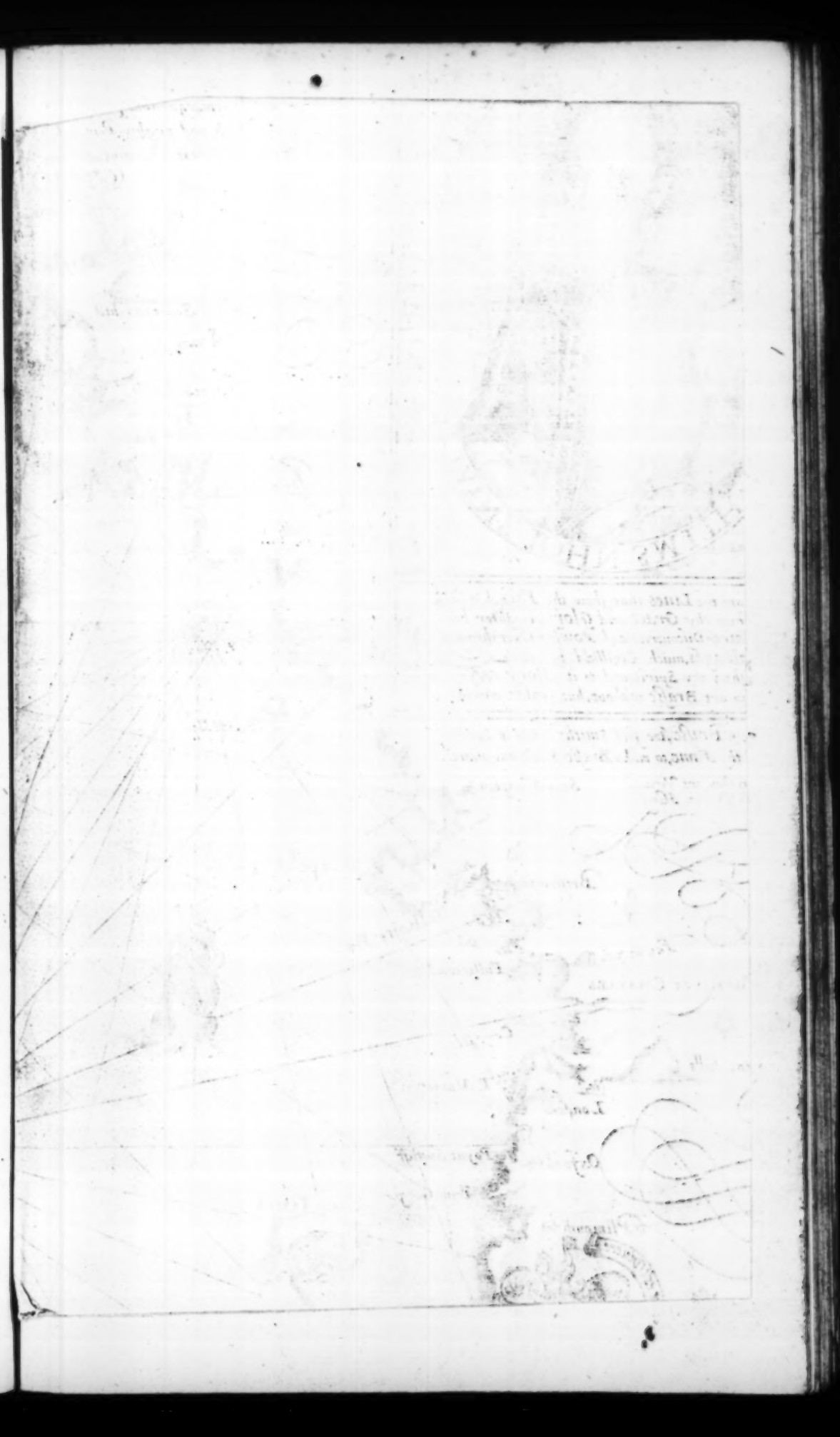
OFt thou haſt led, when I brought vp the Rere
In bloudy wars, where thouſands haue beene ſlaine.
Then giue me leaue in this ſome part to beare;
And as thy ſeruant, here to reade my name.
Tis true, long time thou haſt my Captaine beene
In the fierce warres of Tranſiluania:
Long ere that thou America *hadſt ſeene,*
Or led waſt captiu'd in Virginia;
Thou that to paſſe the worlds foure parts doſt deeme
No more, then t'were to goe to bed, or drinke,
And all thou yet haſt done, thou doſt eſteeme
As nothing. This doth cauſe me thinke
That thou I'aue ſeene ſo oft approu'd in dangers,
(And thrice captiu'd, thy valour ſtill hath freed)
Art yet preſerued, to conuert thoſe ſtrangers:
By God thy guide I truſt it is decreed.
For me: I not commend but much admire
Thy England yet vnknowne to paſſers by-her.
For it will praiſe it ſelfe in ſpight of me;
Thou it, it thou, to all poſterity.

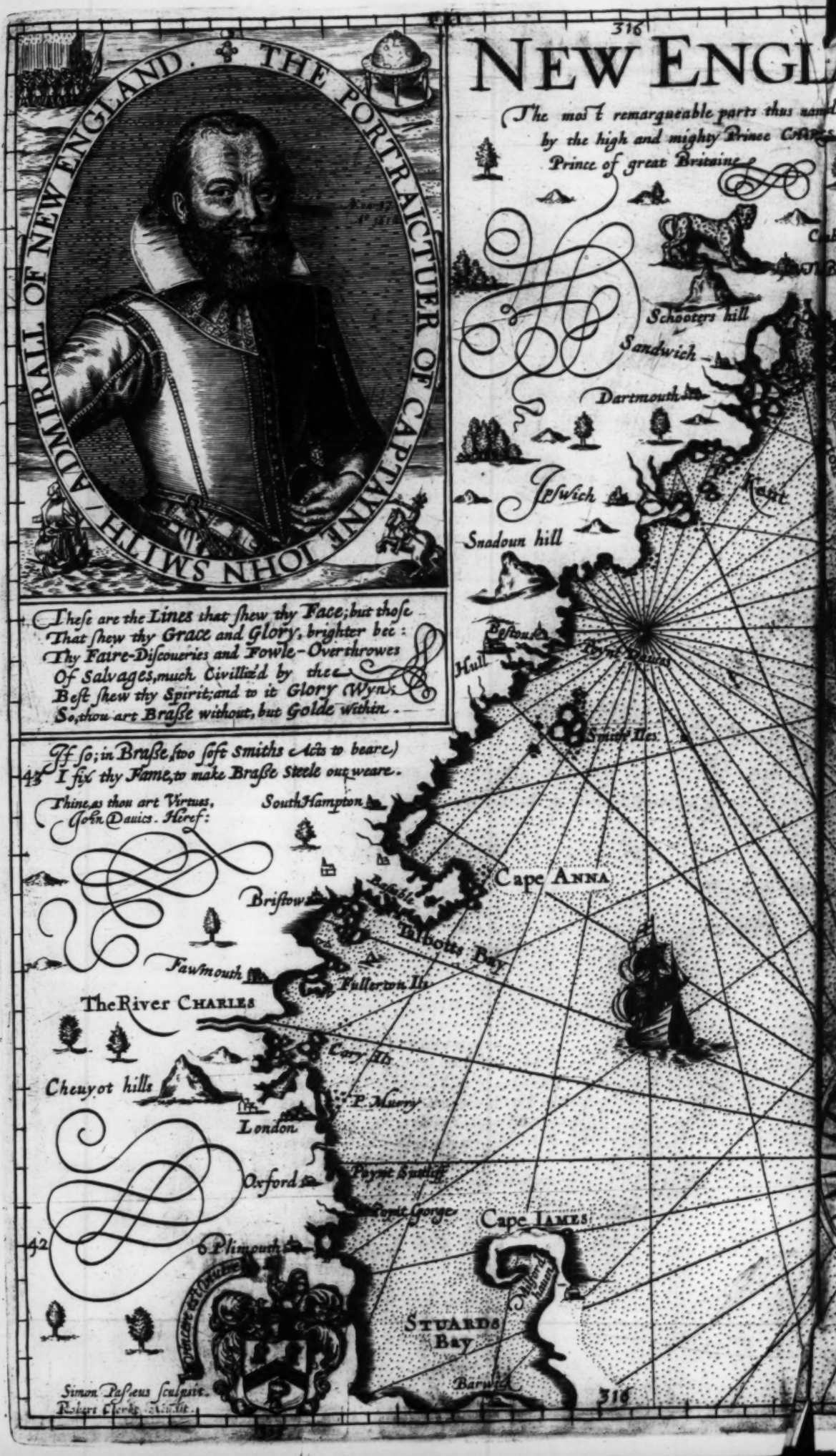
Your true friend and ſouldier, *Ed. Robinſon.*

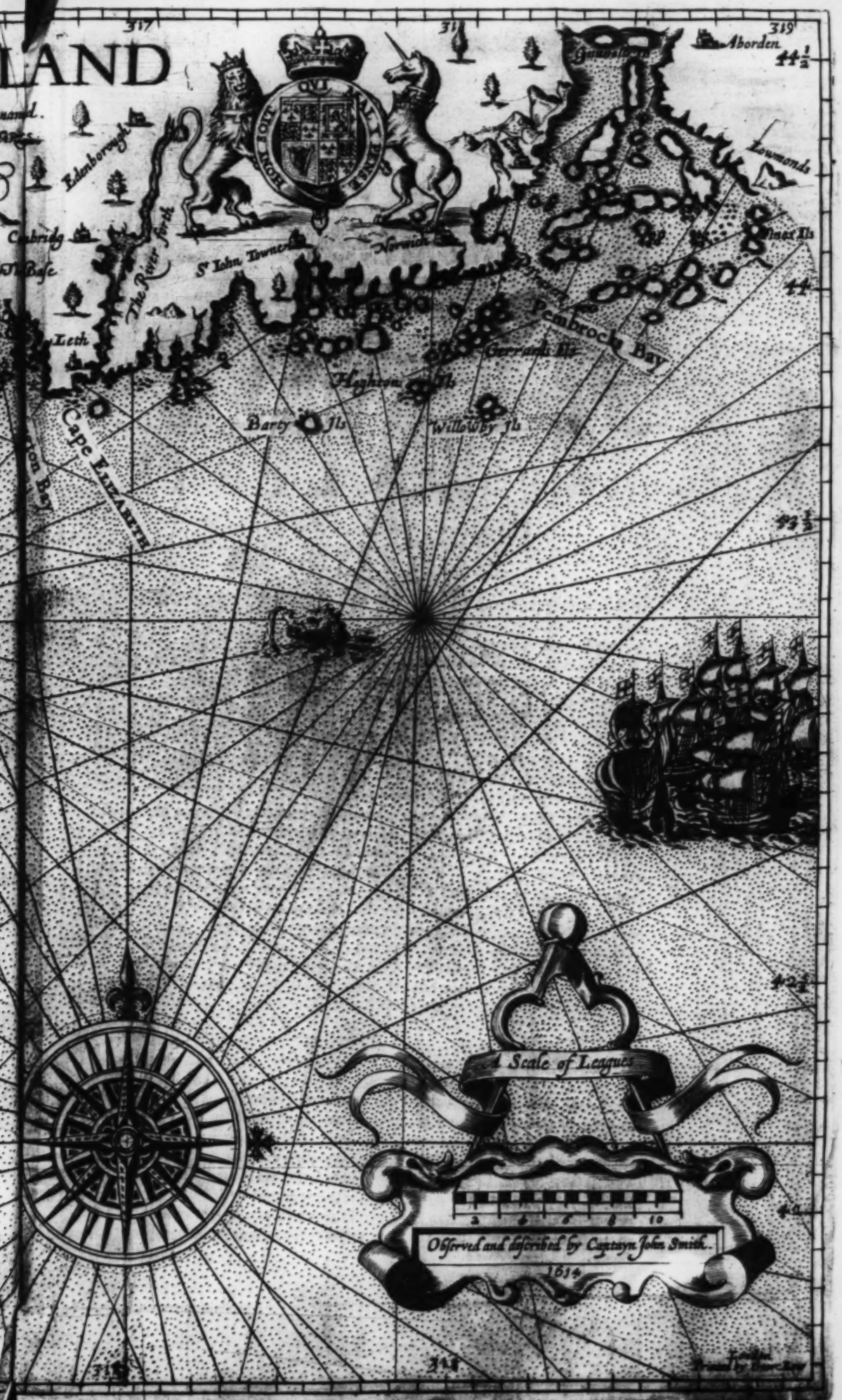
To my honeſt Captaine, the Author.

MAlignant Times! What can be ſaid or done,
But ſhall be cenſur'd and traduc't by ſome!
This worthy Worke, which thou haſt bought ſo deare,
Ne thou, nor it, Detractors need to feare.
Thy words by deeds ſo long thou haſt approu'd,
Of thouſands know thee not thou art belou'd.
And this great Plot will make thee ten times more
Knowne and belou'd, than ere thou wert before.
I neuer knew a Warrier yet, but thee,
From wine, Tobacco, debts, dice, oaths, ſo free.
I call thee Warrier: *and I make the bolder;*
For, many a Captaine *now, was neuer Souldier.*
Some ſuch may ſwell at this: but (to their praiſe)
When they haue done like thee, my Muſe ſhall raiſe
Their due deſerts to Worthies yet to come,
To liue like thine (admir'd) till day of Doome.

Your true friend, ſometimes your ſouldier, *Tho. Carlton.*




316
NEW ENGL
The most remarqueable parts thus nam
by the high and mighty Prince CHAR
Prince of great Britaine
THE PORTRAICTUER OF CAPTAYNE JOHN SMITH ADMIRALL OF NEW ENGLAND.
These are the Lines that shew thy Face; but those
That shew thy Grace and Glory, brighter bee:
Thy Faire-Discoueries and Fowle-Overthrowes
Of Salvages, much Civillizd by thee
Best shew thy Spirit; and to it Glory Wyn;
So, thou art Brasse without, but Golde within.
If so; in Brasse, (too soft Smiths Acts to beare)
43 I fix thy Fame, to make Brasse Steele out weare.
Thine, as thou art Virtues,
John Dauics. Heref:
Schooters hill
Sandwich
Dartmouth
Ipswich
Kent
Snadoun hill
Bostouse
Hull
Smith Iles
South Hampton
Cape ANNA
Bristow
Talbotts Bay
Fawmouth
Fullerton Ils
The River CHARLES
Cary Ils
Cheuyot hills
P. Murry
London
Oxford
Cape IAMES
42
Plimouth
STUARDS Bay
Barwick
Simon Passeus sculpsit.
316


LAND
317
319
Aborden
44½
Edenborough
Cambridg
The River forth
St John Towne
Norwich
Lowmonds
Pembrock Bay
Gerrards Ils
Hoghton Ils
Barty Ils
Willowby Ils
Cape Elizabeth
Leth
A Scale of Leagues
2 4 6 8 10
Observed and described by Captayn John Smith.
1614

THE SIXTH BOOKE.

THE GENERALL HISTORIE OF NEW-ENGLAND.

Oncerning this Hiſtory you are to vnderſtand the Letters-Patents granted by his Maieſty in 1606. for the limitation of *Virginia*, did extend from 34. to 44. which was diuided in two parts; namely, the firſt Colony and the ſecond: the firſt was to the honourable City of London, and ſuch as would aduenture with them to diſcouer and take their choice where they would, betwixt the degrees of 34. and 41. The ſecond was appropriated to the Cities of *Briſtol*, *Exeter* and *Plimoth*, &c. and the Weſt parts of *England*, and all thoſe that would aduenture and ioine with them, and they might make their choiſe any where betwixt the degrees of 38. and 44. prouided there ſhould bee at leaſt 100. miles diſtance betwixt theſe 2. Colonies, each of which had lawes, priuileges and authoritie, for the gouernment and aduancing their ſeuerall Plantations alike. Now this part of *America* hath formerly beene called *Norumbega*, *Virginia*, *Nuskoncus*, *Penaquida*, *Cannada*, and ſuch other names as thoſe that ranged the Coaſt pleaſed. But becauſe it was ſo mountainous, rocky and full of Iles, few haue aduentured much to trouble it, but as is formerly related; notwithſtanding, that honourable Patron of vertue, Sir *Iohn Popham*, Lord chiefe Iuſtice of *England*, in the yeere 1606. procured meanes and men to poſſeſſe it, and ſent Captaine *George Popham* for Preſident, Captaine *Rawley Gilbert* for Admirall, Captaine *Edward Harlow* maſter of the Ordnance, Captaine *Robert Dauis* Sargeant-Maior, Captaine *Elis Beſt* Marſhall, Maſter *Seaman* Secretary, Captaine *Iames Dauis* to be Captaine of the Fort, Maſter *Gome Carew* chiefe Searcher: all thoſe were of the Councell, who with ſome hundred more were to ſtay in the Country: they ſet ſaile from *Plimoth* the laſt of May, and fell with *Monahigan* the eleuenth of Auguſt. At *Sagadahock* 9. or 10. leagues ſouthward, they planted themſelues at the mouth of a faire nauigable Riuer, but the coaſt all thereabours moſt extreme ſtony and rocky: that extreme frozen Winter was ſo cold they could not range nor ſearch the Country, and their prouiſion ſo ſmall, they were glad to ſend all but 45. of their company backe againe: their noble Preſident Captaine *Popham* died, and not long after arriued two ſhips well prouided of all neceſſaries to ſupply them, and ſome ſmall time after another, by whom vnderſtanding of the

Sir *Francis Popham* Treaſurer.

death of the Lord chiefe Iuſtice, and alſo of Sir *Iohn Gilbert*, whoſe lands there the Preſident *Rawley Gilbert* was to poſſeſſe according to the aduenturers directions; finding nothing but extreme extremities, they all returned for *England* in the yeere 1608. and thus this Plantation was begunne and ended in one yeere, and the Country eſteemed as a cold, barren, mountainous, rocky Deſart.

Notwithſtanding, the right Honourable *Henry* Earle of South-hampton and thoſe of the Ile of *Wight*, imploied Captaine *Edward Harlow* to diſcouer an Ile ſuppoſed about Cape *Cod*, but they found their plots had much abuſed them, for falling with *Monahigan*, they found onely Cape *Cod* no Ile but the maine, there they detained three Saluages aboord them, called *Pechmo*, *Monopet* and *Pekenimne*, but *Pechmo* leapt ouer board, and got away; and not long after with his conſorts cut their Boat from their ſterne, got her on ſhore, and ſo filled her with ſand, and guarded her with Bowes and Arrowes the Engliſh loſt her: not farre from thence they had three men ſorely wounded with Arrowes. Anchoring at the Ile of *Nohono*, the Saluages in their Canowes aſſaulted the Ship till the Engliſh Guns made them retire, yet here they tooke *Sakuweſton*, that after he had liued many yeeres in *England* went a Souldier to the warres of *Bohemia*. At *Capawe* they tooke *Coneconam* and *Epenow*, but the people at *Agawom* vſed them kindly, ſo with fiue Saluages they returned for *England*, yet Sir *Francis Popham* ſent diuers times one Captaine *Williams* to *Monahigan* onely to trade and make core fiſh, but for any Plantations there was no more ſpeeches. For all this, as I liked *Virginia* well, though not their proceedings, ſo I deſired alſo to ſee this country, and ſpend ſome time in trying what I could finde for all thoſe ill rumors and diſaſters. *From the relations of Captaine* Edward Harlow *and diuers others.*

My firſt voyage to *New-England*. 1614.

In the month of Aprill 1614. at the charge of Capt. *Marmaduke Roydon*, Capt. *George Langam*, Mr. *Iohn Buley* and Mr. *William Skelton*, with two ſhips from *London*, I chanced to arriue at *Monahigan* an Ile of *America*, in 434. of Northerly latitude: out plot was there to take Whales, for which we had one *Samuel Cranton* and diuers others expert in that faculty, & alſo to make trialls of a Mine of gold & copper; if thoſe failed, Fiſh and Furs were then our refuge to make our ſelues ſauers howſoeuer: we found this Whale-fiſhing a coſtly concluſion, we ſaw many and ſpent much time in chaſing them, but could not kill any. They being a kinde of *Iubartes*, and not the Whale that yeelds Fins and Oile as we expected; for our gold it was rather the Maſters deuice to get a voyage that proiected it, then any knowledge he had at all of any ſuch matter; Fiſh and Furs were now our guard, & by our late arriuall and long lingring about the Whale, the prime of both thoſe ſeaſons were paſt ere wee perceiued it, wee thinking that their ſeaſons ſerued at all times, but we found it otherwiſe, for by the middeſt of *Iune* the fiſhing failed, yet in *Iuly* and *Auguſt* ſome were taken, but not ſufficient to defray ſo great a charge as our ſtay required: of dry fiſh we made about forty thouſand, of Cor-fiſh about ſeuen thouſand. Whileſt the Sailers fiſhed, my ſelfe with eight others of them might beſt bee ſpared, ranging the Coaſt in a ſmall Boat, we got for trifles neere eleuen thouſand Beuer skinnes, one hundred Martins, as many Otters, and the moſt of them within the diſtance of twenty leagues: we ranged the Coaſt both Eaſt and Weſt much further, but Eaſtward our commodities were not eſteemed, they were ſo neere the French who afforded them better, with whom the Saluages had ſuch commerce that only by trade they made exceeding great voyages, though they were without the limits of our precincts; during the time we tried thoſe concluſions, not knowing the coaſt, nor Saluages habitations: with theſe Furres, the traine Oile and Cor-fiſh, I returned for *England* in the Barke, where within ſix moneths after our departure from the Downes, wee ſafely arriued backe; the beſt of this fiſh was ſold for 5. li. the hundred, the reſt by ill vſage betwixt three pounds and 50. ſhillings. The other ſhip ſtayed to fit her ſelfe for Spaine with the dry fiſh which was ſold at *Maligo* at forty Rialls the Quintall, each hundred weighing two quintals and a halfe. But one *Thomas Hunt* the

The cõmodities I got amounted to 1500. pounds.

The trechery of Maſter *Hunt*.

the Maſter of this ſhip (when I was gone) thinking to preuent that intent I had to make there a Plantation, thereby to keepe this abounding Countrey ſtill in obſcuritie, that onely he and ſome few Merchants more might enioy wholly the benefit of the Trade, and profit of this Countrey, betraied foure and twenty of thoſe poore Saluages aboord his ſhip, and moſt diſhoneſtly and inhumanely for their kinde vſage of me and all our men, caried them with him to *Maligo*, and there for a little priuate gaine ſold thoſe ſilly Saluages for Rials of eight; but this vilde act kept him euer after from any more imploiment to thoſe parts. Now becauſe at this time I had taken a draught of the Coaſt, and called it *New England*, yet ſo long he and his Conſorts drowned that name with the Eccho of *Canada*, and ſome other ſhips from other parts alſo, that vpon this good returne the next yeere went thither, that at laſt I preſented this Diſcourſe with the Map, to our moſt gracious Prince *Charles*, humbly intreating his Highneſſe hee would pleaſe to change their barbarous names for ſuch Engliſh, as poſteritie might ſay Prince *Charles* was their God-father, which for your better vnderſtanding both of this Diſcourſe and the Map, peruſe this Schedule, which will plainly ſhew you the correſpondency of the old names to the new, as his Highneſſe named them.

The old names.	The new names.	The old names.	The new names.
Cape *Cod*.	Cape *Iames*.	*Bahanna*.	*Dartmouth*.
The Harbor at Cape *Cod*.	*Milforth* hauen.	A good Harbor within that Bay.	*Sandwich*.
Chawum.	*Barwick*.	*Ancociſcos* Mount.	*Shuters* hill.
Accomack.	*Plimoth*.	*Ancociſco*.	The *Baſe*.
Sagoquas.	*Oxford*.	*Anmoughcawgen*.	*Cambridge*.
Maſſachuſets Mount.	*Chemit* hills.	*Kenebecka*.	*Edenborow*.
Maſſachuſits Riuer.	*Charles* Riuer.	*Sagadahock*.	*Leth*.
Totan.	*Famouth*.	*Pemmayquid*.	*S. Iohns* towne.
A great Bay by Cape *Anne*.	*Briſtow*.	*Segocket*.	*Norwich*.
Cape *Tragabigſanda*.	Cape *Anne*.	*Mecadacut*.	*Dunbarton*.
Naembeck.	*Baſtable*.	*Pennobſcot*.	*Aberden*.
Aggawom.	*Southampton*.	*Nusket*.	*Low mounds*.
Smiths Iles.	*Smiths* Iles.	Thoſe being omitted I named my ſelfe.	
Paſſataquack.	*Hull*.		
Accominticus.	*Boſton*.	*Monahigan*.	*Barties* Iles.
Saſſanows Mount.	*Snowdon* hill.	*Matinack*.	*Willowbies* Iles.
Sowocatuck.	*Ipſwich*.	*Metinaeus*.	*Haughtons* Iles.

How Prince *Charles* called the moſt remarkable places in *New England*.

The reſt of the names in the Map, are places that had no names we did know.

But to continue the Hiſtory ſucceedingly as neere with the day and yeere as may bee. Returning in the Barke as is ſaid; it was my ill chance to put in at *Plimoth*, where imparting thoſe my purpoſes to diuers I thought my friends, whom as I ſuppoſed were intereſted in the dead Patent of this vnregarded Countrey, I was ſo encouraged and aſſured to haue the managing their authoritie in thoſe parts during my life, and ſuch large promiſes, that I ingaged my ſelfe to vndertake it for them. Arriuing at *London*, though ſome malicious perſons ſuggeſted there was no ſuch matter to be had in that ſo bad abandoned Countrey, for if there had, other could haue found it ſo well as I; therefore it was to be ſuſpected I had robbed the French men in *New France* or *Canada*, and the Merchants ſet me forth ſeemed not to regard it, yet I found ſo many promiſed me ſuch aſſiſtance, that I entertained *Michael Cooper* the Maſter of the Barke, that returned with me and others of the Company: how he dealt with others, or others with him, I know not; but my publike proceeding gaue ſuch encouragement, that it became ſo well apprehended by ſome few of the *Virginia* Company, as thoſe proiects for

Aſperſions againſt *New England*.

for fiſhing onely was ſo well liked, they furniſhed *Couper* with foure good ſhips to Sea, before they at *Plimoth* had made any prouiſion at all for me; but onely a ſmall Barke ſet out by them of the Ile of *Wight*. Some of *Plimoth*, and diuers Gentlemen of the Weſt Countrey, a little before I returned from *New England*, in ſearch for a Mine of Gold about an Ile called *Capawuck*, South-wards from the Shoules of Cape *Iames*, as they were informed by a Saluage called *Epenew*; that hauing deluded thē as it ſeems thus to get home, ſeeing they kept him as a priſoner in his owne Countrey, and before his friends, being a man of ſo great a ſtature, he was ſhewed vp and downe *London* for money as a wonder, and it ſeemes of no leſſe courage and authoritie, then of wit, ſtrength, and proportion: for ſo well he had contriued his buſineſſe, as many reported he intended to haue ſurpriſed the ſhip; but ſeeing it could not be effected to his liking, before them all he leaped ouer-boord. Many ſhot they made at him, thinking they had ſlaine him, but ſo reſolute they were to recouer his body, the maſter of the ſhip was wounded, and many of his company; And thus they loſt him, & not knowing more what to do, returned againe to *England* with nothing, which ſo had diſcouraged all your Weſt Countrey men, they neither regarded much their promiſes, and as little either me or the Countrey, till they ſaw the *London* ſhips gone and me in *Plimoth* according to my promiſe, as hereafter ſhall be related.

Captaine *Hobſon* his voiage to *Capawuk*.

I muſt confeſſe I was beholden to the ſetters forth of the foure ſhips that went with *Couper*, in that they offered me that imploiment if I would accept it; and I finde ſtill my refuſall incurred ſome of their diſpleaſures, whoſe loue and fauour I exceedingly deſired; and though they doe cenſure me oppoſite to their proceedings, they ſhall yet ſtill in all my words and deeds finde, it is their error, not my fault that occaſions their diſlike: for hauing ingaged my ſelfe in this buſineſſe to the Weſt Countrey, I had beene very diſhoneſt to haue broke my promiſe, nor will I ſpend more time in diſcouery or fiſhing, till I may goe with a Company for a Plantation; for I know my grounds, yet euery one to whom I tell them, or that reads this Booke, cannot put it in practiſe, though it may helpe any that hath ſeene or not ſeene to know much of thoſe parts: And though they endeuour to worke me out of my owne deſignes, I will not much enuy their fortunes: but I would be ſorry their intruding ignorance ſhould by their defailments bring thoſe certainties to doubtfulneſſe. So that the buſineſſe proſper I haue my deſire, be it by whomſoeuer that are true ſubiects to our King and Countrey: the good of my Countrey is that I ſeeke, and there is more then enough for all, if they could be contented.

The Londoners ſend foure good ſhips to New *England*.

New England is that part of *America* in the Ocean Sea, oppoſite to *Noua Albion* in the South Sea, diſcouered by the moſt memorable Sir *Francis Drake* in his Voyage about the world, in regard whereof this is ſtiled *New England*, being in the ſame latitude *New France* of it is Northwards, Southwards is *Virginia*, and all the adioyning continent with new *Granado*, new *Spaine*, new *Andoloſia*, and the *Weſt-Indies*. Now becauſe I haue beene ſo oft asked ſuch ſtrange queſtions of the goodneſſe and greatneſſe of thoſe ſpatious Tracts of Land, how they can be thus long vnknowne, or not poſſeſſed by the *Spaniards*, and many ſuch like demands; I intreat your pardons if I chance to be too plaine or tedious in relating my knowledge for plaine mens ſatisfaction.

The ſituation of New England.

Florida is the next adioyning to the *Indies*, which vnproſperouſly was attempted to be planted by the French, a Countrey farre bigger then *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, yet little knowne to any Chriſtian, but by the wonderfull endeuours of *Ferdinando de Soto*, a valiant *Spaniard*, whoſe writings in this age is the beſt guide knowne to ſearch thoſe parts.

Notes of *Florida*.

Virginia is no Ile as many doe imagine, but part of the Continent adioyning to *Florida*, whoſe bounds may be ſtretched to the magnitude thereof, without offence to any Chriſtian Inhabitant, for from the degrees of thirtie to forty eight, his Maieſty hath now enlarged his Letters Patents. The Coaſt extending South-weſt

Notes of *Virginia*.

weſt and North-eaſt about ſixteene or ſeuenteene hundred miles, but to follow it aboord the ſhore may well be three thouſand miles at the leaſt: of which twentie miles is the moſt giues entrance into the Bay of *Chiſapeacke*, where is the London Plantation, within which is a Countrey, as you may perceiue by the Map, of that little I diſcouered, may well ſuffice three hundred thouſand people to inhabit: but of it, and the diſcoueries of Sir *Ralph Laine* and Maſter *Heriot*, Captaine *Goſnold*, and Captaine *Waymouth*, they haue writ ſo largely, that poſteritie may be bettered by the fruits of their labours. But for diuers others that haue ranged thoſe parts ſince, eſpecially this Countrey now called *New England*, within a kenning ſometimes of the ſhore; ſome touching in one place, ſome in another; I muſt intreat them pardon me for omitting them, or if I offend in ſaying, that their true deſcriptions were concealed, or neuer were well obſerued, or died with the Authors, ſo that the Coaſt is yet ſtill but euen as a Coaſt vnknowne and vndiſcouered. I haue had ſix or ſeuen ſeuerall plots of thoſe Northerne parts, ſo vnlike each to other, or reſemblance of the Country, as they did me no more good then ſo much waſte paper, though they coſt me more, it may bee it was not my chance to ſee the beſt; but leſt others may be deceiued as I was, or through dangerous ignorance hazard themſelues as I did, I haue drawne a Map from point to point, Ile to Ile, and Harbour to Harbour, with the Soundings, Sands, Rocks, and Land-markes, as I paſſed cloſe aboord the ſhore in a little Boat; although there bee many things to bee obſerued, which the haſte of other affaires did cauſe me to omit: for being ſent more to get preſent Commodities, then knowledge of any diſcoueries for any future good, I had not power to ſearch as I would; yet it will ſerue to direct any ſhall goe that waies to ſafe Harbours and the Saluages habitations: what Merchandize and Commodities for their labours they may finde, this following diſcourſe ſhall plainly demonſtrate.

Thus you may ſee of theſe three thouſand miles, more then halfe is yet vnknowne to any purpoſe, no not ſo much as the borders of the Sea are yet certainly diſcouered: as for the goodneſſe and true ſubſtance of the Land, we are for moſt part yet altogether ignorant of them, vnleſſe it be thoſe parts about the Bay of *Chiſapeack* and *Sagadahock*, but onely here and there where we haue touched or ſeene a little, the edges of thoſe large Dominions which doe ſtretch themſelues into the maine, God doth know how many thouſand miles, whereof we can yet no more iudge, then a ſtranger that ſaileth betwixt *England* and *France*, can deſcribe the harbours and dangers by landing here or there in ſome Riuer or Bay, tell thereby the goodneſſe and ſubſtance of *Spaine*, *Italy*, *Germany*, *Bohemia*, *Hungaria*, and the reſt; nay, there are many haue liued fortie yeeres in London, and yet haue ſcarce beene ten miles out of the Citie: ſo are there many haue beene in *Virginia* many yeeres, and in *New England* many times, that doe know little more then the place they doe inhabit, or the Port where they fiſhed, and when they come home, they will vndertake they know all *Virginia* and *New England*, as if they were but two Pariſhes or little Ilands. By this you may perceiue how much they erre, that thinke euery one that hath beene in *Virginia* or *New England*, vnderſtandeth or knoweth what either of them are; Or that the Spaniards know one halfe quarter of thoſe large Territories they poſſeſſe, no not ſo much as the true circumference of *Terra incognita*, whoſe large Dominions may equalize the goodneſſe and greatneſſe of *America* for any thing yet knowne. It is ſtrange with what ſmall power he doth range in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and few will vnderſtand the truth of his ſtrength in *America*: where hauing ſo much to keepe with ſuch a pampered force, they need not greatly feare his fury in *Sommer Iles*, *Virginia*, or *New England*, beyond whoſe bounds *America* doth ſtretch many thouſand miles. Into the frozen parts whereof, one Maſter *Hutſon* an Engliſh Mariner, did make the greateſt diſcouerie of any Chriſtian I know, where hee vnfortunately was left by his cowardly Company, for his exceeding deſerts, to end and die a moſt miſerable death.

Obſeruations for preſumptuous ignorant directors.

For

For *Affrica*, had not the induſtrious *Portugals* ranged her vnknowne parts, who would haue ſought for wealth amongſt thoſe fried Regions of blacke brutiſh *Negars*, where notwithſtanding all their wealth and admirable aduentures and endeuours more then one hundred and fortie yeeres, they know not one third part of thoſe blacke habitations. But it is not a worke for euery one to manage ſuch an affaire, as make a diſcouery and plant a Colony, it requires all the beſt parts of art, iudgement, courage, honeſty, conſtancy, diligence, and induſtry, to doe but neere well; ſome are more proper for one thing then another, and therein beſt to be imploied: and nothing breeds more confuſion then miſplacing and miſimploying men in their vndertakings. *Columbus*, *Courtes*, *Pitzara*, *Zoto*, *Magilanus*, and the reſt ſerued more then a Prentiſhip, to learne how to begin their moſt memorable attempts in the *Weſt-Indies*, which to the wonder of all ages ſucceſſefully they effected, when many hundreds of others farre aboue them in the worlds opinion, being inſtructed but by relation, came to ſhame and confuſion in actions of ſmall moment, who doubtleſſe in other matters were both wiſe, diſcreet, generous and couragious. I ſay not this to detract any thing from their incomparable merits, but to anſwer thoſe queſtionleſſe queſtions, that keepe vs backe from imitating the worthineſſe of their braue ſpirits, that aduanced themſelues from poore Souldiers to great Captaines, their poſterity to great Lords, their King to be one of the greateſt Potentates on earth, and the fruits of their labours his greateſt power, glory, and renowne.

The Deſcription of New England.

THat part we call *New England*, is betwixt the degrees of fortie one and fortie fiue, the very meane betwixt the North pole and the line; but that part this Diſcourſe ſpeaketh of, ſtretcheth but from *Penobſcot* to Cape *Cod*, ſome ſeuentie fiue leagues by a right line diſtant each from other; within which bounds I haue ſeene at leaſt fortie ſeuerall habitations vpon the Sea Coaſt, and ſounded about fiue and twentie excellent good Harbours, in many whereof there is anchorage for fiue hundred ſaile of ſhips of any burden; in ſome of them for one thouſand, and more then two hundred Iles ouer-growne with good Timber of diuers ſorts of wood, which doe make ſo many Harbours, as required a longer time then I had to be well obſerued.

The principall Countries or gouernments.

The principall habitation Northward we were at, was *Pennobſcot*: Southward along the Coaſt and vp the Riuers, we found *Meeadacut*, *Segocket*, *Pemaquid*, *Nuſcoucus*, *Sagadahock*, *Aumoughcowgen*, and *Kenebeke*; and to thoſe Countries belong the people of *Segotago*, *Paghhuntanuck*, *Pecopaſſum*, *Taughtanakagnet*, *Warbigganus*, *Naſſaque*, *Maſheroſqueck*, *Wawrigweck*, *Moſhoquen*, *Wakcogo*, *Paſharanack*, &c. To theſe are alied in confederacy, the Countries of *Ancociſco*, *Accomynticus*, *Paſſataquack*, *Aggawom*, and *Naemkeck*: All theſe for any thing I could perceiue, differ little in language, faſhion, or gouernment, though moſt of them be Lords of themſelues, yet they hold the *Baſhabes* of *Penobſcot*, the chiefe and greateſt amongſt them.

The next I can remember by name, are *Mattahunts*, two pleaſant Iles of Groues, Gardens, and Corne fields a league in the Sea from the maine: Then *Totant*, *Maſſachuſet*, *Topent*, *Secaſſaw*, *Totheet*, *Naſnocomacack*, *Accomack*, *Chawum*, *Patuxet*, *Maſſaſoyts*, *Pakanokick*: then Cape *Cod*, by which is *Pawmet* and the Ile *Nawſet*, of the language and alience of them of *Chawum*; the others are called *Maſſachuſets*, and differ ſomewhat in language, cuſtome, and condition: for their Trade and Merchandize, to each of their principall families or habitations, they haue diuers Townes and people belonging, and by their relations and deſcriptions, more then twentie ſeuerall habitations and riuers that ſtretch themſelues farre into the Countrey, euen to the Borders of diuers great Lakes, where they kill and take moſt of their Otters, from *Pennobſcot* to *Sagadahoc*. This Coaſt,

is

is mountainous, and Iles of huge Rockes, but ouer-growne for moſt part, with moſt ſorts of excellent good woods, for building Houſes, Boats, Barks or Ships, with an incredible abundance of moſt ſorts of Fiſh, much Fowle, and ſundry ſorts of good Fruits for mans vſe.

Betwixt *Sagadahock*, & *Sawocatuck*, there is but two or three Sandy Bayes, but betwixt that and Cape *Iames* very many: eſpecially the Coaſt of the *Maſſachuſets* is ſo indifferently mixed with high Clay or Sandy clifts in one place, and the tracts of large long ledges of diuers ſorts, and Quaries of ſtones in other places, ſo ſtrangely diuided with tinctured veines of diuers colours: as Free-ſtone for building, Slate for tyling, ſmooth ſtone to make Furnaſſes and Forges for Glaſſe and Iron, and Iron Ore ſufficient conueniently to melt in them; but the moſt part ſo reſembleth the Coaſt of *Deuonſhire*, I thinke moſt of the clifts would make ſuch Lime-ſtone: if they bee not of theſe qualities, they are ſo like they may deceiue a better iudgement then mine: all which are ſo neere adioyning to thoſe other aduantages I obſerued in theſe parts, that if the Ore proue as good Iron and Steele in thoſe parts as I know it is within the bounds of the Countrey, I dare ingage my head (hauing but men skilfull to worke the Simples there growing) to haue all things belonging to the building and rigging of ſhips of any proportion and good Merchandiſe for their fraught, within a ſquare of ten or foureteene leagues, and it were no hard matter to proue it within a leſſe limitation.

And ſurely by reaſon of thoſe ſandy clifts, and clifts of rocks, both which we ſaw ſo planted with Gardens and Corne fields, and ſo well inhabited with a goodly, ſtrong, and well proportioned people, beſides the greatneſſe of the Timber growing on them, the greatneſſe of the Fiſh, and the moderate temper of the aire (for of fiue and forty not a man was ſicke, but two that were many yeares diſeaſed before they went, notwithſtanding our bad lodging and accidentall diet) who can but approue this a moſt excellent place, both for health and fertilitie: and of all the foure parts of the world I haue yet ſeene not inhabited, could I haue but meanes to tranſport a Colony, I would rather liue here then any where, and if it did not maintaine it ſelfe, were we but once indifferently well ſitted, let vs ſtarue. *A proofe of an excellent clime.*

The maine ſtaple from hence to bee extracted for the preſent, to produce the reſt, is Fiſh, which howbeit may ſeeme a meane and a baſe Commodity; yet who will but truly take the paines and conſider the ſequell, I thinke will allow it well worth the labour. It is ſtrange to ſee, what great aduentures the hopes of ſetting forth men of warre to rob the induſtrious innocent would procure, or ſuch maſſie promiſes in groſſe, though more are choaked then well fed with ſuch haſtie hopes. But who doth not know that the poore *Hollanders* chiefely by fiſhing at a great charge and labour in all weathers in the open Sea, are made a people ſo hardy and induſtrious, and by the venting this poore Commoditie to the Eaſterlings for as meane, which is Wood, Flax, Pitch, Tarre, Rozen, Cordage, and ſuch like; which they exchange againe to the *French*, *Spaniards*, *Portugals*, and *Engliſh*, &c. for what they want, are made ſo mighty, ſtrong, and rich, as no ſtate but *Venice* of twice their magnitude is ſo well furniſhed, with ſo many faire Cities, goodly Townes, ſtrong Fortreſſes, and that abundance of ſhipping, and all ſorts of Merchandize, as well of Gold, Siluer, Pearles, Diamonds, pretious Stones, Silkes, Veluets, and Cloth of Gold, as Fiſh, Pitch, Wood, or ſuch groſſe Commodities? What voiages and diſcoueries, Eaſt and Weſt, North and South, yea about the world, make they? What an Army by Sea and Land haue they long maintained, in deſpight of one of the greateſt Princes of the world, and neuer could the *Spaniard* with all his Mines of Gold and Siluer, pay his debts, his friends, and Army, halfe ſo truly as the *Hollanders* ſtill haue done by this contemptible Trade of Fiſh. Diuers (I know) may alleage many other aſſiſtances; but this is the chiefeſt Mine, and *Staple Commodities preſent.* *Obſeruations of the Hollanders.*

the Sea the ſource of thoſe ſiluer ſtreames of all their vertue, which hath made them now the very miracle of induſtry, the onely paterne of perfection for theſe affaires: and the benefit of fiſhing is that *Primum Mobile* that turnes all their ſpheares to this height, of plentie, ſtrength, honor, and exceeding great admiration.

Note. Herring, Cod, and Ling, is that triplicitie, that makes their wealth and ſhippings multiplicitie ſuch as it is: and from which (few would thinke it) they ſhould draw ſo many millions yeerely as they doe, as more in particular in the trials of *New England* you may ſee; and ſuch an incredible number of ſhips, that breeds them ſo many Sailers, Mariners, Souldiers, and Merchants, neuer to be wrought out of that Trade, and fit for any other. I will not deny but others may gaine as well as they that will vſe it, though not ſo certainly, nor ſo much in quantitie, for want of experience: and this Herring they take vpon the Coaſt of *England* and *Scotland*, their Cod and Ling vpon the Coaſt of *Iceland*, and in the North ſeas, if wee conſider what gaines the *Hamburgans*, the *Biskinners*, and *French* make by fiſhing; nay, but how many thouſands this fiftie or ſixty yeeres haue beene maintained by *New found land*, where they take nothing but ſmall Cod, where of the greateſt they make Cor-fiſh, and the reſt is hard dried, which we call Poore-Iohn, would amaze a man with wonder. If then from all thoſe parts ſuch paines is taken for this poore gaines of Fiſh, eſpecially by the *Hollanders*, that hath but little of their owne, for building of ſhips and ſetting them to ſea; but at the ſecond, third, fourth, or fift hand, drawne from ſo many parts of the world ere they come together to be vſed in thoſe voiages: If theſe (I ſay) can gaine, why ſhould we more doubt then they; but doe much better, that may haue moſt of all thoſe things at our doores for taking and making, and here are no hard Landlords to racke vs with high rents, or extorting fines, nor tedious pleas in Law to conſume vs with their many yeeres diſputation for Iuſtice; no multitudes to occaſion ſuch impediments to good orders as in popular States: ſo freely hath God and his Maieſtie beſtowed thoſe bleſſings, on them will attempt to obraine them, as here euery man may be maſter of his owne labour and

Note. land, or the greateſt part (if his Maieſties royall meaning be not abuſed) and if he haue nothing but his hands, he may ſet vp his Trade; and by induſtry quickly grow rich, ſpending but halfe that time well, which in *England* we abuſe in idleneſſe, worſe, or as ill. Here is ground as good as any lieth in the height of forty one, forty two, forty three, &c. which is as temperate, and as fruitfull as any other parallel in the world.

Examples of the Altitude comparatiuely. As for example, on this ſide the line, Weſt of it in the South Sea, is *Nona Albion*, diſcouered as is ſaid by Sir *Francis Drake*: Eaſt from it is the moſt temperate part of *Portugall*, the ancient Kingdomes of *Galizia*, *Biſky*, *Nauarre*, *Aragon*, *Cattilonia*, *Caſtillia* the old, and the moſt moderateſt of *Caſtillia* the new, & *Valentia*, which is the greateſt part of *Spaine*; which if the Hiſtories be true, in the *Romans* time abounded no leſſe with gold & ſiluer Mines, then now the *Weſt-Indies*, the *Romans* then vſing the *Spaniards* to worke in thoſe Mines, as now the *Spaniards* doe the *Indians*. In *France* the Prouinces of *Gaſcony*, *Langadecke*, *Auignon*, *Prouince*, *Dolphine*, *Pyamont*, and *Turyne*, are in the ſame parallel, which are the beſt and richeſt parts of *France*. In *Italy* the Prouinces of *Genua*, *Lumbardy*, and *Verona*, with a great part of the moſt famous ſtate of *Venice*, the Dukedomes of *Bononia*, *Mantua*, *Ferrara*, *Rauenna*, *Bologna*, *Florence*, *Piſa*, *Sienna*, *Vrbine*, *Ancona*, and the ancient Citie and Countrey of *Rome*, with a great part of the Kingdome of *Naples*. In *Slauonia*, *Iſtria*, and *Dalmatia*, with the Kingdomes of *Albania*. In *Grecia* thoſe famous Kingdomes of *Macedonia*, *Bullulgaria*, *Theſſalia*, *Thracia*, or *Romania*, where is ſeated the moſt pleaſant and plentifull Citie in *Europe*, *Conſtantinople*.

In *Spaine*.

In *France*.

In *Italy*.

In *Greece*.

In *Aſia*. In *Aſia* in the ſame latitude, are the temperateſt parts of *Natolia*, *Armenia*, *Perſia*,

Perſia, and *China*; beſides diuers other large Countries and Kingdomes in thoſe most milde and temperate Regions of *Aſia*. Southward in the ſame height is the richeſt of Gold Mines, *Chily*, and *Baldiuia*; and the mouth of the great Riuer of *Plate*, &c. for all the reſt of the world in that height is yet vnknowne. Beſides theſe reaſons, mine owne eies that haue ſeene a great part of thoſe Cities and their Kingdomes (as well as it) can finde no aduantage they haue in Nature but this, they are beautified by the long labour and diligence of induſtrious people and art; This is onely as God made it when hee created the world: Therefore I conclude, if the heart and intrailes of thoſe Regions were ſought, if their Land were cultured, planted, and manured by men of induſtry, iudgement, and experience; what hope is there, or what need they doubt, hauing the aduantages of the Sea, but it might equalize any of theſe famous Kingdomes in all commodities, pleaſures, and conditions, ſeeing euen the very hedges doe naturally affoord vs ſuch plentie, as no ſhip need returne away emptie, and onely vſe but the ſeaſon of the Sea. Fiſh will returne an honeſt gaine, beſides all other aduantages, her treaſures hauing yet neuer beene opened, nor her originals waſted, conſumed, nor abuſed. Beyond the line.

And whereas it is ſaid the *Hollanders* ſerue the Eaſterlings themſelues, and other parts that want with Herring, Ling, and wet Cod: The Eaſterlings, a great part of *Europe*, with Sturgion and Cauiare, as the Blacke Sea doth *Grecia*, *Podolia*, *Sagonia*, *Natolia*, and the *Helleſpont*. Cape *Blanke*, *Spaine*, *Portugall*, and the *Leuant*, with Mulit and Puttargo. *New found land*, the moſt part of the chiefe Southerne Ports in *Europe*, with a thin Poore-Iohn, which hath beene ſo long, ſo much ouer-laied with Fiſhers, as the fiſhing decaieth, ſo that many oft times are conſtrained to returne with a ſmall fraught. *Norway* and *Poland* affoords Pitch and Tarre, Maſts and Yards. *Swethland* and *Ruſſia*, Iron and Ropes. *France* and *Spaine*, Canuaſe, Wine, Steele, Iron, and Oile. *Italy* and *Greece*, Silkes and Fruits. I dare boldly ſay, becauſe I haue ſeene naturally growing or breeding in thoſe parts, the ſame materials that all theſe are made of, they may as well bee had here, or the moſt part of them within the diſtance of ſeuentie leagues for ſome few wages, as from all thoſe parts, vſing but the ſame meanes to haue them that they doe; but ſurely in *Virginia*, their moſt tender and daintieſt fruits or commodities, would be as perfit as theirs, by reaſon of the heat, if not in *New England*, and with all thoſe aduantages. The particular ſtaple commodities that may be had by induſtry.

First, the ground is ſo fertill, that queſtion leſſe it is capable of producing any Graine, Fruits, or Seeds, you will ſow or plant, growing in the Regions aforenamed: But it may be not to that perfection of delicacy, becauſe the Summer is not ſo hot, and the Winter is more cold in thoſe parts we haue yet tried neere the Sea ſide, then wee finde in the ſame height in *Europe* or *Aſia*: yet I made a Garden vpon the top of a Rocky Ile in three and forty degrees and an halfe, foure leagues from the maine in May, that grew ſo well, as it ſerued vs for Sallets in June and Iuly. All ſorts of Cattle may here be bred and fed in the Iles or Peninſulaes ſecurely for nothing. In the *Interim*, till they increaſe (if need be) obſeruing the ſeaſons, I durſt vndertake to haue Corne enough from the Saluages for three hundred men, for a few trifles; and if they ſhould be vntowards, as it is moſt certaine they will, thirtie or fortie good men will be ſufficient to bring them all in ſubiection, and make this prouiſion, if they vnderſtand what to doe; two hundred whereof may eight or nine moneths in the yeere be imploied in helping the Fiſher-men, till the reſt prouide other neceſſaries, fit to furniſh vs with other Commodities. The nature of the ground approued.

In March, Aprill, May, and halfe Iune, heere is Cod in abundance; In May, June, Iuly, and Auguſt, Mullit and Sturgion, whoſe Roes doe make Cauiare and Puttargo; Herring, if any deſire them: I haue taken many out of the bellies of Cods, ſome in nets; but the Saluages compare the ſtore in the Sea with the haires of their heads: and ſurely there are an incredible abundance vpon this Coaſt. The ſeaſons for fiſhing approued.

In the end of Auguſt, September, October, and November, you may haue Cod againe to make Core-fiſh or Poore-Iohn: Hake you may haue when the Cod failes in Summer, if you will fiſh in the night, which is better then Cod. Now each hundred you take here, is as good as two or three hundred in *New found Land*; ſo that halfe the labour in hooking, ſplitting and touring, is ſaued: And you may haue your fiſh at what market you will, before they haue any in *New found land*, where their fiſhing is chiefely but in Iune and Iuly, where it is here in March, Aprill, May, September, October and November, as is ſaid; ſo that by reaſon of this Plantation, the Merchants may haue their fraught both out and home, which yeelds an aduantage worth conſideration. Your Core-fiſh you may in like manner tranſport as you ſee cauſe, to ſerue the Ports in *Portugall*, as *Lisbone*, *Auera*, *Porta* Port, and diuers others, (or what market you pleaſe) before your Ilanders returne. They being ued to the ſeaſon in the open Sea, and you hauing a double ſeaſon, and fiſhing before your doores, may euery night ſleep quietly aſhore with good cheere, and what fires you will, or when you pleaſe with your wiues and family: they onely and their ſhips in the maine Ocean, that muſt carie and containe all they vſe, beſides their fraught. The Mullits here are in that abundance, you may take them with nets ſometimes by hundreds, where at Cape *Blanke* they hooke them; yet thoſe are but a foot and a halfe in length; theſe two, three, or foure, as oft I haue meaſured, which makes me ſuſpect they are ſome other kinde of fiſh, though they ſeeme the ſame, both in faſhion and goodneſſe. Much Salmon ſome haue found vp the Riuers as they haue paſſed, and here the aire is ſo temperate, as all theſe at any time may be preſerued. Now, young Boies and Girles Saluages, or any other bee they neuer ſuch idlers, may turne, carie or returne a fiſh, without either ſhame or any great paine: He is very idle that is paſt twelue yeeres of age and cannot doe ſo much, and ſhe is very old that cannot ſpin a threed to make Engins to catch a fiſh.

Imploiment for poore people and fatherleſſe children.

The facilitie of the Plantation.

For their tranſportation, the ſhips that goe there to fiſh may tranſport the firſt; who for their paſſage will ſpare the charge of double manning their ſhips, which they muſt do in *New found land* to get their fraught; but one third part of that company are onely proper to ſerue a ſtage, carie a Barrow, and turne Poore-Iohn; notwithſtanding, they muſt haue meat, drinke, clothes, & paſſage ſo well as the reſt. Now all I deſire is but this, That thoſe that voluntarily will ſend ſhipping, ſhould make here the beſt choice they can, or accept ſuch as ſhall bee preſented them to ſerue them at that rate: and their ſhips returning leaue ſuch with me, with the value of that they ſhould receiue comming home, in ſuch prouiſions and neceſſarie tooles, armes, bedding, apparell, ſalt, nets, hookes, lines, and ſuch like, as they ſpare of the remainings; who till the next returne may keepe their Boats, and doe them many other profitable offices. Prouided, I haue men of abilitie to teach them their functions, and a company fit for Souldiers to be ready vpon any occaſion, because of the abuſes that haue beene offered the poore Saluages, and the libertie that both French and Engliſh, or any that will, haue to deale with them as they pleaſe; whoſe diſorders will be hard to reforme, and the longer the worſe. Now ſuch order with facilitie might be taken, with euery Port, Towne, or Citie, with free power to conuert the benefit of their fraughts to what aduantage they pleaſe, and increaſe their numbers as they ſee occaſion, who euer as they are able to ſubſiſt of themſelues, may begin the new Townes in *New England*, in memory of their old: which freedome being confined but to the neceſſitie of the generall good, the euent (with Gods helpe) might produce an honeſt, a noble, and a profitable emulation.

Preſent Commodities.

Salt vpon Salt may aſſuredly be made, if not at the firſt in ponds, yet till they be prouided this may be vſed: then the ſhips may tranſport Kine, Horſe, Goats, courſe Cloth, and ſuch Commodities as we want; by whoſe arriuall may be made that proviſion of fiſh to fraught the ſhips that they ſtay not; and then if the Sailers goe for wages it matters not, it is hard if this returne defray not the charge: but

but care muſt be had they arriue in the Spring, or elſe that proviſion be made for them againſt winter. Of certaine red berries called Kermes, which is worth ten ſhillings the pound, but of theſe haue beene ſold for thirty or forty ſhillings the pound, may yeerely be gathered a good quantity. Of the Muskat may be well raiſed gaines worth their labour, that will endeuour to make triall of their goodneſſe. Of Beuers, Otters and Martins, blacke Foxes, and Furres of price, may yeerely be had ſix or ſeuen thouſand, and if the trade of the French were preuented, many more: 25000. this yeere were brought from thoſe northern parts into *France*, of which trade we may haue as good part as the *French* if we take good courſes. Of Mines of Gold and Siluer, Copper, and probabilities of Lead, Cryſtall and Allum, I could ſay much if relations were good aſſurances; it is true indeed, I made many trialls according to the inſtructions I had, which doth perſwade me I need not deſpaire but that there are metals in the Country: but I am no Alcumiſt, nor will promiſe more then I know: which is, who will vndertake the rectifying of an iron Forge, if thoſe that buy meat and drinke, coles, ore, and all neceſſaries at a deare rate, gaine, where all theſe things are to be had for taking vp, in my opinion cannot loſe.

Kermes.

Muſquaſſe.

Beuers.

Mines.

Of woods, ſeeing there is ſuch plenty of all ſorts, if thoſe that build ſhips and boats, buy wood at ſo great a price, as it is in *England*, *Spaine*, *France* and *Holland*, and all other proviſions for the nouriſhment of mans life, liue well by their trade; when labour is all required to take theſe neceſſaries without any other tax, what hazard will be here but to doe much better, and what commodity in Europe doth more decay then wood? for the goodneſſe of the ground, let vs take it fertill or barren, or as it is, ſeeing it is certaine it beares fruits to nouriſh and feed man & beaſt as well as *England*, and the Sea thoſe of all ſorts of fiſhes I haue related: thus ſeeing all good things for mans ſuſtenance may with this facility be had by a little extraordinary labour, till that tranſported be increaſed, & all neceſſaries for ſhipping onely for labour, to which may added the aſſiſtance of the Saluages which may eaſily be had, if they be diſcreetly handled in their kinds, towards fiſhing, planting, and deſtroying woods, what gaines might be raiſed if this were followed (when there is but once men to fill your ſtoreheuſes dwelling there, you may ſerue all Europe better and farre cheaper then can the Iland Fiſhers, or the Hollanders, Cape-blanke, or *Newfound land*, who muſt be at much more charge then you) may eaſily be coniectured by this example.

Woods.

Two thouſand will fit out a ſhip of 200. tunnes, & one of 100. tuns, if of the dry fiſh they both make fraughe, that of 200. and goe for *Spaine*, ſell it but at ten ſhillings a quintall, but commonly it giues fifteene or twenty, eſpecially when it comme firſt, which amounts to 3. or 4000. pound, but ſay but ten, which is the loweſt, allowing the reſt for waſte, it amounts at that rate to 3000. which is the whole charge of your two ſhips and the equipage, then the returne of the mony and the fraught of the ſhip for the vintage or any other voyage is cleere gaine, with your ſhip of one hundred tunnes of traine Oile and Cor-fiſh, beſides the Beuers and other commodities, and that you may haue at home within ſix moneths if God pleaſe to ſend but an ordinary paſſage; then ſauing halfe this charge by the not ſtaying of your ſhips, your victuall, ouerplus of men and wages, with her fraught thither with neceſſaries for the Planters, the Salt being there made, as alſo may the net and lines within a ſhort time; if nothing may be expected but this, it might in time equalize your Hollanders gaines, if not exceede them, hauing their fraughts alwaies ready againſt the arriuall of the ſhips, this would ſo increaſe our ſhipping and ſailers, and ſo incourage and imploy a great part of our Idlers and others that want imployment fitting their qualities at home, where they ſhame to doe that they would doe abroad, that could they but once taſte the ſweet fruits of their owne labours, doubtleſſe many thouſands would be adviſed by good diſcipline to take more pleaſure in honeſt induſtry, then in their humors of diſſolute idleneſſe.

An example of the gaines vpon euery yeere or ſix moneths returne.

But

A description of the Countrey in particular, and their situations.

But to returne a little more to the particulars of this Countrey, which I intermingle thus with my proiects and reasons, not being so sufficiently yet acquainted in those parts, to write fully the estate of the Sea, the Aire, the Land, the Fruits, their Rocks, the People, the Gouernment, Religion, Territories, Limitations, Friends and Foes: But as I gathered from their niggardly relations in a broken language, during the time I ranged those Countries, &c. the most Northerne part I was at, was the Bay of *Pennobscot*, which is East and West, North and South, more then ten leagues: but such were my occasions, I was constrained to be satisfied of them I found in the Bay, that the Riuer ranne farre vp into the Land, and was well inhabited with many people, but they were from their habitations, either fishing amongst the Iles, or hunting the Lakes and Woods for Deere and Beuers: the Bay is full of great Iles of one, two, six or eight miles in length, which diuides it into many faire and excellent good Harbours. On the East of it are the *Tarrentines*, their mortall enemies, where inhabit the French, as they report, that liue with those people as one Nation or Family: And Northwest of *Pennobscot* is *Mecaddacut*, at the foot of a high Mountaine, a kinde of fortresse against the *Tarrentines*, adioyning to the high Mountaines of *Pennobscot*, against whose feet doth beat the Sea; but ouer all the Land, Iles, or other impediments, you may well see them foureteene or eighteene leagues from their situation. *Segocket* is the next, then *Nuskoncus*, *Pemmaquid*, and *Sagadahock*: vp this Riuer, where was the Westerne Plantation, are *Aumoughcawgen*, *Kinnebeke*, and diuers others, where are planted some Corne fields. Along this Riuer thirtie or fortie miles, I saw nothing but great high clifts of barren Rocks ouergrowne with Wood, but where the Saluages dwell there the ground is excellent salt, and fertill. Westward of this Riuer is the Country of *Aucocisco*, in the bottome of a large deepe Bay, full of many great Iles, which diuides it into many good Harbours. *Sawocotuck* is the next, in the edge of a large Sandy Bay, which hath many Rockes and Iles, but few good Harbours, but for Barkes I yet know; but all this Coast to *Pennobscot*, and as farre as I could see Eastward of it is nothing, but such high craggy clifty Rockes and stony Iles, that I wonder such great Trees could grow vpon so hard foundations. It is a Countrey rather to affright then delight one, and how to describe a more plaine spectacle of desolation, or more barren, I know not, yet are those rocky Iles so furnished with good Woods, Springs, Fruits, Fish and Fowle, and the Sea the strangest Fish-pond I euer saw, that it makes me thinke, though the coast be rocky and thus affrightable, the Vallies and Plaines and interior parts may well notwithstanding be very fertill. But there is no Country so fertill hath not some part barren, and *New-England* is great enough to make many Kingdomes and Countries, were it all inhabited. As you passe the coast still westward, *Accominticus* and *Passataquack* are two conuenient Harbours for small Barkes; and a good Country within their craggy clifts. *Augoan* is the next: this place might content a right curious judgement, but there are many sands at the entrance of the Harbour, and the worst is, it is imbayed too farre from the deepe Sea; here are many rising hils, and on their tops and descents are many corne fields and delightfull groues: On the East is an Ile of two or three leagues in length, the one halfe plaine marish ground, fit for pasture or salt Ponds, with many faire high groues of Mulbery trees and Gardens; there is also Okes, Pines, Walnuts, and other wood to make this place an excellent habitation, being a good and safe Harbour.

Naiemkeck, though it be more rocky ground, for *Augoan* is sandy, not much inferiour neither for the harbour, nor any thing I could perceiue but the multitude of people: from hence doth stretch into the Sea the faire head and *Tragabigzanda*, now called Cape *An*, fronted with the three Iles wee called the three Turkes heads; to the north of this doth enter a great Bay, where we found some habitations and Corne fields, they report a faire Riuer and at least 30. habitations

ons doth poſſeſſe this Country. But becauſe the French had got their trade, I had no leiſure to diſcouer it: the Iles of *Matabuntt* are on the weſt ſide of this Bay, where are many Iles and ſome Rocks that appeare a great height aboue the water like the Pyramides in Ægypt, and amongſt them many good Harbours, and then the country of the *Maſſachuſits*, which is the Paradice of all thoſe parts, for here are many Iles planted with Corne, Groues, Mulberies, ſauuage Gardens and good Harbours, the Coaſt is for the moſt part high clayie ſandy cliffs, the ſea Coaſt as you paſſe ſhewes you all along large Corne fields, and great troupes of well proportioned people: but the French hauing remained here neere ſix weekes, left nothing for vs to take occaſion to examine the Inhabitants relations, *viz.* if there be three thouſand people vpon thoſe Iles, and that the Riuer doth pierce many daies iourney the entrailes of that Country: we found the people in thoſe parts very kinde, but in their fury no leſſe valiant, for vpon a quarrell we fought with forty or fifty of them, till they had ſpent all their Arrowes, and then we tooke ſix or ſeuen of their Canowes, which towards the euening they ranſomed for Beuer ſkinnes, and at *Quonahaſit* falling out there but with one of them, he with three others croſſed the Harbour in a Canow to certaine rockes whereby wee muſt paſſe, and there let flie their Arrowes for our ſhot, till we were out of danger, yet one of them was ſlaine, and another ſhot through his thigh. An Indian ſlaine, another ſhot.

Then come you to *Accomacke* an excellent good Harbour, good land, and no want of any thing but induſtrious people: after much kindneſſe, wee fought alſo with them, though ſome were hurt, ſome ſlaine, yet within an houre after they became friends. *Cape Cod* is the next preſents it ſelfe, which is onely a headland of high hils, ouer-growne with ſhrubby Pines, hurts and ſuch traſh, but an excellent harbour for all weathers. This Cape is made by the maine Sea on the one ſide, and a great Bay on the other in forme of a Sickell, on it doth inhabit the people of *Pawmet*, and in the bottome of the Bay them of *Chawum*: towards the South and South-weſt of this Cape, is found a long and dangerous ſhoule of rocks and ſand, but ſo farre as I incercled it, I found thirty fathome water and a ſtrong currant, which makes mee thinke there is a chanell about this Shoule, where is the beſt and greateſt fiſh to be had winter and ſummer in all the Country; but the Sauages ſay there is no Chanell, but that the Shoales beginne from the maine at *Pawmet* to the Ile of *Namſet*, and ſo extends beyond their knowledge into the Sea. The next to this is *Capawncke*, and thoſe abounding Countries of Copper, Corne, People and Mineralls, which I went to diſcouer this laſt yeere, but becauſe I miſcarried by the way I will leaue them till God pleaſe I haue better acquaintance with them.

The *Maſſachuſets* they report ſometimes haue warres with the *Baſhabes* of *Penobſcot*, & are not alwaies friends with them of *Chawum* and their alliance, but now they are all friends, and haue each trade with other ſo farre as they haue ſociety on each others frontiers, for they make no ſuch voyages as from *Penobſcot* to *Cape Cod*, ſeldome to *Maſſachſet*. In the North as I haue ſaid they haue begun to plant Corne, whereof the ſouth part hath ſuch plenty as they haue what they will from them of the North, and in the Winter much more plenty of fiſh and fowle, but both Winter & Summer hath it in one part or other all the yeere, being the meane and moſt indifferent temper betwixt heat and cold, of all the Regions betwixt the Line and the Pole, but the Furs Northward are much better, and in much more plenty then Southward.

The remarkableſt Iles and Mountaines for land Markes are theſe: the higheſt Ile is *Sorico* in the Bay of *Penobſcot*, but the three Iles, and the Iles of *Matinack* are much further in the Sea: *Meriuacus* is alſo three plaine Iles, but many great Rocks: *Monahigan* is a round high Ile, and cloſe by it *Monanis*, betwixt which is a ſmall Harbour where we rid; in *Damariſcotta* Iles is ſuch another, *Sagadahocke* is knowne by *Saſquin*, and foure or fiue Iles in their mouth. *Smith.* Iles are theape The land Markes.

together

gether, none néere them against *Accomintycus*: the three *Turkes heads*, are three Iles, ſeene farre to Sea-ward in regard of the Head-land. The chiefe Head-lands, are onely Cape *Tragabigzanda*, and Cape *Cod*, now called Cape *Iames*, and Cape *Anne*.

The chiefe Mountaines, them of *Pennobſcot*, the twinkling Mountaine of *Acociſco*, the great Mountaine of *Saſſanow*, and the high Mountaine of *Maſſachuſet*. Each of which you ſhall finde in the Map, their places, forme, and altitudes.

Herbs and Fruits

The waters are moſt pure, proceeding from the intrailes of rocky Mountaines: the Herbs and Fruits are of many ſorts and kinds, as Alkermes, Currans, Mulberies, Vines, Reſpiſes, Gooſeberies, Plums, Wall-nuts, Cheſſe-nuts, Small-nuts, Pumpions, Gourds, Strawberies, Beanes, Peaſe, and Maize; a kinde or two of Flax, wherewith they make Nets, Lines, and Ropes, both ſmall and great, very ſtrong for their quantities.

Woods.

Oake is the chiefe wood, of which there is great difference, in regard of the ſoyle where it groweth, Firre, Pine, Wall-nut, Cheſſe-nut, Birtch, Aſh, Elme, Cipris, Cedar, Mulbery, Plum tree, Hazell, Saxefras, and many other ſorts.

Birds.

Eagles, Grips, diuers ſorts of Hawkes, Craines, Geeſe, Brants, Cormorants, Ducks, Cranes, Swannes, Sheldrakes, Teale, Meawes, Gulls, Turkies, Diuedoppers, and many other ſorts whoſe names I know not.

Fiſhes.

Whales, Grompus, Porkpiſces, Turbut, Sturgion, Cod, Hake, Haddocke, Cole, Cuske or ſmall Ling, Sharke, Mackarell, Herring, Mullit, Baſe, Pinnacks, Cunners, Pearch, Eeles, Crabs, Lobſters, Muſtels, Wilks, Oiſters, Clamps, Periwinkels, and diuers others, &c.

Beaſts.

Moos, a beaſt bigger than a Stag, Deare red and fallow, Beuers, Wolues, Foxes both blacke and other, Arougcunds, wilde Cats, Beares, Otters, Martins, Fitches, Muſquaſſus, and diuers other ſorts of Vermin whoſe names I know not: all theſe and diuers other good things doe here for want of vſe ſtill increaſe and decreaſe with little diminution, whereby they grow to that abundance, you ſhall ſcarce finde any bay, ſhallow ſhore or Cone of ſand, where you may not take many clamps or Lobſters, or both at your pleaſure, and in many places load your Boat if you pleaſe, nor Iles where you finde not Fruits, Birds, Crabs, and Muſtels, or all of them; for taking at a low water Cod, Cuske, Hollibut, Scate, Turbut, Mackarell, or ſuch like are taken plentifully in diuers ſandy Bayes, ſtore of Mullit, Baſes, and diuers other ſorts of ſuch excellent fiſh as many as their Net can hold: no Riuer where there is not plenty of Sturgion, or Salmon, or both, all which are to be had in abundance obſeruing but their ſeaſons: but if a man will goe at Chriſtmas to gather Cherries in Kent, though there be plenty in Summer, he may be deceiued; ſo here theſe plenties haue each their ſeaſons, as I haue expreſſed; we for the moſt part had little but bread and Vinegar, and though the moſt part of Iuly when the fiſhing decayed, they wrought all day, lay abroad in the Iles all night, and liued on what they found, yet were not ſicke: But I would wiſh none long put himſelfe to ſuch plunges, except neceſſity conſtraine it: yet worthy is that perſon to ſtarue that here cannot liue if he haue ſenſe, ſtrength and health, for there is no ſuch penury of theſe bleſſings in any place but that one hundred men may in two or three houres make their prouiſions for a day, and he that hath experience to manage theſe affaires, with forty or thirty honeſt induſtrious men, might well vndertake (if they dwell in theſe parts) to ſubiect the Sauages, and feed daily two or three hundred men, with as good Corne, Fiſh, and Fleſh as the earth hath of thoſe kinds, and yet make that labour but their pleaſure: prouided that they haue Engines that be proper for their purpoſes. Who can deſire more content that hath ſmall meanes, or but onely his merit to aduance his fortunes, then to tread and plant that ground he hath purchaſed by the hazard of his life; if hee haue but the taſte of vertue and magnanimity, what to ſuch a minde can bee more pleaſant then planting and building a foundation for his poſterity, got from the rude earth by Gods bleſſing and his

A note for men that haue great ſpirits and ſmall meanes.

owne

owne induſtry without preiudice to any, if hee haue any graine of faith or zeale in Religion, what can he doe leſſe hurtfull to any, or more agreeable to God, then to ſeeke to conuert thoſe poore Saluages to know Chriſt and humanity, whoſe labours with diſcretion will triple requite thy charge and paine; what ſo truly ſutes with honour and honeſty, as the diſcouering things vnknowne, erecting Townes, peopling Countries, informing the ignorant, reforming things vniuſt, teaching vertue and gaine to our native mother Country; a Kingdome to attend her, finde imploiment for thoſe that are idle, becauſe they know not what to doe: ſo farre from wronging any, as to cauſe poſterity to remember thee, and remembring thee, euer honour that remembrance with praiſe. Conſider what were the beginnings and endings of the Monarchies of the Chaldeans, the Syrians, the Grecians and Romans, but this one rule; what was it they would not doe for the good of their common weale, or their mother City? For example: *Rome*, what made her ſuch a Monarcheſſe, but onely the aduentures of her youth, not in riots at home, but in dangers abroad, and the iuſtice and iudgement out of their experiences when they grew aged; what was their ruine and hurt but this, the exceſſe of idleneſſe, the fondneſſe of parents, the want of experience in Maieſtrates, the admiration of their vndeſerued honours, the contempt of true merit, their vniuſt iealouſies, their politike incredulities, their hypocriticall ſeeming goodneſſe and their deeds of ſecret lewdneſſe; finally in fine, growing onely formall temporiſts, all that their Predeceſſors got in many yeeres they loſt in a few daies: thoſe by their paines and vertues became Lords of the world, they by their eaſe and vices became ſlaues to their ſeruants; this is the difference betwixt the vſe of armes in the field, and on the monuments of ſtones, the golden age and the leaden age, proſperity and miſery, iuſtice and corruption, ſubſtance and ſhadowes, words and deeds, experience and imagination, making common weales, and marring common weales, the fruits of vertue, and the concluſions of vice.

Then who would liue at home idly, or thinke in himſelfe any worth to liue, onely to eat, drinke and ſleepe, and ſo die; or by conſuming that careleſly, his friends got worthily, or by vſing that miſerably that maintained vertue honeſtly, or for being deſcended nobly, and pine with the vaine vaunt of great kindred in penury, or to maintaine a ſilly ſhew of brauery, toile out thy heart, ſoule and time baſely; by ſhifts, tricks, Cards and Dice, or by relating newes of other mens actions, ſharke here and there for a dinner or ſupper, deceiue thy friends by faire promiſes and diſſimulation, in borrowing where thou neuer meaneſt to pay, offend the Lawes, ſurfet with exceſſe, burthen thy Countrie, abuſe thy ſelfe, deſpaire in want, and then couſen thy Kindred, yea euen thy owne brother, and wiſh thy Parents death (I will not ſay damnation) to haue their eſtates, though thou ſeeſt what honours and rewards the world yet hath for them, that will ſeeke them and worthily deſerue them.

I would bee ſorry to offend, or that any ſhould miſtake my honeſt meaning; for I wiſh good to all, hurt to none: but rich men for the moſt part are growne to that dotage through their pride in their wealth, as though there were no accident could end it or their life.

And what helliſh care doe ſuch take to make it their owne miſery and their Countries ſpoile, eſpecially when there is moſt need of their imploiment, drawing by all manner of inuentions from the Prince and his honeſt Subiects, euen the vitall ſpirits of their powers and eſtates: as if their baggs or brags were ſo powerfull a defence, the malicious could not aſſault them, when they are the onely bait to cauſe vs not onely to bee aſſaulted, but betrayed and murthered in our owne ſecurity ere wee will perceiue it.

An example of ſecure couetouſneſſe.

May not the miſerable ruine of *Conſtantinople*, their impregnable walls, riches and pleaſures laſt taken by the Turke, which were then but a bit in compariſon of their mightineſſe now, remember vs of the effects of priuate couetouſneſſe, at which time the good Emperour held himſelfe rich enough, to haue ſuch rich ſubiects, ſo formall in all exceſſe of vanity, all kinde of delicacy and prodigality: his pouerty when the Turke beſieged the Citizens (whoſe merchandizing thoughts were onely to get wealth) little conceiuing the deſperat reſolution of a valiant expert enemy, left the Emperour ſo long to his concluſions, hauing ſpent all he had to pay his young raw diſcontented Souldiers, that ſuddenly he, they, and their City were all a prey to the deuouring Turke, and what they would not ſpare for the maintenance of them who aduentured their liues to defend them, did ſerue onely their enemies to torment them, their friends and Country, and all Chriſtendome to this preſent day. Let this lamentable example remember you that are rich (ſeeing there are ſuch great theeues in the world to rob you) not grudge to lend ſome proportion to breed them that haue little, yet willing to learne how to defend you, for it is too late when the deed is doing.

The Romans eſtate hath beene worſe then this, for the meere couetouſneſſe and extortion of a few of them ſo moued the reſt, that not hauing any imploiment but contemplation, their great iudgements grew to ſo great malice, as themſelues were ſufficient to deſtroy themſelues by faction; let this moue you to imbrace imployment, for thoſe whoſe educations, ſpirits and iudgements want but your purſes, not only to preuent ſuch accuſtomed dangers, but alſo to gaine more thereby then you haue; and you fathers that are either ſo fooliſhly fond, or ſo miſerably couetous, or ſo wilfully ignorant, or ſo negligently careleſſe, as that you will rather maintaine your children in idle wantonneſſe till they grow your maſters, or become ſo baſely vnkinde that they wiſh nothing but your deaths, ſo that both ſorts grow diſſolute, and although you would wiſh them any where to eſcape the Gallowes and eaſe your cares, though they ſpend you here one, two or three hundred pound a yeere, you would grudge to giue halfe ſo much in aduenture with them to obtaine an eſtate, which in a ſmall time, but with a little aſſiſtance of your prouidence, might bee better then your owne; but if an Angell ſhould tell you any place yet vnknowne can affoord ſuch fortunes, you would not beleeue it, no more then *Columbus* was beleeued there was any ſuch land, as is now the well knowne abounding *America*, much leſſe ſuch large Regions as are yet vnknowne, as well in *America*, as in *Africa* and *Aſia*, and *Terra incognita*.

The Authors conditions.

I haue not beene ſo ill bred but I haue taſted of plenty and pleaſure, as well as want and miſery; nor doth neceſſity yet, or occaſion of diſcontent force me to theſe endeuours, nor am I ignorant what ſmall thankes I ſhall haue for my paines, or that many would haue the world imagine them to bee of great iudgement, that can but blemiſh theſe my deſignes, by their witty obiections and detractions, yet (I hope) my reaſons with my deeds will ſo preuaile with ſome, that I ſhall not want imploiment in theſe affaires, to make the moſt blinde ſee his owne ſenſeleſneſſe and incredulity, hoping that gaine will make them affect that which Religion, Charity and the common good cannot. It were but a poore deuice in mee to deceiue my ſelfe, much more the King and State, my Friends and Country with theſe inducements, which ſeeing his Maieſty hath giuen permiſſion, I wiſh all ſorts of worthy honeſt induſtrious ſpirits would vnderſtand, and if they deſire any further ſatisfaction, I will doe my beſt to giue it, not to perſwade them to goe onely, but goe with them; not leaue them there, but liue with them there: I will not ſay but by ill prouiding and vndue managing, ſuch courſes may bee taken may make vs miſerable enough: but if I may haue the execution of what I haue proiected, if they

want

want to eat, let them eat or neuer diſgeſt mee; If I performe what I ſay, I deſire but that reward out of the gaines may ſure my paines, quality and condition, and if I abuſe you with my tongue, take my head for ſatisfaction. If any diſlike at the yeeres end, defraying their charge, by my conſent they ſhould freely returne; I feare not want of company ſufficient, were it but knowne what I know of theſe Countries, and by the proofe of that wealth I hope yeerely to returne, if God pleaſe to bleſſe me from ſuch accidents as are beyond my power in reaſon to preuent; for I am not ſo ſimple to thinke that euer any other motiue then wealth will euer erect there a common wealth, or draw company from their eaſe and humors at home, to ſtay in *New-England* to effect my purpoſes.

The Planters pleaſures and profit.

And leſt any ſhould thinke the toile might be inſupportable, though theſe things may bee had by labour and diligence; I aſſure my ſelfe there are who delight extremely in vaine pleaſure, that take much more paines in *England* to enioy it, then I ſhould doe here to gaine wealth ſufficient, and yet I thinke they ſhould not haue halfe ſuch ſweet content: for our pleaſure here is ſtill gaines, in *England* charges and loſſe; here nature and liberty affoords vs that freely which in *England* we want, or it coſteth vs deerely. What pleaſure can bee more then being tired with any occaſion a ſhore, in planting Vines, Fruits, or Herbes, in contriuing their owne grounds to the pleaſure of their owne minds, their Fields, Gardens, Orchards, Buildings, Ships, and other workes, &c. to recreate themſelues before their owne doores in their owne Boats vpon the Sea, where man, woman and childe, with a ſmall hooke and line, by angling may take diuers ſorts of excellent Fiſh at their pleaſures, and is it not pretty ſport to pull vp two pence, ſix pence, and twelue pence, as faſt as you can hale and vere a line; hee is a very bad Fiſher cannot kill in one day with his hooke and line one, two, or three hundred Cods, which dreſſed and dryed, if they bee ſold there for ten ſhillings a hundred, though in *England* they will giue more then twenty, may not both ſeruant, maſter and Merchant be well content with this gaine? if a man worke but three daies in ſeuen, hee may get more then hee can ſpend vnleſſe hee will bee exceedingly exceſſiue. Now that Carpenter, Maſon, Gardiner, Tailer, Smith, Sailer, Forger, or what other, may they not make this a pretty recreation, though they fiſh but an houre in a day, to take more then they can eat in a weeke, or if they will not eat it, becauſe there is ſo much better choiſe, yet ſell it or change it with the Fiſher-men or Merchants for any thing you want, and what ſport doth yeeld a more pleaſing content, and leſſe hurt and charge then angling with a hooke, and croſſing the ſweet aire from Ile to Ile, ouer the ſilent ſtreames of a calme Sea, wherein the moſt curious may finde profit, pleaſure and content.

Thus though all men be not fiſhers, yet all men whatſoeuer may in other matters doe as well, for neceſſity doth in theſe caſes ſo rule a common wealth, and each in their ſeuerall functions, as their labours in their qualities may be as profitable becauſe there is a neceſſary mutuall vſe of all.

Imploiments for Gentlemen.

For Gentlemen, what exerciſe ſhould more delight them then ranging daily theſe vnknowne parts, vſing fowling and fiſhing for hunting and hawking, and yet you ſhall ſee the wilde Hawkes giue you ſome pleaſure in ſeeing them ſtoupe ſix or ſeuen times after one another an houre or two together, at the skulls of Fiſh in the faire Harbours, as thoſe a ſhore at a fowle, and neuer trouble nor torment your ſelues with watching, mewing, feeding, and attending them, nor kill horſe and man with running and crying, See you not a Hawke, for hunting alſo, the Woods, Lakes and Riuers affoord not onely chaſe ſufficient for any that delights in that kinde of toile or pleaſure, but ſuch beaſts to hunt, that beſides the delicacie of their bodies for food, their skinnes are ſo rich, as they will recompence thy daily labour with a Captaines pay.

Imploiments for Labourers.

For Labourers, if those that sow Hempe, Rape, Turnups, Parsnips, Carrats, Cabidge, and such like; giue twentie, thirtie, fortie, fiftie shillings yeerely for an Acre of Land, and meat, drinke, and wages to vse it, and yet grow rich: when better, or at least as good ground may bee had and cost nothing but labour; it seemes strange to me any such should grow poore.

My purpose is not to perswade children from their parents, men from their wiues, nor seruants from their masters; onely such as with free consent may bee spared: but that each Parish, or Village, in Citie, or Country, that will but apparell their fatherlesse children of thirteene or foureteene yeeres of age, or young maried people that haue small wealth to liue on, here by their labour may liue exceeding well. Prouided alwaies, that first there be a sufficient power to command them, houses to receiue them, meanes to defend them, and meet prouisions for thē, for any place may be ouer-laine: and it is most necessary to haue a fortresse (ere this grow to practise) and sufficient masters, of all necessarie, mecanicall qualities, to take ten or twelue of them for Apprentises; the Master by this may quickly grow rich, these may learne their trades themselues to doe the like, to a generall and an incredible benefit for King and Country, Master and Seruant.

Examples of the *Spaniards.*

It would be a History of a large volume, to recite the aduentures of the *Spaniards* and *Portugals*, their affronts and defeats, their dangers and miseries; which with such incomparable honor, and constant resolution, so farre beyond beleefe, they haue attempted and indured in their discoueries and plantations, as may well condemne vs of too much imbecillitie, sloth, and negligence; yet the Authors of these new inuentions were held as ridiculous for a long time, as now are others that doe but seeke to imitate their vnparalleld vertues, and though we see daily their mountaines of wealth (sprung from the Plants of their generous indeuours)

The causes of our defailments.

yet is our sensualitie and vntowardnesse such, & so great, that we either ignorantly beleeue nothing, or so curiously consult, to preuent we know not what future euents; that we either so neglect, or oppresse and discourage the present, as wee spoile all in the making, crop all in the blooming; and building vpon faire Sand rather then vpon rough Rocks, iudge that we know not; gouerne that wee haue not, feare that which is not; and for feare some should doe too well, force such against their wils to be idle, or as ill. And who is hee hath iudgement, courage, and any industry or quality with vnderstanding, will leaue his Country, his hopes at home, his certaine estate, his friends, pleasures, libertie, and the preferment sweet *England* doth affoord to all degrees, were it not to aduance his fortunes by enioying his deserts, whose prosperitie once appearing, will encourage others: but it must be cherished as a childe, till it be able to goe and vnderstand it selfe, and not corrected nor oppressed aboue it strength, ere it know wherefore. A childe can neither performe the office nor deeds of a man of strength, nor endure that affliction he is able: nor can an Apprentise at the first performe the part of a Master, and if twentie yeeres be required to make a childe a man, seuen yeeres limited an Apprentise for his trade: if scarce an age be sufficient to make a wise man a States-man, and commonly a man dies ere he hath learned to be discreet; if perfection be so hard to be obtained, as of necessitie there must be Practice as well as Theoricke: Let no man then condemne this paradox opinion, to say that halfe seuen yeres is scarce sufficient for a good capacitie to learne in these affaires how to carrie himselfe. And who euer shall try in these remote places the erecting of a Colony, shall finde at the end of seuen yeeres occasion enough to vse all his discretion: and in the *Interim*, all the content, rewards, gaines, and hopes, will be necessarily required, to be giuen to the beginning, till it be able to creepe, to stand, and goe, and to encourage desert by all possible meanes; yet time enough to keepe it from running, for there is no feare it will grow too fast, or euer to any thing, except libertie, profit, honor, and prosperitie there found, more binde the Planters of those affaires in deuotion to effect it; then bondage, violence, tyrannie, ingratitude, and such double dealing, as bindes free men to become slaues,

and

and honeſt men turne knaues; which hath euer beene the ruine of the moſt popular Common-weales, and is very vnlikely euer well to begin anew.

Who ſeeth not what is the greateſt good of the *Spaniard*, but theſe new concluſions in ſearching thoſe vnknowne parts of this vnknowne world; by which meanes he diues euen into the very ſecrets of all his neighbours, and the moſt part of the world; and when the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* had found the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, how many did condemne themſelues, that did not accept of that honeſt offer of Noble *Columbus*, who vpon our neglect brought them to it, perſwading ourſelues the world had no ſuch places as they had found: and yet euer ſince we finde, they ſtill (from time to time) haue found new Lands, new Nations, and Trades, and ſtill daily doe finde, both in *Aſia*, *Affrica*, *Terra incognita*, and *America*, ſo that there is neither Souldier nor Mechanicke, from the Lord to the Begger, but thoſe parts affoords them all imploiment, & diſcharges their natiue ſoile of ſo many thouſands of all ſorts, that elſe by their ſloth, pride, and imperfections, would long ere this haue troubled their neighbours, or haue eaten the pride of *Spaine* it ſelfe. The bliſſe of *Spaine*.

Now hee knowes little that knowes not *England* may well ſpare many more people then *Spaine*, and is as well able to furniſh them with all manner of neceſſaries; and ſeeing for all they haue, they ceaſe not ſtill to ſearch for that they haue not, and know not; it is ſtrange we ſhould be ſo dull, as not maintaine that which we haue, and purſue that we know: Surely, I am ſure many would take it ill, to be abridged of the titles and honors of their predeceſſors; when if but truly they would iudge themſelues, looke how inferior they are to their Noble Vertues, ſo much they are vnworthy of their honors and liuings, which neuer were ordained for ſhewes and ſhadowes, to maintaine idleneſſe and vice, but to make them more able to abound in honor, by Heroicall deeds of action, iudgement, pietie, and vertue. What was it both in their purſe and perſon they would not doe, for the good of their Common-wealth, which might moue them preſently to ſet out their ſpare children in theſe generous deſignes; Religion aboue all things ſhould moue vs, eſpecially the Clergie, if we are religious, to ſhew our faith by our works, in conuerting thoſe poore Saluages to the knowledge of God, ſeeing what paines the *Spaniards* takes to bring them to their adultered faith. Honor might moue the Gentry, the valiant, and induſtrious, and the hope and aſſurance of wealth, all, if we were that we would ſeeme, and be accounted; or be we ſo farre inferior to other Nations, or our ſpirits ſo farre deiected from our ancient predeceſſors, or our mindes ſo vpon ſpoile, piracy, and ſuch villany, as to ſerue the *Portugall*, *Spaniard*, *Dutch*, *French*, or *Turke*, (as to the coſt of *Europe* too many doe) rather then our God, our King, our Country, and our ſelues; excuſing our idleneſſe and our baſe complaints by want of imploiment, when here is ſuch choice of all ſorts, and for all degrees, in the planting and diſcouering theſe North parts of *America*.

My ſecond voyage to New England.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1615. I was imploied by many my friends of *London*, and Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, a noble Knight, and a great fauourer of thoſe actions, who perſwaded the reuerend Deane of *Exeter* Doctor *Sutliffe*, and diuers Merchants of the Weſt, to entertaine this Plantation. Much labour I had taken to bring the *Londoners* and them to ioyne together, becauſe the *Londoners* haue moſt Money, and the Weſterne men are moſt proper for fiſhing; and it is neere as much trouble, but much more danger, to ſaile from *London* to *Plimoth*, then from *Plimoth* to *New England*, ſo that halfe the voiage would thus be ſaued, yet by no meanes I could preuaile, ſo deſirous they were both to be Lords of this fiſhing. Now to make my words more apparant by my deeds, to begin a Plantation My ſecond Voiage to *New England*. 1615.

tion for a more ample triall of those conclusions, I was to haue staied there but with sixteene men, whose names were;

Tho. Dirmer.	Gent.	*Iohn Gosling.*	Sould.	*Thomas Digby.*	*Walter Chisell.*	were to learne to be Sailers.
Edm. Stallings.		*William Ingram.*		*Daniel Baker.*	*Robert Miller.*	
Daniel Cage.		*Dauid Cooper.*		*Adam Smith.*	And two Boyes	
Francis Abbot.		*Iohn Partridge.*		*Tho. Watson.*		

I confesse I could haue wished them as many thousands, had all other prouisions beene in like proportion; nor would I haue had so few, could I haue had means for more: yet would God haue pleased we had safely arriued, I doubted not but to haue performed more then I promised, and that many thousands ere this would haue bin there ere now. The maine assistance next God I had to this small number, was my acquaintance amongst the Saluages; especially with *Dohoday*, one of their greatest Lords, who had liued long in *England*, and another called *Tantum*, I caried with mee from *England*, and set on shore at Cape *Cod*; by the meanes of this proud Saluage, I did not doubt but quickly to haue got that credit amongst the rest of the Saluages and their alliance, to haue had as many of them as I desired in any designe I intended, and that trade also they had by such a kinde of exchange of their Countrey Commodities, which both with ease and securitie might then haue beene vsed with him and diuers others: I had concluded to inhabit and defend them against the *Tarentines*, with a better power then the *French* did them; whose tyrannie did inforce them to embrace my offer with no small deuotion: and though many may think me more bold then wise, in regard of their power, dexteritie, treachery, and inconstancy, hauing so desperately assaulted, and betraied many others; I say but this (because with so many, I haue many times done much more in *Virginia* then I intended here, when I wanted that experience *Virginia* taught mee) that to me it seemes no more danger then ordinary: and though I know my selfe the meanest of many thousands, whose apprehensiue inspection can pierce beyond the bounds of my abilities, into the hidden things of Nature, Art, and Reason: yet I intreat such, giue mee leaue to excuse my selfe of so much imbecillitie, as to say, that in these eighteene yeeres which I haue beene conuersant with these affaires, I haue not learned, there is a great difference betwixt the directions and iudgement of experimentall knowledge, and the superficiall coniecture of variable relation: wherein rumour, humour, or misprision haue such power, that oft times one is enough to beguile twentie, but twentie not sufficient to keepe one from being deceiued. Therefore I know no reason but to beleeue my owne eies before any mans imagination, that is but wrested from the conceits of my owne proiects and endeuours, but I honor with all affection, the counsell and instructions of iudiciall directions, or any other honest aduertisement, so farre to obserue, as they tie me, not to the crueltie of vnknowne euents. These are the inducements that thus drew me to neglect all other imploiments, and spend my time and best abilities in these aduentures, wherein though I haue had many discouragements, by the ingratitude of some, the malicious slanders of others, the falsenesse of friends, the treachery of cowards, and slownesse of Aduenturers.

The ground and plot for our plantation.

The meanes vsed to preuent it and me.

Now you are to remember, as I returned first from *New England* at *Plimoth*, I was promised foure good ships ready prepared to my hand the next Christmas, and what conditions and content I would desire, to put this businesse in practise, and arriuing at *London*, foure more were offered me with the like courtesie. But to ioyne the *Londoners* & them in one, was most impossible; so that in Ianuary with two hundred pound in Chash for aduenture, and six Gentlemen well furnished, I went from *London* to the foure ships were promised me at *Plimoth*, but I found no such matter: and the most of those that had made such great promises, by the bad returne of the ship went for Gold, and their priuate emulations, were extinct and qualified. Notwithstanding at last, with a labyrinth of trouble, though the greatest

How I set saile and returned.

greateſt of the burden lay on me, and a few of my particular friends, I was furniſhed with a ſhip of two hundred tunnes, and another of fiftie: But ere I had ſailed one hundred and twentie leagues, ſhe brake all her Maſts, pumping each watch fiue or ſix thouſand ſtrokes; onely her ſpreet-ſaile remained to ſpoone before the winde, till we had re-accommodated a Iury-maſt to returne for *Plimoth*, or founder in the Seas.

My Vice-Admirall being loſt, not knowing of this, proceeded her voyage; now with the remainder of thoſe prouiſions, I got out againe in a ſmall Barke of ſixtie tuns with thirty men: for this of two hundred, and prouiſion for ſeuentie, which were the ſixteene before named, and foureteene other Sailers for the ſhip; with thoſe I ſet ſaile againe the foure and twentieth of Iune, where what befell me (becauſe my actions and writings are ſo publike to the world) enuy ſtill ſeeking to ſcandalize my endeuours, and ſeeing no power but death can ſtop the chat of ill tongues, nor imagination of mens minds, leſt my owne relations of thoſe hard euents might by ſome conſtructors bee made doubtfull, I haue thought it beſt to inſert the examinations of thoſe proceedings, taken by Sir *Lewis Stukeley*, a worthy Knight, and Vice-Admirall of *Deuonſhire*, which was as followeth.

My reimbarkement, encounter with Pirats, and impriſonment by the French.

The Examination of Daniel Baker, *late Steward to Captaine* Iohn Smith, *in the returne of* Plimoth, *taken before Sir* Lewis Stukeley *Knight, the eighth of December*, 1615.

THE effect in briefe was this: being chaſed by one *Fry* an Engliſh Pirat, *Edward Chambers* the Maſter, *Iohn Minter* his Mate, *Thomas Digby* the Pylot, and diuers others importuned him to yeeld; much ſwaggering wee had with them, more then the Pirats, who agreed vpon ſuch faire conditions as we deſired, which if they broke, he vowed to ſinke rather then be abuſed. Strange they thought it, that a Barke of threeſcore tuns with foure guns ſhould ſtand vpon ſuch termes, they being eightie expert Sea-men, in an excellent ſhip of one hundred and fortie tuns, and thirty ſix caſt Peeces and Murderers: But when they knew our Captaine, ſo many of them had beene his Souldiers, and they but lately runne from *Tunis*, where they had ſtolne this ſhip, wanted victuall, and in combuſtion amongſt themſelues, would haue yeelded all to his protection, or wafted vs any whither: but thoſe mutinies occaſioned vs to reiect their offer, which afterward we all repented. For at *Fiall* we met two French Pirats, the one of two hundred tuns, the other thirty: no diſgrace would cauſe our mutiners fight, till the Captaine offered to blow vp the ſhip rather then yeeld, till hee had ſpent all his powder: ſo that together by the eares we went, and at laſt got cleere of them for all their ſhot. At *Flowers* we were againe chaſed with foure French men of warre, the *Admirall* one hundred and fortie tuns, and ninety men well armed; the reſt good ſhips, and as well prouided: much parly we had, but vowing they were *Rochilers*, and had a Commiſſion from the King onely to ſecure true men, and take *Portugals*, *Spaniards*, and Pirats, and as they requeſted, our Captaine went to ſhew his Commiſſion, which was vnder the broad Seale, but neither it nor their vowes they ſo much reſpected, but they kept him, rifled our ſhip, manned her with French men, and diſperſed vs amongſt their Fleet: within fiue or ſix daies they were increaſed to eight or nine ſaile. At laſt they ſurrendred vs our ſhip, and moſt of our prouiſions, the defects they promiſed the next day to ſupply, and did. Notwithſtanding, there was no way but our mutiners would for *England*, though we were as neere *New England*, till the major part reſolued with our Captaine to proceed. But the *Admirall* ſending his Boat for our Captaine, they eſpying a Saile, preſently gaue chaſe, whereby our mutiners finding an opportunitie in the night ran away, and thus left our Captaine in his Cap, Bretches, and Waſt-coat, alone among the French men: his clothes, armes, and what he had, our mutiners ſhared among them, and with a falſe excuſe, faining

for

for feare leſt he ſhould turne man of warre, they returned for *Plimoth*: fifteene of vs being Land-men, not knowing what they did. *Daniel Cage, Edward Stalings, Walter Chiſell, David Cooper, Robert Miller*, and *Iohn Partridge*, vpon oath affirmes this for truth before the Vice-Admirall.

A double treachery.

Now the cauſe why the French detained mee againe, was the ſuſpition this *Chambers* and *Minter* gaue them, that I would reuenge my ſelfe vpon the *Banke*, or in *Newfound land*, of all the French I could there encounter, and how I would haue fired the ſhip, had they not ouer-perſwaded me: and that if I had but againe my Armes, I would rather ſinke by them, then they ſhould haue from me but the value of a Bisket; and many other ſuch like tales to catch but opportunitie in this manner to leaue me, and thus they returned to *Plimoth*, and perforce with the French men I thus proceeded. Being a fleet of eight or nine ſaile, we watched for the *Weſt-Indies* fleet, till ill weather ſeparated vs from the other eight: ſtill wee ſpent our time about the Iles of the *Aſſores*, where to keepe my perplexed thoughts from too much meditation of my miſerable eſtate, I writ this Diſcourſe, thinking to haue ſent it to you of his Maieſties Councell by ſome ſhip or other, for I ſaw their purpoſe was to take all they could. At laſt we were chaſed by one Captaine *Barra*, an Engliſh Pirat in a ſmall ſhip, with ſome twelue Peece of Ordnance, about thirty men, and neere all ſtarued. They ſought by courteſie releeſe of vs, who gaue them ſuch faire promiſes, as at laſt they betraied Captaine *Wolliſtone* his Lieutenant, and foure or fiue of his men aboord vs, and then prouided to take the reſt perforce. Now my part was to be priſoner in the Gun-roome, and not to ſpeake to any of them vpon my life, yet had *Barra* knowledge what I was. Then *Barra* perceiuing well thoſe French intents, made ready to fight, and *Wolliſtone* as reſolutely regarded not their threats, which cauſed vs demurre vpon the matter longer ſome ſixteene houres, and then returned them againe Captaine *Wolliſtone* and all their Priſoners, and ſome victuall alſo vpon a ſmall compoſition: But whileſt we were battering thus with them; a Caruill before our faces got vnder the Caſtle of *Gratioſa*, from whence they beat vs with their Ordnance.

A fleet of nine French men of war, and fights with the Spaniard.

A priſe of Fiſh.

The next wee tooke was a ſmall Engliſh man of *Poole* from *Newfound land*: the great Cabben at this preſent was my priſon, from whence I could ſee them pillage theſe poore men of all that they had, and halfe their fiſh: when hee was gone, they ſold his poore clothes at the maine Maſt by an out-cry, which ſcarce gaue each man ſeuen pence a peece.

A Scotch priſe.

Not long after we tooke a *Scot* fraught from Saint *Michaels* to *Briſtow*, he had better fortune then the other; for hauing but taken a Boats loading of Sugar, Marmelade, Suckets, and ſuch like, we deſcried foure ſaile, after whom we ſtood, who forling their maine Sailes attended vs to fight, but our French ſpirits were content onely to perceiue they were Engliſh red Croſſes. Within a very ſmall time after wee chaſed 4. Spaniſh ſhips that came from the *Indies*, we fought with them foure or fiue houres, tore their ſailes and ſides with many a ſhot betwixt wind and weather, yet not daring to boord them, loſt them, for which all the Sailers euer after hated the Captaine as a profeſſed coward.

A priſe worth 36000 crownes.

A poore Caruill of *Braſile* was the next wee chaſed; and after a ſmall fight, thirteene or foureteene of her men being wounded, which was the better halfe, we tooke her with three hundred and ſeuenty cheſts of Sugar, one hundred hides, and thirty thouſand Rialls of eight.

The next was a ſhip of *Holland*, which had loſt her Conſorts in the Streights of *Magilans*, going for the South ſea, ſhe was put roomy, ſhe alſo theſe French men with faire promiſes, cunningly betraied to come aboord them to ſhew their Commiſſion, and ſo made priſe of all: the moſt of the *Dutch-men* we tooke aboord the *Admirall*, and manned her with *French-men*, that within two or three nights after ran away with her for *France*, the wounded *Spaniards* we ſet on ſhore on the Ile of *Tercera*, the reſt we kept to ſaile the Caruill.

A priſe worth 200000 crownes.

Within a day or two after, we met a *Weſt-Indies* man of warre, of one hundred and

and ſixtie tuns, afore noone wee fought with her, and then tooke her with one thouſand one hundred Hides, fiftie Cheſts of Cutchanele, foureteene Coffers of wedges of Siluer, eight thouſand Rialls of eight, and ſix Coffers of the King of *Spaines* Treaſure, beſides the good pillage and rich Coffers of many rich Paſſengers.

Two moneths they kept me in this manner to manage their fights againſt the *Spaniards*, and bee a Priſoner when they tooke any Engliſh. Now though the Captaine had oft broke his promiſe, which was to put me on ſhore the Iles, or the next ſhip he tooke; yet at the laſt he was contented I ſhould goe in the Caruill of Sugar for *France*, himſelfe ſeeming as reſolued to keepe the Seas, but the next morning we all ſet ſaile for *France*, and that night we were ſeparated from the *Admirall* and the rich priſe by a ſtorme. Within two daies after wee were hailed by two *Weſt-Indies* men: but when they ſaw vs waiſe them for the King of *France*, they gaue vs their broad ſides, ſhot thorow our maine Maſt, and ſo left vs. Hauing liued now this Summer amongſt thoſe French men of warre, with much adoe we arriued at the *Gulion*, not farre from *Rotchell*: where in ſtead of the great promiſes they alwaies fed me with, of double ſatisfaction and full content, and tenne thouſand Crownes was generally concluded I ſhould haue; they kept me fiue or ſix daies Priſoner in the Caruill, accuſing me to be he that burnt their Colony in *New France*, to force me to giue them a diſcharge before the Iudge of the Admiralty, and ſtand to their courteſies for ſatisfaction, or lie in priſon, or a worſe miſchiefe: Indeed this was in the time of combuſtion, that the Prince of *Cundy* was with his Army in the field, and euery poore Lord, or men in authoritie, as little Kings of themſelues: For this iniury was done me by them that ſet out this voyage (not by the Sailers) for they were cheated of all as well as I, by a few Officers aboord, and the owners on ſhore.

But to preuent this choiſe, in the end of ſuch a ſtorme that beat them all vnder hatches, I watched my opportunitie to get a ſhore in their Boat, whereinto in the darke night I ſecretly got, and with a halfe Pike that lay by me, put a drift for *Rat* Ile: but the currant was ſo ſtrong, and the Sea ſo great, I went a drift to Sea; till it pleaſed God the wind ſo turned with the tide, that although I was all this fearefull night of guſts and raine in the Sea the ſpace of twelue houres, when many ſhips were driuen aſhore, and diuers ſplit: (and being with skulling and bayling the water tired, I expected each minute would ſinke me) at laſt I arriued in an Ozzy Ile by *Charowne*, where certaine Fowlers found me neere drowned, and halfedead, with water, cold, and hunger. My Boat I pawned to finde meanes to get to *Rotchell*; where I vnderſtood our man of war & the rich prize, wherein was the Cap. called *Mounſieur Poyrune*, and the thirtie thouſand Rialls of eight we tooke in the Caruill, was ſplit, the Captaine drowned and halfe his Company the ſame night, within ſix or ſeuen leagues of that place; from whence I eſcaped in the little Boat by the mercy of God, far beyond all mens reaſon or my expectation, arriuing at *Rotchell*: vpon my complaint to the Iudge of the Admiralty, I found many good words and faire promiſes, and ere long many of them that eſcaped drowning, told me the newes they heard of my owne death. Theſe I arreſting, their ſeuerall examinations did ſo confirme my complaint, it was held proofe ſufficient. All which being performed according to the order of iuſtice, from vnder the Iudges hand, I preſented it to Sir *Thomas Edmonds*, then Ambaſſadour at *Burdeaux*, where it was my chance to ſee the arriuall of the Kings great mariage brought from *Spaine*.

My eſcape from the French men.

What law I had.

Here it was my good fortune to meet my old friend Maſter *Crampton*, that no leſſe grieued at my loſſe, then willingly to his power did ſupply my wants, and I muſt confeſſe, I was more beholden to the French men that eſcaped drowning in the man of warre, Madam *Chamoyes* at *Rotchell*, and the Lawyers of *Burdeaux*, then all the reſt of my Country-men I met in *France*. Of the wracke of the rich

rich priſe, ſome three thouſand ſix hundred crownes worth of goods came aſhore, and was ſaued with the Caruill, which I did my beſt to arreſt: the Iudge promiſed I ſhould haue Iuſtice, what will be the concluſion as yet I know not. But vnder the couler to take Pirats and the *Weſt-Indie* men (becauſe the *Spaniards* will not ſuffer the French to trade in the *Weſt-Indies*) any goods from thence, though they take them vpon the Coaſt of *Spaine* are lawfull prize, or from any of his Teritories out of the limits of *Europe*: and as they betraied me, though I had the broad-ſeale, ſo did they rob and pillage twentie ſaile of Engliſh men more, beſides them I knew not of the ſame yeere.

My returne for England.

Leauing thus my buſineſſe in *France* I returned to *Plimoth*, to finde them had thus buried me amongſt the French; and not onely buried me, but with ſo much infamy as ſuch treacherous cowards could ſuggeſt to excuſe their villanies. The Chiefetaines of this mutiny that I could finde, I laid by the heeles, the reſt like themſelues confeſſed the truth, as you haue heard. Now how I haue or could preuent theſe accidents, hauing no more meanes, I reſt at your cenſures; but to proceed to the matter; yet muſt I ſigh and ſay, How oft hath Fortune in the world (thinke I) brought ſlauery, freedome, and turned all diuerſly. *Newfoundland* I haue heard at the firſt, was held as deſperate a fiſhing as this I proiect for *New England*, *Placentia*, and the *Banke* neare alſo as doubtfull to the French: But for all the diſaſters hapned me, the buſineſſe is the ſame it was, and the fiue ſhips went from *London*, whereof one was reported more then three hundred tunnes, found fiſh ſo much, that neither *Iseland* man, nor *Newfoundland* man I could heare of hath bin there, will go any more to either place, if they may go thither. So that vpon the good returne of my *Vice-Admirall*, this yeere are gone 4 or 5 ſaile from *Plimoth*, and from *London* as many, only to make voyages of profit: whereas if all the Engliſh had bin there till my returne, put all their returnes together, they would ſcarce make one a ſauour of neere a dozen I could nominate, except one ſent by Sir *Francis Popam*; though there be fiſh ſufficient, as I am perſwaded, to fraught yeerely foure or fiue hundred Saile, or as many as will goe. For this fiſhing ſtreacheth along the Sea Coaſt from Cape *Iames* to *Newfoundland*, which is ſeuen or eight hundred miles at the leaſt, and hath his courſe in the deepes, and by the ſhore, all the yere long, keeping their hants and feedings, as the beaſts of the field, and the birds of the aire. But all men are not ſuch as they ſhould be, that haue vndertaken thoſe voyages: All the *Romans* were not *Scipioes*, nor *Carthageniane Hanibals*, nor all the *Genweſes Columbuſſes*, nor all the *Spaniards Corteſes*: had they diued no deeper in the ſecrets of their diſcoueries then we, or ſtopped at ſuch doubts and poore accidentall chances, they had neuer beene remembred as they are, yet had they no ſuch certainties to begin as we.

The ſucceſſe of my Vice-Admirall.

But to conclude, *Adam* and *Eue* did firſt begin this innocent worke to plant the earth to remaine to poſterity, but not without labour, trouble, and induſtry. *Noe* and his family began againe the ſecond Plantation; and their ſeed as it ſtill increaſed, hath ſtill planted new Countries, and one Countrey another, and ſo the world to that eſtate it is: but not without much hazard, trauell, mortalities, diſcontents, and many diſaſters. Had thoſe worthy Fathers, and their memorable off-ſpring, not beene more diligent for vs now in theſe ages, then we are to plant that yet is vnplanted for the after liuers. Had the ſeed of *Abraham*, our Sauiour Chriſt, and his Apoſtles, expoſed themſelues to no more dangers to teach the Goſpell then we, euen wee our ſelues had at this preſent beene as ſaluage, and as miſerable as the moſt barbarous Saluage, yet vnciuilized. The *Hebrewes* and *Lacedemonians*, the *Gothes*, the *Grecians*, the *Romanes*, and the reſt, what was it they would not vndertake to inlarge their Teritories, enrich their ſubiects, reſiſt their enemies. Thoſe that were the founders of thoſe great Monarchies and their vertues, were no ſiluered idle golden Phariſes, but induſtrious Iron ſteeled Publicans: They regarded more prouiſions and neceſſaries

for

for their people, then Iewels, riches, eaſe, or delight for themſelues; Riches were their Seruants, not their Maſters. They ruled (as Fathers, not as Tirants) their people as Children, not as Slaues; there was no diſaſter could diſcourage them; and let none thinke they incountred not with all manner of incumbrances. And what hath euer beene the worke of the greateſt Princes of the Earth, but planting of Countries, and ciuilizing barbarous and inhumane Nations to ciuilitie and humanitie, whoſe eternall actions fills our Hiſtories.

Laſtly, the *Portugals* and *Spaniards*, whoſe euer-liuing actions before our eies will teſtifie with them our idleneſſe, and ingratitude to all poſteriues, and the neglect of our duties, in our pietie and religion. We owe our God, our King and Countrey, and want of Charitie to thoſe poore Saluages, whoſe Countrey wee challenge, vſe and poſſeſſe; except wee be but made to vſe, and marre what our fore-fathers made, or but onely tell what they did, or eſteeme our ſelues too good to take the like paines. Was it vertue in them to prouide that doth maintaine vs, and baſeneſſe in vs to doe the like for others? Surely no. Then ſeeing we are not borne for our ſelues, but each to help other, and our abilities are much alike at the houre of our birth, and the minute of our death: ſeeing our good deeds or our bad by faith in Chriſts merits, is all we haue, to carie our ſoules to heauen or hell. Seeing honor is our liues ambition, and our ambition after death to haue an honorable memory of our life: and ſeeing by no meanes we would be abated of the dignities and glories of our predeceſſors, let vs imitate their vertues to be worthily their ſucceſſors: to conclude with *Lucretius*,

Its want of reaſon, or its reaſons want
Which doubts the minde and iudgement, ſo doth dant,
That thoſe beginnings makes men not to grant.

Iohn Smith writ this with his owne hand.

Here followeth a briefe Diſcourſe of the trials of New England, *with certaine Obſeruations of the* Hollanders *vſe and gaine by fiſhing, and the preſent eſtate of that happy Plantation, begun but by ſixtie weake men, in the yeere of our Lord* 1620. *and how to build a fleet of good ſhips to make a little Nauy Royall, by the former Author.*

HE ſaith, that it is more then foure and forty yeeres agoe, and it is more then fortie yeeres agoe ſince he writ it; that the Herring Buſſes out of the Low Countries vnder the King of *Spaine*, were fiue hundred, beſides one hundred French men, and three or foure hundred ſaile of *Flemings*. The Coaſt of *Wales* and *Lancaſhire* was vſed by 300 Saile of Strangers. *Ireland* at *Beltamore*, fraughted yeerely three hundred ſaile of *Spaniards*, where King *Edward* the ſixt intended to haue made a ſtrong Caſtle, becauſe of the ſtraight to haue tribute for fiſhing. *Black Rocke* was yerely fiſhed by three or foure hundred ſaile of *Spaniards*, *Portugals*, and *Biskiners*. M. Dee his report.

The *Hollanders* raiſe yeerely by Herring, Cod, and Ling, thirty thouſand pounds: Engliſh and French, by Salt-fiſh, Poore-Iohn, Salmons, and Pilchards, three hundred thouſand pounds: *Hambrough* and the Sound, for Sturgion, Lobſters and Eeles, one hundred thouſand pounds: Cape *Blanke* for Tunny and Muſſit, by the *Biskiners* and *Spaniards*, thirty thouſand pounds. The benefit of fiſhing, as Mr. *Gentleman* and others report.

That the Duke of *Medina* receiueth yeerely tribute of the Fiſhers, for Tunny, Muſſit, and Porgos, more then ten thouſand pounds. *Lubecke* hath ſeuen hun- The Records of *Holland* and other learned obſeruers

dred ſhips; *Hambrough* ſix hundred; *Emden* lately a Fiſher towne, one thouſand foure hundred, whoſe cuſtomes by fiſhing hath made them ſo powerfull as they be. *Holland* and *Zeland* not much greater then *Yorkeſhire*, hath thirty walled Townes, foure hundred Villages, and twenty thouſand ſaile of Ships and Hoies; three thouſand ſix hundred are Fiſher-men, whereof one hundred are Doggers, ſeuen hundred Pinkes and Well-Boats, ſeuen hundred Fraud-boats, Britters, and Tode-boats, with thirteene hundred Buſſes, beſides three hundred that yeerely fiſh about *Yarmouth*, where they ſell their fiſh for Gold: and fifteene yeeres agoe they had more then an hundred and ſixteene thouſand Sea-faring men.

Theſe fiſhing ſhips doe take yeerely two hundred thouſand laſt of fiſh, twelue barrels to a laſt, which amounts to 300000. pounds by the fiſher mens price, that 14. yeeres agoe did pay for their tenths three hundred thouſand pound, which venting in *Pumerland*, *Pruſſia*, *Denmarke*, *Lefeland*, *Ruſſia*, *Swethland*, *Germany*, *Netherlands*, *England*, or elſe where, &c. makes their returnes in a yeere about threeſcore and ten hundred thouſand pounds, which is ſeuen millions; and yet in *Holland* there is neither matter to build ſhips nor merchandize to ſet them forth, yet by their induſtry they as much increaſe as other nations decay; but leauing theſe vncertainties as they are, of this I am certaine.

That the coaſt of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, the North Sea with *Iſland* and the *Sound*, *Newfound-land* and Cape *Blanke*, doe ſerue all Europe, as well the land townes as ports, and all the Chriſtian ſhipping, with theſe ſorts of ſtaple fiſh, which is tranſported from whence it is taken many a thouſand mile, *viz.* Herring, ſalt Fiſh, Poore-Iohn, Sturgion, Mullit, Tunny, Porgos, Cauiare, Buttargo.

Now ſeeing all theſe ſorts of fiſh, or the moſt part of them may be had in a land more fertill, temperate and plentifull of all neceſſaries, for the building of ſhips, boats and houſes, and the nouriſhment of man, the ſeaſons are ſo proper, and the fiſhings ſo neere the habitations we may there make, that *New-England* hath much aduantage of the moſt of thoſe parts, to ſerue all Europe farre cheaper then they can, who at home haue neither wood, ſalt, nor food, but at great rates, at Sea nothing but what they carry in their ſhips, an hundred or two hundred leagues from the habitation. But *New-Englands* fiſhings is neere land, where is helpe of Wood, Water, Fruits, Fowles, Corne or other refreſhings needfull, and the *Terceras*, *Mederas*, *Canaries*, *Spaine*, *Portugall*, *Prouanes*, *Sauoy*, *Sicillia*, and all *Italy*, as conuenient markets for our dry fiſh, greene fiſh, Sturgion, Mullit, Cauiare and Buttargo, as *Norway*, *Swethland*, *Lituania* or *Germany* for their Herring, which is heare alſo in abundance for taking; they returning but Wood, Pitch, Tar, Sope-aſhes, Cordage, Flax, Wax, and ſuch like commodities; wee Wines, Oiles, Sugars, Silkes, and ſuch merchandize as the Straits offoord, whereby our profit may equalize theirs, beſides the increaſe of ſhipping and Marriners: and for prooſe hereof,

1614. In the yeere of our Lord 1614. you haue read how I went from *London* alſo the
1615. next yeere 1615. how foure good ſhips went from *London*, and I with two more
1616. from *Plimoth*, with all our accidents, ſucceſſes and returnes: in the yeere 1616. ere I returned from *France*, the Londoners for all their loſſe by the Turkes, ſent foure ſhips more; foure more alſo went from *Plimoth*; after I returned from
1617. *France*, I was perſwaded againe to goe to *Plimoth* with diuers of my friends with one hundred pound for our aduentures beſides our charges, but wee found all things as vntoward as before, and all their great promiſes nothing but aire: yet to prepare the voyage againſt the next yeere, hauing acquainted a great part of the Nobility with it, and aſhamed to ſee the Prince his Highneſſe till I had done ſome what worthy his Princely view; I ſpent that Summer in viſiting the Cities and
My ſute to the Country. Townes of *Briſtoll*, *Exeter*, *Baſtable*, *Bodnam*, *Perin*, *Foy*, *Milborow*, *Saltaſh*, *Dartmouth*, *Abſom*, *Tattneſſe*, and the moſt of the Gentry in *Cornewall* and *Deuonſhire*, giuing them Bookes and Maps, ſhewing how in ſix moneths the moſt of

thoſe

thoſe ſhips had made their voyages, and ſome in leſſe, and with what good ſucceſſe; by which incitation they ſeemed ſo well contented, as they promiſed twenty ſaile of ſhips ſhould goe with mee next yeere, and in regard of my paines, charge, and former loſſes, the weſterne Commiſſioners in behalfe of themſelues and the reſt of the Company, and them hereafter that ſhould be ioyned to them, contracted with me by articles indented vnder our hands, to be Admirall of that Country during my life, and in the renewing of their Letters-Patents ſo to be nominated. Halfe the fruits of our endeuours to be theirs, the reſt our owne; being thus ingaged, now the buſineſſe is made plaine and likely to proſper, ſome of them would not onely forget me and their promiſes, but alſo obſcure me, as if I had neuer beene acquainted in the buſineſſe, but I am not the firſt they haue deceiued.

There was foure good ſhips prepared at *Plimoth*, but by reaſon of their diſagreement, the ſeaſon ſo waſted, as onely two went forward, the one being of two hundred tunnes, returned well fraught to *Plimoth*, and her men in health, within fiue moneths; the other of fourteſcore tunnes went for bilbow with drie fiſh and made a good returne. In this voyage *Edward Rowcroft*, alias *Stallings*, a valiant Souldier, that had beene with me in *Virginia*, and was with me alſo when I was betrayed by the French, was ſent againe in thoſe ſhips, and hauing ſome wrong offered him there by a French man, he tooke him, and as he writ to me, went with him to *Virginia* with fiſh, to trade with them for ſuch commodities as they might ſpare: he had not paſt ten or twelue men, and knew both thoſe countries well, yet he promiſed me the next ſpring to meet me in *New-England*, but the ſhip and he both periſhed in *Virginia*. 1618.

This yeere againe, diuers ſhips intending to goe from *Plimoth*, ſo diſagreed, there went but one of two hundred tunnes, who ſtayed in the Country about ſix weeks, which with eight and thirty men and boies had her fraught, which ſhe ſold at the firſt penny for 2100. beſides the Furres: ſo that euery poore Sailer that had but a ſingle ſhare had his charges and ſixteene pound ten ſhillings for his ſeuen moneths worke. Maſter *Thomas Dirmire* an vnderſtanding and induſtrious Gentleman, that was alſo with me amongſt the French men, hauing liued about a yeere in *Newfoundland*, returning to *Plimoth*, went for *New-England* in this ſhip, ſo much approued of this Country, that he ſtaied there with fiue or ſix men in a little Boat, finding two or three French men amongſt the Saluages who had loſt their ſhip, augmented his company, with whom he ranged the Coaſt to *Virginia*, where he was kindly welcommed and well refreſhed, thence returned to *New-England* againe, where hauing beene a yeere, in his backe returne to *Virginia* he was ſo wounded by the Saluages, he died vpon it; let not men attribute theſe their great aduentures, and vntimely deaths to vnfortunateneſſe, but rather wonder how God did ſo long preſerue them with ſo ſmall meanes to doe ſo much, leauing the fruits of their labours to be an incouragement to thoſe our poore vndertakings, and as warnings for vs not to vndertake ſuch great workes with ſuch ſmall meanes, and this for aduantage as they writ vnto me, that God had laid this Country open for vs, and ſlaine the moſt part of the inhabitants by ciuill warres and a mortall diſeaſe, for where I had ſeene one hundred or two hundred Saluages, there is ſcarce ten to be found, and yet not any one of them touched with any ſickneſſe but one poore French man that died; 1619.

They ſay this plague vpon them thus fore fell,
It was becauſe they pleas'd not Tantum *well.*

From the Weſt Country to make triall this yeere onely to fiſh, is gone ſix or ſeuen ſaile, three of which I am certainly informed made ſo good a voyage, that euery Sailer that had a ſingle ſhare had twenty pound for his ſeuen moneths work, which is more then in twenty moneths he ſhould haue gotten, had he gone 1620.

for

for wages any where. Now although theſe former ſhips haue not made ſuch good voiages as they expected, by ſending opinionated vnskilfull men, that had not experienced diligence to ſaue that they tooke, nor take that there was, which now patience and practice hath brought to a reaſonable kinde of perfection; in deſpight of all detractors and calumniations the Country yet hath ſatisfied all, the defect hath beene in their vſing or abuſing it, not in it ſelfe nor me: But,

Adue deſert, for fortune makes proviſion
For Knaues and Fooles, and men of baſe condition.

My ſute to the Citie.

Now all theſe prooſes and this relation I now called *New-Englands* triall. I cauſed two or three thouſand of them to be printed, one thouſand with a great many Maps both of *Virginia* and *New-England*, I preſented to thirty of the chiefe Companies in *London* at their Halls, deſiring either generally or particularly (them that would) to imbrace it, and by the vſe of a ſtocke of fiue thouſand pound, to eaſe them of the ſuperfluity of the moſt of their companies that had but ſtrength and health to labour; neere a yeere I ſpent to vnderſtand their reſolutions, which was to me a greater toile and torment, then to haue beene in *New-England* about my buſineſſe but with bread and water, and what I could get there by my labour; but inconcluſion, ſeeing nothing would be effected, I was contented as well with this loſſe of time and charge as all the reſt.

A Plantation in New-England.

1620.

VPon theſe inducements ſome few well diſpoſed Gentlemen, and Merchants of *London* and other places, prouided two ſhips, the one of a hundred and threeſcore tunnes, the other of threeſcore and ten, they left the Coaſt of *England* the two and thirtieth of Auguſt, with about a hundred and twenty perſons, but the next day the leſſer ſhip ſprung a leake, that forced their returne to *Plimoth*, where diſcharging her and twenty paſſengers; with the greater ſhip and one hundred paſſengers beſides Sailers, they ſet ſaile againe the ſixt of September, and the ninth of November fell with Cape *Iames*, but being peſtred nine weekes in this leaking vnwholſome ſhip, lying wet in their Cabins, moſt of them grew very weake and weary of the Sea; then for want of experience, ranging two and againe ſix weekes before they found a place they liked to dwell on, forced to lie on the bare ground without couerture, forty of them died, and threeſcore were left in very weake eſtate at the ſhips comming away, about the fifth of Aprill following, and arriued in *England* the ſixth of May. Though the Harbour be good, the ſhore is ſo ſhallow, they were forced to wade a great way vp to the knees in water, & vſed that that did them much hurt; & little fiſh they found but Whailes, and a great kinde of Muſtell ſo fat, that few did eat of them that were not ſicke: theſe miſeries occaſioned ſome diſcord, and gaue ſome appearance of faction, but all was ſo reconciled, that they vnited themſelues by common conſent vnder their hands, to a kinde of combination of a body politike, by vertue whereof to inact and conſtitute lawes and ordinances, and Officers from time to time, as ſhould bee thought moſt conuenient for their generall good.

Their firſt iourny by land.

Sixteene or ſeuenteene daies they could doe little for want of their Shallop which was amending, yet Captaine *Miles Standiſh*, vnto whom was ioyned in Councell, *William Bradford*, *Stephen Hopkins* and *Edward Tilly*, went well armed a ſhore, and by that time they had gone a mile, met fiue or ſix Indians that fled into the Woods: we traced them by the footing eight or ten miles, then the night approaching we made a fire, by which we lay that night, and the next morning followed the Saluages by their tract, thinking to finde their habitations, but by the

the way we found a Deere amongſt many faire ſprings of water, where we refreſhed our ſelues; then we went a ſhore and made a fire, that they at the ſhip might perceiue where we were, and ſo marched to a place where we ſuppoſed was a Riuer; by the way we ſaw many Vines, Saxefras, haunts of Deere & Fowle, and ſome fifty Acres of plaine ground had beene planted by the Indians, where were ſome of their graues; from thence we followed a path that brought vs through three or foure fields that had bin planted that yeere; in one graue we digged, we found a basket or two of Indian Corne, ſo much as we could carry we tooke with vs, the reſt we buried as we found it, and ſo proceeded to the place we intended, but we found it not ſuch a Harbour as we expected; and ſo we returned, till the night cauſed vs take vp our lodging vnder a tree, where it rained ſix or ſeuen houres: the next morning as we wandred, we paſſed by a tree, where a young ſprig was bowed downe ouer a bough, and ſome Acornes ſtrewed vnder it, which was one of their Gins to a catch a Deere, and as we were looking at it, *Bradford* was ſuddenly caught by the leg in a nooſed Rope, made as artificially as ours; as we paſſed we ſee a leaſe of Bucks, ſprung ſome Partriges, and great flocks of wilde Geeſe and Ducks, and ſo we returned well wearied to our ſhip.

Their firſt iourny by Shallop.

Maſter *Iones* our Maſter with foure and thirty men, alſo went vp and downe in the froſt and ſnow, two or three daies in the extremity of the cold, but could finde no harbour; only among the old graues we got ſome ten buſhels of Corne, ſome Beanes, and a bottle of Oile; and had we not thus haply found it, we had had no Corne for ſeede, ſo that place we euer called *Corne-hill*; the next day Maſter *Iones* with the Corne and our weakeſt men returned to the Ship, but eighteene of vs quartered there that night, and in the morning following the paths, wee found in the Snow in a field a greater hill or graue then the reſt, digging it wee found firſt a Mat, vnder that a boord three quarters long, painted and carued with three Tyns at the top like a Croner, betweene the Mats alſo were Bowles, Traies and Diſhes and ſuch traſh, at length we found a faire new Mat, and vnder that two bundles, the one biggar the other leſſe; in the greater wee found a great quantity of fine red powder like a kinde of imbalmement, and yeelded a ſtrong but no offenſiue ſmell, with the bones and skull of a man that had fine yellow haire ſtill on it, and ſome of the fleſh vnconſumed, a Knife, a Packneedle, and two or three old Iron things was bound vp in a Sailers canuſe Caſſocke, alſo a paire of cloth Breeches; in the leſſe bundle we found likewiſe of the ſame powder, and the bones and head of a little childe; about the legs and other parts of it was bound ſtrings and braſlets of white beades, there was alſo a little Bow, and ſome other odde knacks, the prettieſt we tooke, and couered againe the corps as they were: not farre from thence were two of their houſes, where were a great deale of their miſerable houſhold ſtuffe, which we left as wee found, and ſo returned to our Boat, and lay aboord that night.

Accidents.

Many arguments we had to make here our Plantation or not; in the *Intrim*, Miſtris *White* was brought to bed of a young ſonne, which was called *Perigrine*: and a Sailer ſhooting at a Whale, his peece flew in peeces ſtocke and all, yet he had no hurt. A fooliſh boy diſcharging his fathers peece hard by halfe a barrell of Powder, and many people by it, it pleaſed God it eſcaped firing, ſo that no hurt was done.

Their ſecond iourney by water to finde a place to plant in.

But to make a more certaine diſcouery where to ſeat our ſelues, Captaine *Standiſh*, Maſter *Caruer*, *William Bramford*, *Edward Winſloe*, *Iohn Tilly*, *Edward Tilly*, with diuers others to the number of ſeuenteene, vpon the ſixt of December ſet ſaile, and hauing ſailed ſix or ſeuen leagues, we eſpied eight or ten Saluages about a dead Grampus: ſtill following the ſhore we found two or three more caſt vp by the ill weather, many we ſee in the water, therefore we called it *Grampus Bay*: Ships may ride well in it, but all the ſhore is very ſhallow flats of ſand; at laſt ſeuen or eight of vs went a ſhore, many fields we ſaw where the Saluages had inhabited, and a buriall place incompaſſed with a Palizado, ſo we returned to our Shallop.

lop, in the night we heard a hideous cry and howling of Wolues and Foxes; in the morning as we were ready to goe into our Shallop, one of our men being in the woods, came running crying, Indians, Indians, and with all their Arrowes flying amongst vs, some of our men being in the boat, and their Armes a shore, so well it chanced, Captaine *Standish* with two or three more discharged their peeces till the rest were ready, one Saluage more stout then the rest kept vnder a tree, till he had shot three or foure Arrowes, and endured three or foure Musket shot, but at last they all fled, this was about breake of day in the morning when they saw vs, and we not them.

Their first fight with the Saluages.

The description of their place to plant in.

Hauing the wind faire, we sailed along the coast 8. or 10. leagues, thinking to haue got to a Harbour where one of our company had beene, within 8. leagues of Cape *Cod*, for neither cricke nor Harbour in this bay we could finde; and the wind so increased, our Rudder broke, and our Mast flew ouer-boord, that we were in danger to be cast away, but at last it pleased God we were in a harbor we knew not, thinking it one we were acquainted with, this we found to be an Ile where we rid that night, and hauing well viewed the land about it, and sounded the Bay to be a good Harbour for our ship, compassed with good land, and in it two faire Iles, where there is in their seasons innumerable store of all sorts of fish and fowle, good water, much plaine land, which hath beene planted; with this newes we returned to our ship, and with the next faire wind brought her thither, being but within the sight of Cape *Cod*; in the meane time *Goodwife Alderton* was deliuered of a sonne, but dead borne. Vpon the 28. of December, so many as could went to worke vpon the hill, where we purposed to build our Platforme for our ordnance, which doth command all the Plaine and the Bay, and from whence wee may see far into the Sea, and be easily impailed, so in the afternoone we went to measure out the grounds, and diuided our company into 19. families, alotting to euery person halfe a poule in bredth and three in length, and so we cast lots where euery man should lie, which we staked out, thinking this proportion enough at the first to impale for lodgings and gardens.

Another Boy borne in *New-England*.

Their first Plantation.

Two faire Lakes.

Francis Billington from the top of a tree seeing a great water some three miles from vs in the land, went with the Masters Mate, and found it two great Lakes of fresh water, the biggerfiue or six miles in circuit, and an Ile in it of a Cables length square; the other three miles in compasse, full of fish and fowle, and two brooks issuing from it, which will be an excellent helpe in time for vs, where they saw seuen or eight Indian houses, but no people. Foure being sent a mile or two from our plantation, two of them straggling into the woods was lost, for comming to a Lake of water they found a great Deere, hauing a mastiue Bitch and a Spanell with them, they followed so farre they could not finde the way backe, that afternoone it rained, and did freeze and snow at night; their apparell was very thin, and had no weapons but two sickles, nor any victuals, nor could they finde any of the Saluages habitations; when the night came they were much perplexed that they had no other bed then the earth, nor couerture then the skies, but that they heard, as they thought, two Lions roaring a long time together very nigh them, so not knowing what to doe, they resolued to climbe vp into a tree, though that would be an intollerable cold lodging, expecting their cõming they stood at the trees root, and the bitch they held fast by the necke, for shee would haue beene gone to the Lions or what they were, that as it chanced came not nigh them, so they watched the tree that extreme cold night, and in the morning trauelling againe, passing by many lakes, brooks and woods, and in one place where the Saluages had burnt 4. or 5. miles in length, which is a fine champion Country, in the afternoone they discouered the two Iles in their Bay, and so that night neere famished they got to their Plantation, from whence they had sent out men euery way to seeke them; that night the house they had built and thatched, where lay their armes, bedding, powder, &c. tooke fire and was burnt, the Coast is so shoule, the ship rides more then a mile from the Fort, but God be thanked no man was hurt though much was burnt.

Two men lost themselues in the woods.

All

All this time we could not haue conference with a Saluage, though we had many times ſeene them and had many alarums, ſo that we drew a Councell, and appointed Captaine *Standiſh* to haue the command of all martiall actions, but euen in the time of conſultation the Saluages gaue an alarum: the next day alſo as wee were agreeing vpon his orders, came a tall Saluage boldly amongſt vs, not fearing any thing, and kindly bad vs welcome in Engliſh; he was a *Sagamo*, towards the North, where the ſhips vſe to fiſh, and did know the names of moſt of the Maſters that vſed thither: ſuch victuall as we had we gaue him, being the firſt Saluage we yet could ſpeake with, he told vs this place where we were was called *Patuxet*, and that all the people three or foure yeeres agoe there died on the plague: in a day or two we could not be rid of him, then he returned to the *Maſſaſoyts* from whence he came, where is ſome ſixty people, but the *Nawſits* are 100. ſtrong, which were they encountred our people at the firſt. Two daies after this *Samoſet*, for ſo was his name, came againe, and brought fiue or ſix of the *Maſſaſoyts* with him, with certaine ſkinnes, and certaine tooles they had got that we had left in the woods at their alarums: much friendſhip they promiſed, and ſo departed, but *Samoſet* would not leaue vs, but fained himſelfe ſicke, yet at laſt he went to entreat the Saluages come againe to confirme a peace: now the third time, as we were conſulting of our Marſhall orders, two Saluages appeared, but when we went to them they vaniſhed: not long after came *Samoſet*, & *Squanto*, a natiue of *Patuxet* where we dwell, and one of them carried into *Spaine* by *Hunt*, thence brought into *England*, where a good time he liued; and now here ſignified vnto vs, their great *Sachem* of *Maſſaſoyt*, with *Quadaquina* his brother, and all their men, was there by to ſee vs: not willing to ſend our Gouernour, we ſent *Edward Williſo* with preſents to them both, to know their minds, making him to vnderſtand by his Interpreters how King *Iames* did ſalute him and was his friend; after a little conference with twenty of his men, he came ouer the brooke to our Plantation, where we ſet him vpon a rug, and then brought our Gouernour to him with Drums and Trumpets; where after ſome circumſtances, for they vſe few complements, we treated of peace with them to this effect.

That neither he nor any of his ſhould iniury or doe hurt to any of vs; if they did, he ſhould ſend vs the offender, that we might puniſh him, and wee would doe the like to him: if any did vniuſtly warre againſt him, we would aid him, as he ſhould vs againſt our enemies, and to ſend to his neighbour confederats to certifie them of this, that they might likewiſe be compriſed in theſe conditions, that when any of them came to vs, they ſhould leaue their Bow and Arrowes behinde them, as we would our peeces when we came to them, all which the King ſeemed to like well of, and was applauded of his followers, in his perſon hee is a very luſty man, in his beſt yeeres, an able body, graue of countenance, and ſpare of ſpeech: in his attire little differing from the reſt; after all was done, the Gouernour conducted him to the brooke, but kept our hoſtage till our meſſengers returned: in like manner we vſed *Quaddaquina*, ſo all departed good friends.

Two of his people would haue ſtaied with vs, but wee would not permit them, onely *Samoſet* and *Squanto* wee entertained kindly; as yet wee haue found they intend to keepe promiſe, for they haue not hurt our men they haue found ſtragling in the Woods, and are afraid of their powerfull Aduerſaries the *Narrohiggauſets*, againſt whom hee hopes to make vſe of our helpe. The next day *Squanto* went a fiſhing for Eeles, and in an houre he did tread as many out of the Oſe with his feet as he could lift with his hand, not hauing any other inſtrument.

But that we might know their habitations ſo well as they ours, *Stephen Hopkins* and *Edward Winſlo* had *Squantum* for their guide and Interpreter; to *Packanoki*, the habitation of the King of *Maſſaſoyt*, with a red horſemans coat for a preſent, to entreat him by reaſon we had not victuall to entertaine them

Their firſt conference with a Saluage.

The ſecond conference.

Their conditions of peace.

A iourney to *Packanoki*.

as we would, he would defend his people ſo much from viſiting vs; and if hee did ſend, he ſhould alwaies ſend with the Meſſenger a copper Chaine they gaue him, that they might know he came from him, and alſo giue them ſome of his Corne for ſeede: that night they lodged at *Namaſcet*, ſome fifteene miles off: by the way we found ten or twelue women and children that ſtill would peſter vs till we were weary of them, perceiuing it is the manner of them, where victuall is to bee gotten with moſt eaſe, there they will liue; but on that Riuer of *Namaſchet* haue beene many habitations of the Saluages that are dead, and the land lies waſte, and the Riuer abounding with great plenty of fiſh, and hath beene much frequented by the French.

A great courage of two old Saluages.

The next day trauelling with ſix or ſeuen Indians, where we were to wade ouer the Riuer, did dwell onely two old men of that Nation then liuing, that thinking vs enemies, ſought the beſt aduantage they could to fight with vs, with a wonderfull ſhew of courage, but when they knew vs their friends they kindly welcommed vs; after we came to a towne of the *Maſſaſoits*, but at *Pakanoki* the King was not: towards night he arriued and was very proud, both of our meſſage and preſents, making a great oration to all his people, Was not he *Maſſaſoit*, Commander of the country about him, was not ſuch a towne his, and the people of it, and 20. townes more he named was his? and ſhould they not bring their skins to vs? to which they anſwered, they were his and they would; victual they had none, nor any lodging, but a poore planke or two, a foot high from the ground, wheron his wife and he lay at the one end, we at the other, but a thin Mat vpon them, two more of his chiefe men preſſed by and vpon vs, ſo that we were worſe weary of our lodging then of our iourney. Although there is ſuch plenty of fiſh and fowle and wild beaſts, yet are they ſo laſſe they will not take paines to catch it till meere hunger conſtraine them, for in two or three daies we had ſcarce a meales meat, whereby we were ſo faint, we were glad to be at home: beſides what for the fleas, and their howling and ſinging in the night in their houſes, and the *Muſketas* without doores, our heads were as light for want of ſleepe, as our bellies empty for want of meat. The next voiage we made was in a Shallop with ten men to *Nawſit*, ſixteene miles from vs, to fetch a Boy was loſt in the Woods we heard was there, whom *Aſpinet* their King had bedecked like a ſaluage, but very kindly he brought him to vs, and ſo returned well to *Patuxet*.

How the King vſed them.

A voyage to *Nawſit*.

1621. Immediatly after the arriuall of the laſt ſhip, they ſent another of fiue and fifty tuns to ſupply them; with ſeuen and thirty perſons they ſet ſaile in the beginning of Iuly, but being croſſed by weſterly winds, it was the end of Auguſt ere they could paſſe *Plimoth*, and arriued in *New-England* at *New-Plimoth*, now ſo called the 11. of *November*, where they found all the people they left ſo ill, luſty and well for all their powerties, except ſix that died: a moneth they ſtayed ere they returned to *England*, loaded with Clap-boord, Wainſcot and Wallnut, with about three hogſ-heads of Beuer skinnes the 13. of December: and drawing neere our coaſt was ſet on by a French man ſet out by the Marqueſſe of *Cera*, Gouernour of Ile *Dew*, where they kept the ſhip, impriſoned the Maſter and company, tooke from them to the value of 500. pound, and after 14. daies ſent them home with a poore ſupply of victuall, their owne being deuoured by the Marqueſſe and his hungry ſeruants.

Now you are to vnderſtand this 37. brought nothing, but relied wholly on vs to make vs more miſerable then before, which the *Sachem Conanacu* no ſooner vnderſtood, but ſent to *Tuſquantum* our Interpreter, a bundle of new arrowes in a Snakes skinne; *Tuſquantum* being abſent, the Meſſenger departed, but when we vnderſtood it was a direct challenge, we returned the skin full of powder and ſhot, with an abſolute defiance, which cauſed vs finiſh our fortification with all expedition. Now betwixt our two Saluages, *Tuſquantum* and *Hobbamock*, grew ſuch great emulation, we had much adoe to know which beſt to truſt. In a iourney we vndertooke, in our way we met a Saluage of *Tuſquantums*, that had cut his face

freſh

freſh bleeding, to aſſure vs *Maſſaſoit* our ſuppoſed friend, had drawne his forces to *Packanokick* to aſſault vs. *Habamock* as confidently aſſured vs it was falſe, and ſent his wife as an eſpy to ſee; but when ſhe perceiued all was well, ſhee told the King *Maſſaſoit* how *Tiſquantum* had abuſed him, diuers Saluages alſo hee had cauſed to beleeue we would deſtroy them, but he would doe his beſt to appeaſe vs; this he did onely to make his Country-men beleeue what great power hee had with vs to get bribes on both ſides, to make peace or warre when he would, and the more to poſſeſſe them with feare, he perſwaded many we had buried the plague in our ſtore houſe, which wee could ſend when we liſted whether wee would, but at laſt all his knauery being diſcouered, *Maſſaſoyt* ſent his knife with Meſſengers for his head or him, being his ſubiect; with much adoe we appeaſed the angry King and thereſt of the Saluages, and freely forgaue *Tiſquantum*, becauſe he ſpeaking our language we could not well be without him.

A iourney to the Towne of Namaſchet, *in defence of the King of* Maſſaſoyt, *againſt the* Narrohigganſes, *and the ſuppoſed death of* Squantum.

A Great difference there was betwixt the *Narrohigganſes* and the *Maſſaſoytes*, that had alwaies a iealouſie; *Coubatant* one of their petty *Sachems* was too conuerſant with the *Narrohiggauſes*, this *Coubatant* liued much at *Namaſchet* and much ſtormed at our peace with his King and others; alſo at *Squantum*, and *Tokamahamon*, and *Hobomak* our friends, and chiefe occaſioners of our peace, for which he ſought to mutcher *Hobomak*; yet *Tokamahamon* went to him vpon a rumour he had taken *Maſaſoyt* priſoner, or forced him from his Country, but the other two would not, but in poynt to ſee if they could heare what was become of their King; lodging at *Namaſchet* they were diſcouered to *Coubatant*, who ſurprized the houſe and tooke *Squantum*, ſaying, if hee were dead the Engliſh had loſt their tongue, *Hobomak* ſeeing that, and *Coubatant* held a knife at his breſt, being a ſtrong luſty fellow, brake from them and came to *New-Plimoth*, full of ſorrow for *Squantum*, whom he thought was ſlaine.

The next day we ſent ten men with him armed to the reuenging of *Coubatant*, who conducted vs neere *Namaſchet*, where we reſted and refreſhed our ſelues till midnight, and then we beſet the houſe as we had before plotted; thoſe that entred the houſe demanded for *Coubatant*, but the Saluages were halfe dead with feare, we charged them not to ſtirre, for we came to hurt none but *Coubatant*, for killing *Squantum*, ſome of them ſeeking to eſcape was wounded, but at laſt perceiuing our ends, they told vs *Coubatant* was gone and all his men, and *Squantum* was yet liuing & in the towne, in this hurly burly we diſcharged two peeces at randome, which much terrified all the inhabitants except *Squantum* and *Tokamahamon*, who though they knew not the end of our coming, yet aſſured the quietneſſe of our honeſties, that we would not hurt them, the women and children hung about *Hobomak*, calling him friend, and when they ſaw we would hurt no women, the young youths cryed we are women; to be ſhort, we kept them all, and whilſt we were ſearching the houſe for *Coubatant*, *Hobomak* had got to the top, and called *Squantum* & *Tokamahamon*, which came vnto vs accompanied with all others, ſome armed, others naked, thoſe that had bowes we tooke them from them, promiſing them againe when it was day: the houſe wee tooke for our Quarter that night and diſcharged the priſoners, and the next morning went to breakfaſt to *Squantums* houſe; thither came all them that loued vs in welcome wiſe, but all *Coubatants* faction was fled, then we made them plainly know the cauſe of our comming, & if their King *Maſſaſoyt* were not well, we would be reuenged vpon the *Narrohiggeſets*, or any that ſhould doe iniury to *Hobomak*, *Squantum*, or any of their friends, as for thoſe were wounded we were ſorry for it, and offered our Surgion ſhould heale them, of this offer a man and a woman accepted, that went

They ſurpriſe the Saluages.

home with vs, accompanied with *Squantum*, and many other knowne friends, that offered vs all the kindneſſe they could.

From the Weſt of *England* there is gone ten or twelue ſhips to fiſh, which were all well fraughted: thoſe that came firſt to Bilbow, made ſeuenteene pound a ſingle ſhare, beſides Beuers, Otters, and Martins skinnes; but ſome of the reſt that came to the ſame ports, that were all ready furniſhed, ſo glutted the market, that the price was abated, yet all returned ſo well contented, that they are a preparing to goe againe.

1622. There is gone from the Weſt Countrey onely to fiſh, fiue and thirtie ſhips, and about the laſt of Aprill two more from *London*; the one of one hundred tunnes, the other of thirtie, with ſome ſixtie Paſſengers to ſupply the Plantation. Now though the *Turke* and *French* hath beene ſomewhat too buſie in taking our ſhips, would all the Chriſtian Princes be truly as vnitie, as his Royall Maieſtie our Soueraigne King *Iames* deſireth, ſeuentie Saile of good ſhips were ſufficient to fire the moſt of his Coaſts in the Leuant, and make ſuch a guard in the Straights of *Hellеſpont*, as would make the great *Turke* himſelfe more affraid in *Conſtantinople*, then the ſmalleſt Red-Croſſe that croſſes the Seas would be, either of any French *Pickaroun*, or the Pirats of *Argeere*.

An abſtract of diuers Relations ſent from the Colony in New England, *July* 16. 1622.

Notes and obſeruations.

SInce the maſſacre in *Virginia*, though the *Indians* continue their wonted friendſhip, yet wee are more wary of them then before; for their hands hath beene imbrued in much Engliſh bloud, onely by too much confidence, but not by force, and we haue had ſmall ſupplies of any thing but men. Here I muſt intreate a little your fauours to digreſſe, they did not kill the Engliſh in *Virginia*, becauſe they were Chriſtians: but for their weapons and Copper, which were rare nouelties; but now they feare we may beat them out of their dens, which Lions and Tigers will not admit but by force. But muſt this be an argument for an Engliſh man, and diſcourage any in *Virginia* or *New England*? No, for I haue tried them both, as you may reade at large in the Hiſtorie of *Virginia*; notwithſtanding ſince I came from thence, the Honourable Company hath beene humble ſuiters to his Maieſtie, to get vagabonds and condemned men to goe thither; nay, ſo the buſineſſe hath beene ſo abuſed, that ſo much ſcorned was the name of *Virginia*, ſome did chuſe to be hanged ere they would goe thither, and were: Yet ſtrall the worſt of ſpight, detraction, and diſcouragement, and this lamentable maſſacre, there is more honeſt men now ſuters to goe, then euer hath beene conſtrained knaues. And it is noe vnknowne to moſt men of vnderſtanding, how happy many of thoſe Collumners hath thought themſelues that they might be admitted; and yet pay for their paſſage to goe now to *Virginia*, and I feare me there goeth too many of thoſe, that hath ſhifted heere till they could no longer; and they will vſe that qualitie there till they hazard all.

To range this Countrey of *New England* in like manner, I had but eight, as is ſaid, and amongſt their brute conditions, I met many of their ſilly encounters, and I giue God thankes, without any hurt at all to me, or any with mee. When your Weſt-Countrey men were ſo wounded and tormented with the Saluages, though they had all the Poeticke directions that had beene gathered from all the ſecret informations could be heard of, yet they found little, and returned with nothing. I ſpeake not this out of vaine-glory, as it may be ſome gleaners, or ſome was neuer there may cenſure me, but to let all men be aſſured by theſe examples what thoſe Saluages are, that thus ſtrangely doe murder and betray our Countrymen: but to the purpoſe.

The *Paragon* with thirtie ſeuen men ſent to relieue them, miſcaried twice vpon

our

our English Coast, whereby they failed of their supplies. It is true, there hath beene taken one thousand Bases at a draught; and in one night twelue Hogsheads of Herrings: but when they wanted all necessaries both for fishing and sustinance, but what they could get with their naked industry, they indured most extreme wants, hauing beene now neere two yeeres without any supply to any purpose, it is a wonder how they should subsist, much lesse so to resist the Saluages, fortifie themselues, plant sixtie acres of Corne, besides their Gardens that were well replenished with many vsuall fruits. But in the beginning of Iuly came in two ships of Master *Westons*, though we much wanted our selues, yet we releeued them what we could: and to requite vs, they destroied our Corne and Fruits then planted, and did what they could to haue done the like to vs. At last they were transported to *Wichaguscusset* at the *Massachusets*, where they abused the Saluages worse then vs. We hauing neither Trade, nor scarce any thing remaining, God sent in one Master *Iones*, and a ship of *Westons* had beene at *Monahigan* amongst the Fisher-men, that for Beuer skinnes and such Merchandize as wee had, very well refreshed vs, though at deere rates. *Weston* left also his men a small Barke, and much good prouision, and so set saile for *England*. Then wee ioyned with them to trade to the Southward of Cape *Cod*, twice or thrice wee were forced to returne; first by the death of their Gouernor; then the sicknesse of Captaine *Standish*. At last our Gouernor Master *Bradford* vndertooke it himselfe to haue found the passage betwixt the Shoules and the Maine, then *Tusquantum* our Pilot died, so that we returned to the *Massachusets*, where we found the trade spoiled, and nothing but complaints betwixt the Saluages and the English. At *Nawset* we were kindly vsed and had good trade, though we lost our Barge, the Saluages carefully kept both her wracke, and some ten Hosheads of Corne three moneths, and so we returned some by land, some in the ship.

They liued two yeeres without supply.

Westons Plantation.

The death of *Tusquantum*.

Captaine *Standish* being recouered, went to fetch them both, and traded at *Namasket* and *Monomete*, where the people had the plague, a place much frequented with *Dutch* and *French*. Here the *Sachem* put a man to death for killing his fellow at play, wherein they are so violent, they will play their coats from their backs, and also their wiues, though many miles from them. But our prouision decaying, *Standish* is sent to *Mattachist*, where they pretended their wonted loue; yet it plainly appeared they intended to kill him. Escaping thence, wee went to *Monomete*, where we found nothing but bad countenances. Heare one *Wittuwamat* a notable villaine, would boast how many French and English hee had slaine: This Champion presenting a Dagger to the *Sachem Canacum* he had got from the English, occasioned vs to vnderstand how they had contriued to murder all the English in the Land, but hauing such a faire opportunitie, they would begin heere with vs. Their scornfull vsage made the Captaine so passionate to appease his anger and choler, their intent made many faire excuses for satisfaction: *Scar* a lusty Saluage, alwaies seeming the most to effect vs, bestowed on vs the best presents he had without any recompence, saying, Hee was rich enough to bestow such fauours on his friends, yet had vndertaken to kill the Captaine himselfe, but our vigilencies so preuented the aduantage they expected, we safely returned, little suspecting in him any such treachery.

Tusquantum at his death desired the English to pray he might go dwell with the English mens God, for theirs was a good God.

They contriue to murder all the English.

During this time a *Dutch* ship was drife a shore at *Massasowat*, whose King lay very sicke, now because it is a generall custome then for all their friends to visit them: Master *Winslow*, and Master *Hamden*, with *Habamok* for their guide, were sent with such Cordialls as they had to salute him; by the way they so oft heard the King was dead, *Habamok* would breake forth in those words, My louing *Sachem*, my louing *Sachem*, many haue I knowne, but neuer any like thee, nor shall euer see the like amongst the Saluages; for he was no lier, nor bloudy and cruell like other *Indians*, in anger soone reclaimed, he would be ruled by reason, not scorning the aduice of meane men, and gouerned his men better with a few strokes, then others with many; truly louing where he loued, yet he feared wee

The sicknesse of King *Massasowat*.

had

had not a faithfull friend left amongst all his Countrey-men, shewing how oft he had restrained their malice, much more with much passion he spoke to this purpose, till at last we arriued where we found the *Dutchmen* but newly gone, and the house so full we could hardly get in. By their charmes they distempered vs that were well, much more him that was sicke, women rubbing him to keepe heat in him; but their charmes ended, vnderstanding of vs, though he had lost his sight, his vnderstanding failed not; but taking *Winslow* by the hand, said, Art thou *Winslow*, Oh *Winslow*, I shall neuer see thee againe! *Hobamock* telling him what restauratiues they had brought, he desired to taste them, with much adoe they got a little Confexion of many comfortable Conserues into his mouth, as it desolued he swallowed it, then desoluing more of it in water, they scraped his tongue, which was al furred & swolne, and washed his mouth, and then gaue him more of it to eat, and in his drinke, that wrought such an alteration in him in two or three houres, his eies opened to our great contents; with this and such brothes as they there prouided for him, it pleased God he recouered: and thus the manner of his sicknesse and cure caused no small admiration amongst them.

His cure by the English.

During the time of their stay to see his recouery, they had sent to *New Plimoth* for diuers good things for him, which he tooke so kindly, that he fully reuealed all the former conspiracies against vs, to which he had oft beene moued; and how that all the people of *Powmet*, *Nawset*, *Succonet*, *Mattachist*, *Manamet*, *Augawam*, and *Capawac*, were ioyned to murder vs; therefore as we respected our liues, kill them of *Massachuset* that were the authors; for take away the principals and the plot wil cease, thus taking our leaues, & arriuing at our fort, we found our braue liberall friend of *Pamet* drawing *Standish* to their Ambuscados, which being thus discouered, we sent him away, as though he knew nor suspected any thing. Them at the *Massachusets*, some were so vilde they serued the Saluages for victuall, the rest sent vs word the Saluages were so insolent, they would assault them though against their Commission, so fearefull they were to breake their Commission, so much time was spent in consultations, they all were famished, till *Wassapinewat* againe came and told them the day of their execution was at hand.

The Kings thankfulnesse.

A bad example.

Then they appointed *Standish* with eight chosen men, vnder colour of Trade to catch them in their owne trap at *Massachuset*, & acquaint it with the English in the Towne, where arriuing he found none in the Barke, and most of the rest without Armes, or scarce clothes, wandering abroad, all so sencelesly secure, he more then wondered they were not all slaine, with much adoe he got the most of them to their Towne. The Saluages suspecting their plots discouered, *Packinot* a great man, and of as great a spirit, came to *Habamak*, who was then amongst them, saying; Tell *Standish* we know he is come to kill vs, but let him begin when he dare. Not long after many would come to the Fort and whet their Kniues before him, with many brauing speeches. One amongst the rest was by *Wittawamat* bragging he had a Knife, that on the handle had the picture of a womans face, but at home I haue one hath killed both French & English, and that hath a mans face on it, and by and by these two must marie; but this here, by and by shall see, and by and by eat, but not speake; Also *Packinot* being of a greater stature then the Captaine, told him, though he were a great Captaine he was but a little man, and I though no *Sachem*, yet I am of great strength and courage. These things *Standish* bare patiently for the present; but the next day seeing he could not get many of them together, but these two Roarers, and two more being an conuenient roome, and his company about him, *Standish* seased on *Packinots* Knife then hanging about his necke, wherewith he slew him, and the rest slew *Wittuwamat* and the other Saluage, but the youth they tooke, who being Brother to *Wittuwamat*, and as villanous as himselfe, was hanged. It is incredible how many wounds they indured, catching at their weapons without any feare or bruit, till the last gasp. *Habamack* stood by all this time very silent, but attended, he said, Yesterday *Packinot* bragged of his strength and stature, but I see you are big enough to lay him on the ground.

Captaine *Standish* sent to suppresse the Saluages.

Two desperate Saluages slaine.

The

The Towne he left to the guard of *Weſtons* people: three Saluages more were ſlaine; vpon which rumour they all fled from their houſes. The next day they met with a file of Saluages that let fly their Arrowes, ſhot for ſhot till *Hobamack* ſhewed himſelfe, and then they fled. For all this, a Saluage Boy to ſhew his innocency, came boldly vnto vs and told vs: Had the Engliſh Fugitiues but finiſhed the three Canowes they were a making, to haue taken the ſhip, they would haue done as much to all the Engliſh, which was onely the cauſe they had forborne ſo long. But now conſulting and conſidering their eſtates, thoſe that went in the Pinnace to *Barty* Iles to get paſſage for *England*, the reſt to *New Plimoth*, where they were kindly entertained. The *Sachem Obtakeeſt*, & *Powas*, and diuers other were guilty, the three fugitiues in their fury there ſlew; but not long after ſo diſtracted were thoſe poore ſcattered people, they left their habitations, liuing in ſwamps, where with cold and infinite diſeaſes they endured much mortalitie, ſuing for peace, and crying the God of *England* is angry with them. Thus you ſee where God pleaſes, as ſome flouriſh, others periſh. The Saluages ouercommed.

Now on all hands they prepare their ground, and about the middeſt of Aprill, in a faire ſeaſon they begin to plant till the latter end of May; but ſo God pleaſed, that in ſix weekes after the latter ſetting there ſcarce fell any raine; ſo that the ſtalke was firſt ſet, began to eare ere it came to halfe growth, and the laſt not like to yeeld any thing at all. Our Beanes alſo ſeemed ſo withered, we iudged all vtterly dead, that now all our hopes were ouerthrowne, and our ioy turned into mourning. And more to our ſorrow, we heard of the twice returne of the *Paragon*, that now the third time was ſent vs three moneths agoe, but no newes of her: onely the ſignes of a wracke we ſaw on the Coaſt which wee iudged her. This cauſed not euery of vs to enter into a priuate conſideration betwixt God and our conſciences, but moſt ſolemnly to humble our ſelues before the Lord by faſting and praying, to releeue our deiected ſpirits by the comforts of his mercy. In the morning when wee aſſembled all together, the skies were as cleere, and the drought as like to continue as euer; yet our exerciſe continued eight or nine houres. Before our departure, the skies were all ouer-caſt, and on the next morning diſtilled ſuch ſoft, ſweet, moderate ſhowers, continuing foureteene daies, mixed with ſuch ſeaſonable weather, as it was hard to ſay, whether our withered Corne, or drooping affections were moſt quickned and reuiued; ſuch was the bounty and mercy of God. Of this the *Indians* by the meanes of *Hobamock* tooke notice, who ſeeing vs vſe this exerciſe in the midſt of the weeke, ſaid, It was but three daies ſince Sunday, and deſired to know the reaſon; which when hee vnderſtood, he and all of them admired the goodneſſe of God towards vs, ſhewing the difference betwixt their coniurations and our praiers, and what ſtormes and dangers they oft receiue thereby. To expreſſe our thankfulneſſe, wee aſſembled together another day, as before, and either the next morning, or not long after, came in two ſhips to ſupply vs, and all their Paſſengers well except one, and he preſently recouered. For vs, notwithſtanding all theſe wants, there was not a ſicke perſon amongſt vs. The greater ſhip we returned fraught; the other wee ſent to the Southward, to trade vnder the command of Captaine *Aſton*. So that God be thanked, we deſire nothing, but what we will returne Commodities to the value. 1623. An extreme drought. A wonderfull bleſſing & ſigne of Gods loue.

Thus all men finde our great God he,
That neuer wanted nature,
To teach his truth, that onely he
Of euery thing is Author.

For this yeere from *England* is gone about fortie ſaile of ſhips, only to fiſh, and as I am informed, haue made a farre better voyage then euer. Forty ſails ſent to fiſh.

Now ſome new great obſeruers will haue this an Iland, becauſe I haue written it is the

the Continent: others report, that the people are ſo bruit, they haue no religion, wherein ſurely they are deceiued; for my part, I neuer heard of any Nation in the world which had not a Religion, deare, bowes and arrowes. They beleeue as doe the *Virginians*, of many diuine powers, yet of one aboue all the reſt, as the Southerne *Virginians* call their chiefe God *Kewaſſa*, and that wee now inhabit *Oke*, but both their Kings *Werowance*. The *Maſachuſets* call their great God *Kiehtan*, and their Kings there abouts *Sachems*: The *Penobſcotes* their greateſt power *Tantum*, and their Kings *Sagomos*. Thoſe where is this Plantation, ſay *Kiehtan* made all the other Gods: alſo one man and one woman, and of them all mankinde, but how they became ſo diſperſed they know not. They ſay, at firſt there was no King but *Kiehtan* that dwelleth farre weſterly aboue the heauens, whither all good men goe when they die, and haue plentie of all things. The bad men goe thither alſo and knocke at the doore, but he bids them goe wander in endleſſe want and miſerie, for they ſhall not ſtay there. They neuer ſaw *Kiehtan*, but they hold it a great charge and durie, that one age teach another; and to him they make feaſts, and cry and ſing for plentie and victorie, or any thing is good. They haue another Power they call *Hobamock*, which wee conceiue the Deuill, and vpon him they call to cure their wounds and diſeaſes: when they are curable he perſwades them he ſent them, becauſe they haue diſpleaſed him; but if they be mortall, then he ſaith, *Kiehtan* ſent them, which makes them neuer call on him in their ſickneſſe. They ſay this *Hobamock* appeares to them ſomtimes like a Man, a Deere, or an Eagle, but moſt commonly like a Snake; not to all, but only to their *Powahs* to cure diſeaſes, and *Vnděſes*, which is one of the chiefe next the King, and ſo bold in the warres, that they thinke no weapon can kill them: and thoſe are ſuch as coniure in *Virginia*, and cauſe the people to doe what they liſt.

Their Religion.

Their Gouernment.

For their Gouernment: euery *Sachem* is not a King, but their great *Sachems* haue diuers *Sachems* vnder their protection, paying them tribute, and dare make no warres without his knowledge; but euery *Sachem* taketh care for the Widowes, Orphans, the aged and maimed, nor will they take any to firſt wife, but them in birth equall to themſelues, although they haue many inferior Wiues and Concubins that attend on the principall; from whom he neuer parteth, but any of the reſt when they liſt, they inherit by ſucceſſion, and euery one knowes their owne bounds. To his men, hee giueth them land, alſo bounded, and what Deere they kill in that circuit, he hath the fore-part; but if in the water, onely the skin: But they account none a man, till hee hath done ſome notable exploit: the men are moſt imploied in hunting, the women in ſlauery; the younger obey the elders: their names are variable; they haue harlots and honeſt women: the harlots neuer marrie, or elſe are widowes. They vſe diuoreement, and the King commonly puniſheth all offenders himſelfe: when a maid is maried, ſhe cutteth her haire, and keepes her head couered till it be growne againe. Their arts, games, muſicke, attire, burials, and ſuch like, differ very little from the *Virginians*, onely for their Chronicles they make holes in the ground, as the others ſet vp great ſtones. Out of the Relations of Maſter *Edward Winſlow*.

An anſwer to Obiections.

Now I know the common queſtion is, For all thoſe miſeries, where is the wealth they haue got, or the Gold or Siluer Mines? To ſuch greedy vnworthy minds I ſay once againe: The Sea is better then the richeſt Mine knowne, and of all the fiſhing ſhips that went well prouided, there is no complaint of loſſe nor miſery, but rather an admiration of wealth, profit, and health. As for the land were it neuer ſo good, in two yeeres ſo few of ſuch ſmall experience liuing without ſupplies ſo well, and in health, it was an extraordinary bleſſing from God. But that with ſuch ſmall meanes they ſhould ſubſiſt, and doe ſo much, to any vnderſtanding judgement is a wonder. Notwithſtanding, the vaine expectation of preſent gaine in ſome, ambition in others, that to be great would haue all elſe ſlaues, and the careleſneſſe in prouiding ſupplies, hath cauſed thoſe defailements in all thoſe Plantations, and how euer ſome bad conditions will extoll the

actions

actions of any Nation but their owne: yet if we may giue credit to the *Spaniards*, *Portugals*, and *French* writings, they indured as many miſeries, and yet not in twenty yeeres effected ſo much, nay ſcarce in fortie.

Thus you may ſee plainly the yeerely ſucceſſe from *New England* by *Virginia*, which hath beene ſo coſtly to this Kingdome, and ſo deare to me, which either to ſee periſh, or but bleed; Pardon me though it paſſionate me beyond the bounds of modeſty, to haue beene ſufficiently able to fore-ſee their miſeries, and had neither power nor meanes to preuent it. By that acquaintance I haue with them, I call them my children, for they haue beene my Wife, my Hawks, Hounds, my Cards, my Dice, and in totall, my beſt content, as indifferent to my heart, as my left hand to my right. And notwithſtanding, all thoſe miracles of diſaſters haue croſſed both them and me, yet were there not an Engliſhman remaining, as God be thanked notwithſtanding the maſſacre there are ſome thouſands; I would yet begin againe with as ſmall meanes as I did at firſt, not that I haue any ſecret encouragement (I proteſt) more then lamentable experience; for all their diſcoueries I haue yet heard of, are but Pigs of my owne Sow, nor more ſtrange to me, then to heare one tell me hee hath gone from *Billingſgate* and diſcouered *Grauеſend*, *Tilbury*, *Quinborow*, *Lee*, and *Margit*, which to thoſe did neuer heare of them, though they dwell in *England*, might bee made ſome rare ſecrets and great Countries vnknowne, except ſome few Relations of Maſter *Dirmer*. In *England*, ſome are held great trauellers that haue ſeene *Venice*, and *Rome*, *Madrill*, *Toledo*, *Siuill*, *Algere*, *Prague*, or *Ragenſa*, *Conſtantinople*, or *Ieruſalem*, and the Piramides of *Egypt*; that thinke it nothing to goe to *Summer Iles*, or *Virginia*, which is as far as any of them; and I hope in time will proue a more profitable and a more laudable iourney: as for the danger, you ſee our Ladies and Gentlewomen account it nothing now to goe thither; and therefore I hope all good men will better apprehend it, and not ſuffer them to languiſh in deſpaire, whom God ſo wonderfully and oft hath preſerued.

The ordinary voyage to goe to *Virginia* or *New-England*.

What here I haue writ by Relation, if it be not right I humbly intreat your pardons, but I haue not ſpared any diligence to learne the truth of them that haue beene actors, or ſharers in thoſe voyages; In ſome particulars they might deceiue mee, but in the ſubſtance they could not: for few could tell me any thing, except where they fiſhed. But ſeeing all thoſe haue liued there, doe confirme more then I haue writ, I doubt not but all thoſe teſtimonies with theſe new begun examples of Plantation, will moue both Citie and Country, freely to aduenture with me more then promiſes.

But becauſe ſome Fortune-tellers ſay, I am vnfortunate; had they ſpent their time as I haue done, they would rather beleeue in God then their calculations, and peraduenture haue giuen as bad an account of their actions, and therefore I intreat leaue to anſwer thoſe obiecters, that thinke it ſtrange, if this be true, I haue made no more vſe of it, reſt ſo long without imploiment, nor haue no more reward nor preferment: To which I ſay;

The obiections againſt me.

I thinke it more ſtrange they ſhould tax me, before they haue tried as much as I haue, both by land and ſea, as well in *Aſia* and *Affrica*, as *Europe* and *America*, where my Commanders were actors or ſpectators, they alwaies ſo freely rewarded me, I neuer needed bee importunate, or could I euer learne to beg: What there I got, I haue ſpent; yet in *Virginia* I ſtaied, till I left fiue hundred behinde me better prouided then euer I was, from which bleſſed Virgin (ere I returned) ſprung the fortunate habitation of *Summer Iles*.

My anſwer.

This Virgins Siſter, now called *New England*, at my humble ſute, by our moſt gracious Prince *Charles*, hath beene neere as chargeable to me and my friends: for all which, although I neuer got ſhilling but it coſt mee a pound, yet I would thinke my ſelfe happy could I ſee their proſperities.

But if it yet trouble a multitude to proceed vpon theſe certainties, what thinke you I vndertooke when nothing was knowne but that there was a vaſt land? I

Conſiderations.

neuer had power and meanes to doe any thing, though more hath beene ſpent in formall delaies then would haue done the buſineſſe, but in ſuch a penurious and miſerable manner, as if I had gone a begging to build an Vniuerſitie: where had men beene as forward to aduenture their purſes, and performe the conditions they promiſed mee, as to crop the fruits of my labours, thouſands ere this had beene bettered by theſe deſignes. Thus betwixt the ſpur of deſire and the bridle of reaſon, I am neere ridden to death in a ring of deſpaire; the reines are in your hands, therefore I intreat you eaſe me, and thoſe that thinke I am either idle or vnfortunate, may ſee the cauſe and know: vnleſſe I did ſee better dealing, I haue had warning enough not to be ſo forward againe at euery motion vpon their promiſes, vnleſſe I intended nothing but to carie newes; for now they dare aduenture a ſhip, that when I went firſt would not aduenture a groat, ſo they may be at home againe by Michaelmas, which makes me remember and ſay with Maſter *Hackluit*; Oh incredulitie the wit of fooles, that ſlouingly doe ſpit at all things faire, a ſluggards Cradle, a Cowards Caſtle, how eaſie it is to be an Infidell. But to the matter: By this all men may perceiue, the ordinary performance of this voyage in fiue or ſix moneths, the plentie of fiſh is moſt certainly approued; and it is certaine, from *Canada* and *New England*, within theſe ſix yeeres hath come neere twenty thouſand Beuer skinnes: Now had each of theſe ſhips tranſported but ſome ſmall quantitie of the moſt increaſing Beaſts, Fowles, Fruits, Plants, and Seeds, as I proiected; by this time their increaſe might haue beene ſufficient for more then one thouſand men: But the deſire of preſent gaine (in many) is ſo violent, and the endeuours of many vndertakers ſo negligent, euery one ſo regarding their priuate gaine, that it is hard to effect any publike good, and impoſſible to bring them into a body, rule, or order, vnleſſe both honeſty, as well as authoritie and money, aſſiſt experience. But your home-bred ingroſſing Proiecters will at laſt finde, there is a great difference betwixt ſaying and doing, or thoſe that thinks their directions can be as ſoone and eaſily performed, as they can conceit them; or that their conceits are the fitteſt things to bee put in practiſe, or their countenances maintaine Plantations. But to conclude, the fiſhing will goe forward whether you plant it or no; whereby a Colony may be then tranſported with no great charge, that in ſhort time might prouide ſuch fraughts, to buy on vs there dwelling, as I would hope no ſhip ſhould goe or come emptie from *New England*.

The charge. The charge of this is onely Salt, Nets, Hookes, Lines, Kniues, Iriſh-rugges, courſe cloth, Beads, Glaſſe, and ſuch traſh, onely for fiſhing and trade with the Saluages, beſides our owne neceſſarie prouiſions, whoſe endeuours would quickly defray all this charge, and the Saluages did intreat me to inhabit where I would. Now all thoſe ſhips till theſe laſt two yeeres, haue beene fiſhing within a ſquare of two or three leagues, and ſcarce any one yet will goe any further in the Port they fiſh in, where queſtionleſſe fiue hundred may haue their fraught as well as elſewhere, and be in the market ere others can haue the fiſh in their ſhips, becauſe *New Englands* fiſhing begins in February, in *Newfoundland* not till the midſt of May; the progreſſion hereof tends much to the aduancement of *Virginia* and *Summer Iles*, whoſe empty ſhips may take in their fraughts there, and would be alſo in time of need a good friend to the Inhabitants of *Newfoundland*.

The order of the weſterne men. The returnes made by the Weſterne men, are commonly diuided in three parts; one for the owner of the ſhip; another for the Maſter and his Company; the third for the victualers, which courſe being ſtill permitted, will be no hinderance to the Plantation as yet goe there neuer ſo many, but a meanes of tranſporting that yeerely for little or nothing, which otherwiſe wil coſt many hundreds of

The gaines. pounds. If a ſhip can gaine twenty, thirty, fifty in the hundred; nay three hundred for one hundred in ſeuen or ten moneths, as you ſee they haue done, ſpending twice ſo much time in comming and going as in ſtaying there: were I there planted, ſeeing the variety of the fiſhings ſerue the moſt part of the yeere, and with a little labour we might make all the Salt we need vſe, as is formerly ſaid, and can

conceiue

conceiue no reaſon to diſtruſt of good ſucceſſe by Gods aſſiſtance; beſides for the building of ſhips, no place hath more conuenient Harbours, ebbe, nor floud, nor better timber; and no Commoditie in *Europe* doth more decay then wood.

Maſter Dee *his opinion for the building of ſhips.*

The effects of ſhipping.

MAſter *Dee* recordeth in his Brittiſh Monarchy, that King *Edgar* had a Nauy of foure thouſand ſaile, with which he yeerely made his progreſſe, about this famous Monarchy of *Great Britaine*, largely declaring the benefit thereof; whereupon hee proiected to our moſt memorable Queene *Elizabeth*, the erecting of a Fleet of ſixty Saile, he called a little Nauy Royall: imitating that admired *Pericles* Prince of *Athens*, that could neuer ſecure that tormented eſtate, vntill he was Lord and Captaine of the Sea. At this none need wonder, for who knowes not her Royall Maieſtie during her life, by the incredible aduentures of her Royall Nauy, and valiant Souldiers and Sea-men, notwithſtanding all treacheries at home, the protecting and defending *France* and *Holland*, and reconquering *Ireland*; yet all the world by Sea and Land both feared or loued, and admired good Queene *Elizabeth*. Both to maintaine and increaſe that incomparable honour (God be thanked) to her incomparable Succeſſor, our moſt Royall Lord and Soueraigne King *Iames*, this great Philoſopher hath left this to his Maieſtie and his Kingdomes conſideration: that if the tenths of the earth be proper to God, it is alſo due by Sea. The Kings high waies are common to paſſe, but not to dig for Mines or any thing: So *Englands* Coaſts are free to paſſe but not to fiſh, but by his Maieſties Prerogatiue.

The Popes order for the East and West Indies.

His Maieſty of *Spaine* permits none to paſſe the Popes order, for the Eaſt and Weſt Indies but by his permiſſion, or at their perils; if all that world be ſo iuſtly theirs, it is no iniuſtice for *England* to make as much vſe of her owne ſhores as ſtrangers doe, that pay to their owne Lords the tenth, and not to the owner of thoſe liberties any thing to ſpeake of, whoſe ſubiects may neither take nor ſell any in their Teritories: which ſmall tribute would maintaine this little Nauy Royall, and not coſt his Maieſty a peny, and yet maintaine peace with all Forrainers, and allow them more courteſie then any Nation in the world affords to *England*. It were a ſhame to alleage, that *Holland* is more worthy to enioy our fiſhing as Lords thereof, becauſe they haue more skill to handle it then we, as they can our wooll and vndreſſed Cloth, notwithſtanding all their warres and troubleſome diſorders.

How to get money to build this little Nauy.

To get money to build this Nauy, he ſaith, who would not ſpare the one hundreth penny of his rents, and the fiue hundreth penny of his goods; each ſeruant that taketh forty ſhillings wages, foure pence; and euery forrainer of ſeuen yeeres of age foure pence, for ſeuen yeeres; not any of theſe but they will ſpend three times ſo much in pride, wantonneſſe, or ſome ſuperfluitie: And doe any men loue the ſecuritie of their eſtates, that of themſelues would not bee humble ſuters to his Maieſty to doe this of free will as a voluntary beneuolence, or but the one halfe of this (or ſome ſuch other courſe as I haue prounded to diuers of the Companies) free from any conſtraint, tax, lottery, or impoſition; ſo it may be as honeſtly and truly imploied, as it is proiected, the pooreſt Mechanicke in this King would gaine by it. Then you might build ſhips of any proportion and numbers you pleaſe, fiue times cheaper then you can doe here, and haue good merchandize for their fraught in this vnknowne Land, to the aduancement of Gods glory, his Church and Goſpel, and the ſtrengthning and releeſe of a great part of Chriſtendome without hurt to any, to the terror of Pirats, the amazement of enemies, the aſſiſtance of friends, the ſecuring Merchants, and ſo much increaſe of Nauigation, to make *Englands* trade and ſhipping as much as any Nations in the world, beſides a hundred other benefits, to the generall good of all true ſubiects, & would cauſe thouſands yet vnborne to bleſſe the time, and all them that firſt put it in practiſe.

Contention for *New-Englands* goods, not her good.

Now leſt it ſhould be obſcured as it hath beene to priuat ends, or ſo weakely vndertaken by our ouerweening incredulity, that ſtrangers may poſſeſſe it whileſt we contend for *New-Englands* goods, but not *Englands* good; I haue preſented it as I haue ſaid, to the Prince and Nobility, the Gentry and Commonalty, hoping at laſt it will moue the whole land to know it and conſider of it; ſince I can finde them wood and halfe victuall, with the foreſaid aduantages: were this Country planted, with what facility they may build and maintaine this little Nauy Royall, both with honour, profit and content, and inhabit as good a Country as any in the world within that paralell, which with my life and what I haue, I will endeuour to effect, if God pleaſe and you permit. But no man will goe from hence to haue leſſe freedome there then here, nor aduenture all they haue to prepare the way for them will ſcarce thanke them for it; and it is too well knowne there haue beene ſo many vndertakers of Patents, and ſuch ſharing of them, as hath bred no leſſe diſcouragement then wonder, to heare ſuch great promiſes and ſo little performance; in the *Interim*, you ſee the French and Dutch already frequent it, and God forbid they in *Virginia*, or any of his Maieſties ſubiects, ſhould not haue as free liberty as they. To conclude, were it not for Maſter *Cherley* and a few priuate aduenturers with them, what haue we there for all theſe inducements? As for them whom pride or couetouſneſſe lulleth aſleepe in a Cradle of ſlothfull careleſneſſe, would they but conſider how all the great Monarchies of the earth haue beene brought to confuſion, or but remember the late lamentable experiences of *Conſtantinople*, and how many Cities, Townes and Prouinces, in the faire rich Kingdoms of *Hungaria*, *Tranſiluania*, *Wallachia* & *Moldauia*, and how many thouſands of Princes, Earles, Barons, Knights, Merchants, and others, haue in one day loſt goods, liues and honours, or ſold for ſlaues like beaſts in a market place, their wiues, children and ſeruants ſlaine, or wandring they knew not whither, dying or liuing in all extremities of extreme miſeries and calamities, ſurely they would not onely doe this, but giue all they haue to enioy peace and liberty at home, or but aduenture their perſons abroad; to preuent the concluſions of a conquering Foe, who commonly aſſaulteth and beſt preuaileth where he findeth wealth and plenty, moſt armed with ignorance and ſecurity.

The neceſſity of martiall power.

Though the true condition of warre is onely to ſuppreſſe the proud and defend the innocent, as did that moſt generous Prince *Sigiſmundus*, Prince of thoſe Countries, againſt them whom vnder the colour of iuſtice and piety, to maintaine their ſuperfluity of ambitious pride, thought all the world too little to maintaine their vice, and vndoe them, or keepe them from ability to doe any thing, that would not admire and adore their honours, fortunes, couetouſneſſe, falſhood, bribery, cruelty, extortion, and ingratitude, which is worſe then cowardize or ignorance, and all manner of vildneſſe, cleane contrary to all honour, vertue, and nobleneſſe. Iohn Smith *writ this with his owne hand.*

Here follow certaine notes and obſeruations of Captaine *Charles Whitbourne* concerning *New-found land*, which although euery maſter trained vp in fiſhing, can make their proportions of neceſſaries according to their cuſtome, yet it is not much amiſſe here to inſert them, that euery one which deſires the good of thoſe actions know them alſo. Beſides in his Booke intituled, *A diſcouery of New-found land, and the commodities thereof*, you ſhall finde many excellent good aduertiſements for a Plantation; and how that moſt yeeres this Coaſt hath beene frequented with 250. ſaile of his Maieſties ſubiects, which ſuppoſing but 60. tunnes a peece, one with another, they amount to 15000. tunnes, and allowing 25. men and boies to euery Barke, they will make 5000. perſons, whoſe labours rerurne yeerely to about 135000. pound ſterling, beſides the great numbers of Brewers, Bakers, Coupers, Ship-Carpenters, Net-makers, Rope-makers, Hooke-makers, and the moſt of all other mecanicall trades in *England*.

The

The charge of ſetting forth a ſhip of 100. tuns with 40. perſons, both to make a fiſhing voyage, and increaſe the Plantation.

	l.	s.	d.
Inprimis, 10000. *weight of Biſket at* 15. s. *a* 100. *weight.*	82.	10.	
26 *Tun of Beere and Sider at* 53. s. 4. d. *a Tun.*	69.	7.	
2 *Hogſheads of Engliſh Beefe.*	10.		
2 *Hogſheads of Iriſh Beefe.*	5.		
10 *Fat Hogs ſalted with Salt and Caske.*	10.	10.	
30 *Buſhels of Peaſe.*	6.		
2 *Ferkins of Butter.*	3.		
200 *Waight of Cheeſe.*	2.	10.	
1 *Buſhell of Muſtard-ſeed.*		6.	
1 *Hogſhead of Vinegar.*	1.	5.	
Wood to dreſſe meat withall.	2.		
1 *Great Copper Kettle.*	3.		
2 *Small Kettles.*	2.		
2 *Frying-Pans.*		3.	4.
Platters, Ladles and Cans.	1.		
a paire of Bellowes for the Cooke.		2.	6.
Taps, Boriers and Funnels.		2.	
Locks for the Bread roomes.		2.	6.
100 *weight of Candles.*	2.	10.	
130 *quarters of Salt at* 2. s. *the Buſhell.*	10.	4.	
Mats & dinnage to lie vnder it.	2.	10.	
Salt Shouels.		10	
Particulars for the 40. *perſons to keepe* 8. *fiſhing boats at Sea, with* 3. *men in euery boat, imploies* 24. *and* 500. *foot of Elme boords of an inch thicke,* 8. s. *each one.*	2.		
2000 *Nailes for the* 8. *Boats, at* 13. s. 4. d. *a* 1000.	1.	6.	8.
4000 *Nailes at* 6. s. 8 d. 1000.	1.	6.	8.
2000 *Nailes at* 5. d. 100.		8.	
500 *weight of pitch at* 8. s. 100.	2.		
2000 *of good orlop nailes.*	2.	5.	
More for other ſmall neceſſaries.	3.		
A barrell of Tar.		10.	
200 *weight of black Ocome.*	1.		
Thrums for pitch Mats.		1.	6.
Bolls, Buckets and Pumps.	1.		
2 *brazen Crocks.*	2.		
Cannas to make Boat ſailes & ſmall ropes, at 25. s. *for each ſaile,*	12.	10.	
10 *rode Ropes which containe* 600. *weight at* 30. s. *the* 100.	10.		
12 *dozen of fiſhing lines.*	6.		
24 *dozen of fiſhing hookes.*	2.		
for Squid line.		3.	
For Pots and liuer maunds.		18.	
Iron works for the boats ruthers.	2.		
10 *Kipnet Irons.*		10.	
Twine to make kipnets and gagging hooks.		6.	
10 *good Nets at* 26. s. *a net.*	13.		
2 *Saynes, a great and a leſſe.*	12.		
200 *weight of Sow-lead.*	1.		
2 *couple of ropes for the Saynes.*	1.		
Dry-fats to keepe them in.		6.	
Twine for ſtore.		5.	
Flaskets and bread Baskets.		15.	
For haire cloth.		10.	
3. *Tuns of vinegar caske for water.*	1.	6.	8.
1 *douzen of Deale Bourds.*		10.	
2 *Barrels of Oatmeale.*	1.	6.	
100 *weight of Spikes.*	2.	5.	
2 *good Axes,* 4. *hand Hatchets,* 4. *Drawers,* 2. *drawing Irons.*		16.	
3 *yards of wollen cloth for cuffs.*		10.	
8 *yards of good Cannaſſe.*		10.	
A Grind-ſtone or two.		6.	
1000 *of poore Iohn to ſpend in going.*		6.	10.
1 *Hogſhead of Aquanita.*		4.	
4 *arme Sawes,* 4. *Handſawes,* 4. *thwart Sawes,* 3. *Augers,* 2. *Crowes of Iron,* 3. *Sledges.* 4. *ſhod Shouels,* 2. *Pic-axes,* 4. *Matocks, and* 4. *Hammers.*	5.		
The totall ſumme is	420.	11.	0.

All theſe prouiſions the Maſter or Purſer is to be accountable what is ſpent and what is left, with thoſe which ſhall continue there to plant, and of the 40. thus prouided for the voyage, ten may well be ſpared to leaue behind them, with 500. weight of Biſket, 5. hogſheads of Sider or beere, halfe a hogſhead of Beefe, 4. ſides of dry Bakon, 4. buſhell of Peaſe, halfe a ferkin of Butter, halfe 100. waght of Cheeſe, a pecke of Muſtard-ſeed, a barrell of Vinegar, 12. pound of Candles, 2. pecks of Oatmeale, halfe a hogſhead of Aquauitæ, 2. copper Kettles 1. braſſe Crock, 1. Frying-pan, a Grindſtone, and all the Hatchets, Woodhookes, Sawes, Augers, &c. and all other iron tooles, with the 8. Boats and their implements, and

and ſpare ſalt, and what elſe they vſe not in a readineſſe from yeere to yeere, and in the meane time ſerued them to helpe to build their houſes, cleanſe land, and further their fiſhing whilſt the ſhips are wanting.

By his eſtimation and calculation theſe 8. Boats with 22. men in a Summer doe vſually kill 25000. fiſh for euery Boat, which may amount to 200000. allowing 120. fiſhes to the 100. ſometimes they haue taken aboue 35000. for a Boat, ſo that they load not onely their owne ſhip, but prouide great quantities for ſacks, or other ſpare ſhips which come thither onely to buy the ouerplus: if ſuch ſhips come not, they giue ouer taking any more, when ſometimes there hath beene great abundance, becauſe there is no fit houſes to lay them in till another yeere, now moſt of thoſe ſacks goeth empty thither, which might as well tranſport mens prouiſion and cattle at an eaſie rate as nothing, either to *New-England* or *New-found land*, but either to tranſport them for nothing or pay any great matter for their liberty to fiſh, will hardly effect ſo much as freedome as yet; nor can this be put in practice as before I ſaid, till there be a power there well planted and ſetled to entertaine and defend them, aſſiſt and releeue them as occaſion ſhall require, otherwaies thoſe ſmall diuiſions will effect little, but ſuch miſerable concluſions as both the French and we too long haue tried to our coſts. Now commonly 200000. fiſh will load a ſhip of 100. tunnes in *New-found land*, but halfe ſo many will neere doe it in *New-England*, which carried to *Toloune* or *Merſelus*, where the cuſtome is ſmall, and the Kintall leſſe then 90. Engliſh pounds weight, and the priſe when leaſt, 12. ſhillings the Kintall, which at that rate amounts to 1320. l. ſtarling; and the ſhip may either there be diſcharged or imployed as hath beene ſaid to refraught for *England*, ſo that the next yeere ſhe may be ready to goe her fiſhing voyage againe, at a farre cheaper rate then before.

To this adde but 12. tuns of traine oile, which deliuered in *New-found land*, is 10. l. the tun, makes 120. l. then it is hard if there be not 10000. of Cor-fiſh, which alſo ſold there at 5. l. the 1000. makes 50. l. which brought to *England*, in ſomes places yeelds neere halfe ſo much more; but if at *Merſelus* it be ſold for 16. s. the Kentall, as commonly it is, and much dearer, it amounts to 1760. l. and if the Boats follow the fiſhing till the 15. of October, they may take 80000. more, which with their traine in *New-found land* at 4. l. the 1000. will amount to 320. l. which added to 1320. l. with 120. l. for Oile, and 10000. of Cor-fiſh 50. l. and the ouerplus at *Merſelus*, which will be 440. l. make the totall 2250. l. which diuided in three parts according to their cuſtome, the Victualer hath for the former particulars, amounting to 420. l. 751. l. ſo all the charge defraied, hee gaines 331. l. 11. s. then for the fraught of the ſhip there is 751. l. and ſo much for the Maſter and his company, which comparing with the voiages hath beene made to *New-England*, you may eaſily finde which is the better though both bee good.

The facility of the fiſhing lately obſerued.

But now experience hath taught them at *New-Plimoth*, that in Aprill there is a fiſh much like a Herring that comes vp into the ſmall Brookes to ſpawne, and where the water is not knee deepe, they will preſſe vp through your hands, yea though you beat at them with Cudgels, and in ſuch abundance as is incredible, which they take with that facility they manure their land with them when they haue occaſion; after thoſe the Cod alſo preſſeth in ſuch plenty, euen into the very Harbours, they haue caught ſome in their armes, and hooke them ſo faſt, three men oft loadeth a Boat of two tuns in two houres, where before they vſed moſt to fiſh in deepe water.

The

The preſent eſtate of New-Plimoth.

AT *New-Plimoth* there is about 180 perſons, ſome cattell and goats, but many ſwine and poultry, 32 dwelling houſes, whereof 7 were burnt the laſt winter, and the value of fiue hundred pounds in other goods; the Towne is impailed about halfe a mile compaſſe. In the towne vpon a high Mount they haue a Fort well built with wood, lome, and ſtone, where is planted their Ordnance: Alſo a faire Watch-tower, partly framed for the Sentinell, the place it ſeemes is healthfull, for in theſe laſt three yeeres, notwithſtanding their great want of moſt neceſſaries, there hath not one died of the firſt planters, they haue made a ſalt worke, and with that ſalt preſerue the fiſh they take, and this yeare hath fraughted a ſhip of 180. tunnes. The Gouernour is one Mr. *William Bradford*, their Captaine *Miles Standiſh*, a bred Souldier in *Holland*; the chiefe men for their aſſiſtance is Maſter *Iſaak Alderton*, and diuers others as occaſion ſerueth; their Preachers are Maſter *William Bruſter* and Maſter *Iohn Layford*. The preſent eſtate of the plantation at *New-Plimoth*. 1624.

The moſt of them liue together as one family or houſhold, yet euery man followeth his trade and profeſſion both by ſea and land, and all for a generall ſtocke, out of which they haue all their maintenance, vntill there be a diuident betwixt the Planters and the Aduenturers. Thoſe Planters are not ſeruants to the Aduenturers here, but haue onely councells of directions from them, but no iniunctions or command, and all the maſters of families are partners in land or whatſoeuer, ſetting their labours againſt the ſtocke, till certaine yeeres be expired for the diuiſion: they haue young men and boies for their Apprentiſes and ſeruants, and ſome of them ſpeciall families, as Ship-carpenters, Salt-makers, Fiſh-maſters, yet as ſeruants vpon great wages. The Aduenturers which raiſed the ſtocke to begin and ſupply this Plantation were about 70. ſome Gentlemen, ſome Merchants, ſome handy-crafts-men, ſome aduenturing great ſummes, ſome ſmall, as their eſtates and affection ſerued. The generall ſtocke already imploied is about 7000. l. by reaſon of which charge and many croſſes, many of them would aduenture no more, but others that knowes, ſo great a deſigne cannot bee effected without both charge, loſſe and croſſes, are reſolued to goe forward with it to their powers; which deſerue no ſmall commendations and encouragement. Theſe dwell moſt about *London*, they are not a corporation, but knit together by a voluntary combination in a ſociety without conſtraint or penalty, aiming to doe good & to plant Religion; they haue a Preſident & Treaſurer, euery yeere newly choſen by the moſt voices, who ordereth the affaires of their Courts and meetings, and with the aſſent of the moſt of them, vndertaketh all ordinary buſineſſes, but in more weighty affaires, the aſſent of the whole Company is required. There hath beene a fiſhing this yeere vpon the Coaſt about 50. Engliſh ſhips: and by Cape *Anne*, there is a Plantation a beginning by the Dorcheſter men, which they hold of thoſe of *New-Plimoth*, who alſo by them haue ſet vp a fiſhing worke; ſome talke there is ſome other pretended Plantations, all whoſe good proceedings the eternal God protect and preſerue. And theſe haue beene the true proceedings and accidents in thoſe Plantations. Their order of gouernment.

Now to make a particular relation of all the acts and orders in the Courts belonging vnto them, of the anihilating old Patents and procuring new; with the charge, paines and arguments, the reaſons of ſuch changes, all the treaties, conſultations, orations, and diſſentions about the ſharing and diuiding thoſe large territories, confirming of Counſailers, electing all ſorts of Officers, directions, Letters of aduice, and their anſwers, diſputations about the Magazines and Impoſitions, ſuters for Patents, poſitions for Freedomes, and confirmations with complaints of iniuries here, and alſo the mutinies, examinations, arraignements, executions, and the cauſe of the ſo oft reuolt of the Saluages at large, as many would

would haue had, and it may be ſome doe expect it would make more quarrels then any of them would willingly anſwer, & ſuch a volume as would tire any wiſe man but to read the contents; for my owne part I rather feare the vnpartiall Reader will thinke this rather more tedious then neceſſary: but he that would bea practitioner in thoſe affaires, I hope will allow them not only needfull but expedient: but how euer, if you pleaſe to beare with thoſe errors I haue committed, if God pleaſe I liue, my care and paines ſhall endeuour to be thankfull: if I die, accept my good will: If any deſire to be further ſatisfied, what defect is found in this, they ſhall finde ſupplied in me, that thus freely haue throwne my ſelfe with my mite into the Treaſury of my Countries good, not doubting but God will ſtirre vp ſome noble ſpirits to conſider and examine if worthy *Columbus* could giue the Spaniards any ſuch certainties for his deſigne, when Queene *Iſabel* of *Spaine* ſet him forth with 25. ſaile, and though I promiſe no Mines of gold, yet the warlike Hollanders let vs imitate but not hate, whoſe wealth and ſtrength are good teſtimonies of their treaſury gotten by fiſhing; and *New-England* hath yeelded already by generall computation one hundred thouſand pounds at the leaſt. Therefore honourable and worthy Country men, let not the meannelſe of the word fiſh diſtaſte you, for it will afford as good gold as the Mines of *Guiana* or *Potaſſie*, with leſſe hazard and charge, and more certainty and facility. *I. S.*

FINIS.

Errata.

PAg. 1. line 7. for *Quineth*, reade *Guineth*. pag. 153. li. 5. reade *from the compa-ny. and* li. 20. for 25000. *pounds* reade 2500. *pounds*. pag. 164. li. 53. for 1500. *men*, reade 150. *men*. pag. 168. li. 11. for *Goſton* reade *Gofton*. and *Coranto Quo warranto*, and li. 13 reade before the Iudges in Weſtminſter hall, *for the Lords of his Maieſties Priuy Counſell*. There are many other errors, which being but ſmall I intreat the courteous reader to correct as he findeth them.